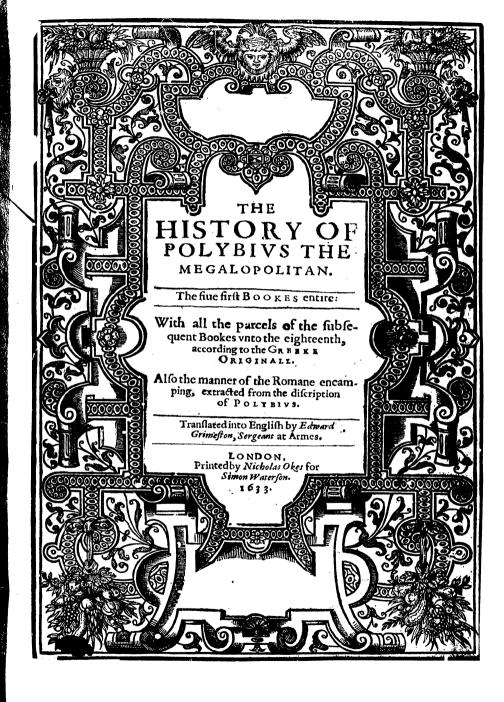
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RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM LORD CRAVIX, BARON OF HAMSTEEDMARSHALL,&c.

MOST WORTHY LORD,



Ardon I befeech you, if (being a ftanger and vnk nowne vnto you) I have prefumed to inferibe your title on the Frontespiece of this Booke, and a publish is to the world, vnder your Lo. fauourable protection. I confesse my disability might well have deterred me: But the reason

which induced me to this prefumption, was your nobleand C generous inclination to Armes (being the subject of this Hiftory) wherein you have carried your selfe so worthily in many great and dangerous exploits, in forraine parts, vnder two of the greatest Commanders of Christendome, as you haue done great honour to your Country, and won vnto your selte perpetuall same and reputation. This Consideration hath made me confident, that during your vacancy from Military actions, your Lordship will vouch safe to cast your eye vponthis History written by Polybius, who (in the opinion of most men of Indgement) hath beene held to be very fincere, and free from malice, affection or passion. And to instific the truth thereof, he protests that he was present at many of the actions, and received the rest from confident persons who were eye-witnesses. It is a generall History of his time, of all the warres which past

The Epistle Dedicatory.

in Asia, Greece, and the Romane State, against the Gaules, and Carthaginians, which two Citties contended for the Empiry of the world: which warre was of longer continuance, and had more cruell and variable encounters and battailes than anythat hath beene written of: For the first Punique warre (where they fought for the Conquest of Sicily) lasted source and twenty yeeres; and the second in Italy under Hannibal, Generall for the Carthagini- A ans, continued seuenteene yeeres, to the subuersion (in a manner) of the Romane State, had not Scipio forced Hannibal to returne home to defend his owne Carebage, where in Battell he lost the glory of all his former Victories, and brought his Countrey into the subjection of the Romanes. This worke I present vnto your Lordships fauourable Censure, humbly praying that you will be pleased to beare with my harsh and vnpolished stile, and to pardon the R errors committed at the presse during my absence: for which fauour I shall hold my selfe much bound vnto your Lordship, and will alwaise remains

Tour Lordes, most humbly denoted to doe you fernice?

EDW. GRIMESTON.



Levves Maigret a Lionnois

to the FRENCH Nobility.



Entlemen, wee are all borne by nature to so much pouerty, and involved in so many miseries, as there is no worke of Man, how small sower, which giving order to his meanest actions, doth not minister occasion of some Esteeme. So as whereas his diligence

guided by reason, shall finde it selfe crost, I know not by what power, which commonly fortune vourges over the judgement and consideration of Man, wee may (as we thinke) suftly blame it, in excusing with compassion the workeman and his misfortune. And if on the other side, to shew her great magnificence and bounty. The imparts her faudurs were graces to joine were, gode well- hoping any and der or faire course, seekes to bring some Enterprize to an end, so as that notwithstanding his over-wearing and folly shee makes it perfeet: Then we hold her produgall, detesting her unreasonable and Cinconsiderate bounty, gricuing at her benefits so ill imployed. Behold bow. (I know not by what law received among men) wee commend or blame every one in his profession and workes, so farre forth as they fee his industry and diligence imployed or defective. I/wee have reason then in so great Esteeme, as wee seeke it in all our actions, and in matters of the smallest consequence, blaming him that neglects it: How infamous wee hold the carelefnesse and neglect of a man in the order and conduct of affaires, wherein not D onely the ruine of his estate, life and honour, but alfoithat of his Countrey, Parents, and Friends, and finally of his Prince and Soueraigne, is many times brought into great danger? But if there be no Enterprize among those which Men pursue, wherin such things ought to bee drawne into Consideration, as proper and ordinary vnhim, and without the danger whereof bee can reape no benefit, I am of opinion that that of warre ought in reason to bee preserved before all others: Although there bee many, which cannot alwases be brought to a good end, without the hazard and danger of those which pursue them. In truth it is a profession, which experience bath taught in all Nations, to bee so rough and fierce, and finally to difficult to mannage, as never man could earry himfelfe to discreetly, nor with to great fortune, nor recovered such ! rich spoiles, nor obtained such Triumphant wictories, but they have purchased him new causes of fare and seare, not onely of A great Enuie, and of new Enemies, but also losse and ruine. I will not speake of the irreparable defeate of the brauest Men in an Armie, which a Victory worthy of renowne requires, as it were by aduance, when as the Enemies performe the Duties of good fouldiers. The Carthagians thrusting an Army into Sicily, at their first entry obtained some Conquests, lo some after they provoked batted of the Romanes: which was but the beginning and presage of a suture ruine. But when as the fortune of the warres R beganne to smile upon Hanibal, and to give him a full Gale, so as his exploits were so great in Spaine, as asterwards bee presumed to force Nations, Mountaines, and rivers, and in the end to fight with the extremity of the weather for the Conquest of Italy: Then, as it were, searing her owne power, to bee in a manner vanquished, shee beganne to practize and forge meanes, not onely to ruine her fo much fauoured Hanibal, but the whole Carthaginian Empire. And therefore it is credible, c that (I know not by what inconstancy, or rather extrauagant and sauage Nature) shee makes friends of Enemies, and enemies of her owne friends ; so much (hee feares (as I magene) the ease and rest of those whom shee fauours. It is true that trasfique by Sea is not without great terrour, amazement and bazard. for the danger of the waves, Tempests and stormes, with a thoufand other accidents. But if warre once fet op her failes, being accompanied with rage, sury, and many other disasters, which D the malice of Men baus invented to make vie of, beteeue mee that these other furies, which the winds procure at Sea and in the Aire, which many times are more fearefull than mortall, will not seeme in regard of those of warre, but a light amazement, and, as it were, a false allarum. What corment at ea, or violence of the winds hath euer beene so joddaine, which the

long experience of a wile Pilot, could not by a thousand signes and tokens foresee, denising sufficient remedies to anoid it? But when a warre is mannaged by Indgement and discretion, as it is requisite, the showes are commonly contrarie, to that which they pursue. Wherefore the more an Enterprize is dissembled and keept secret, the more easie it is to put in execution. Finally, if were will confesse the truth, it is a process a continual Care, with an incredible dissence: whereof a good sudgement must have the conduct, that by concessure drawne from things formerly practized, or from a probability of that which hee sees, hee may some after indge of the Enemies resolution, and finally attempt and hope for a custory.

And although it hash beene alwaies held, that Money is the B sinewes of Warre ; yet I hold its force without Conduct like winto that of a strong, able Man, oppress with a deep e Stere is mosting to strong, nor so quicke in this morted as the sense of man: Nor any thing so powerfull and terrible which the understanding doth not master and subdue. And therefore wee say commonly in France, that wit is better than force. Tet I know that Courage is a great advantage; C and necessary for a souldier, but especially for a Generall: But I feare that for want of Indgement and a good confideration, it makes them not sometimes ouer-weening and carelesse of danger. So as many times it gives occasion to a weake and cowardie Enemie, to undertake a Victory, and to performe the Act of a valuant man. Wherefore courage without conduct, and vigilancie, is alwayes subsect to Ambushes and shamefull flights: which are inconveniences, whereof a Coward is alwaies warie, for that feare makes a Man vigilant and carefull. But was there over Nation more bardie, nor more warre-like, nor that more carefully observed the ordinances of warre than the Romanes? How then did Hannibal defeate them fo often, not emely in Encounters, but in pieche Battailes, and in the open field,

field, by bis great Iudgement, and bis subtile pollicies? In

what seare, and with what admiration hath the fury of the

Gaules, beene beld in old time by all Natious, who parting

from their owne Countrey and Townes, to seeke new habita-

tions, have conquered land in divers Countries by Armes,

building Townes not onely in Italy their Neighbour, but also

in Germany, and in the end in Greece, and Asia? Who

their owne Consideration, and an ouer-weaning considence

in their force and courage ? I hold for certaine, which you

know well, that it is not sufficient for a Prince or Generall to

have his Armie compleate with foote and horsemen, how refo-

lute socuer, and with all necessary provisions for a warre: No

more than for a Souldier to have youth, strong and active Members, a daring courage, and compleate furniture. Hee

must have to vanquish (the which many times the vanquish- B

ed improperly call mis-fortune) that piece of harnesse so well steeled, robich wee call Indoment, or a good conduct. Beleeue mee that like worte a borfe, when bee bath taken the bir be-

twist his teeth, forcing bis Master, flies without feare tho-

row Woods, Rockes, and Precipices, woish the danger of his

life, bee bee neuer so nimble and couragious; so a hardie and

resolute souldier deth easily bis owne ruine, if hee wants con-

requires Exercise to preserve in health, and to make it alliue.

and bardened to indure labour and paine; (o the understand-

ing in like manner desires to bee exercised and imployed, ei-

ther by the confideration of things past, or by those which are

dust and ludgement. You must understand that as the body C

bath defeated and quite ruinated them in a (hort time, but A

It is true, that these which are seene by the eye, have a greater vinacitie, and a stronger impression, than those which are past : For that living things are of greater force than D dead. Yet, if we shall duely consider the length of time, which the experience of a thousand kind of pollicies, which warre requires before that a wife Man will dare to aduenture bingelse in a bold and bardie Enterprize, wee shall finde that the knowledge of the antient warres, which have beene

The Epistie to the Reader.

left vs in writing, will bee of no small consequence conto him. For besides the assurance of danger, hee may in a short time see by Historiographers, the great and wonderfull exploits of the Antient in a manner since the Creation of the world. to pleasare and contentment from them, with some Encouragement to doe aswell or better bereaster. You know well that the warre which is seene by the eye, is not alwases made betwist warre-like people, nor under refolute Commanders that are skilfull in their profession: so as it is a difficult thing under such to see any valuant exploits, nor Enterprizes attempted with good invention, nor well executed. Wee (ay commonly in France, that the Combate is dangerous, when as courage fights against courage. So is it credible, that when an Army consisting of warre-like men, is water the leading of a wife and resolute Commander, bauing in front an Enemy equall voto bim in all degrees, there must needes B bee valiant exploits performed, with hardy Enterprizes wijely

If there have beene any warves, attempted by fierce and warlike Nations, and governed by wife and famous Captaines, beleeve me this present Historiographer hath vsed great deligence to let them downe in writing: Labouring only to mention the deedes and valour that was most worthy of Relation, that with the pleasure and contentment which they may reape in reading them, they may draw some instructions and meanes, not to fall into the inconviences of warre, into the danger whereof many times both Captaine and jouldiers may bee ingaged, through want of experience, good advice and councell. So as among others, you shall see Enterprizes of the Romanes against the Carthaginians for the conquest of Sicily. D During the which there were many Encounters and cruell battailes, as well by Sea as land. You (hall likewele reade the furious Combat of the Gaules against the Romanes: And moreover the warre letwixt Cleomenes and Antigo-

vou shall see the Conquests which Hannibal made in Spaine. with his incredible voiage into Italic, performed in his vouncer yeeres, and his victories gotten of the Romanes with such politice and wisedome, as it is a difficult thing (if wee shall consider the people and number of his Armie, hautne regard to courage and power of those with whom hee had to deale) to sudge truely, whether there were ever Captaine in the memory of man, that may with reason bee A compared voto him. Finally my Masters. I doe not promise you in this History, those miraculous Battailes, which exceed the apprehension of man, performed in the Kingdome of Logies, nor I know not what Quest of that barking Beast. Make your accompt that you shall not finde any Tract or marke of a Beast, nor finally any thing that bolds of it. Beleeue mee in times paft. Men did not feede their underflandings with dreames, nor fables invented in barbers-shops, R without any colour of Truth. It is impossible an ignorant Master should make a learned disciple. Finally they are difcourses fit for old womens tongues to entertaine little children. whilest that for weakenesse of their Age, their pnderstanding hath no apprehension, nor sufficient Iudgement of reafon, Wherefore wee may with reason say, that such as cons jume their yeeres, and grow old in such dreames, have a will to continue still children. And although they commonly C faie that warre is mannaged by the eye: So as it seemes they will thereby inferre, that wee must not thinke of it, but when necessity doth force vs : And that peace should procure no benefit to a Souldier, but idlenesse; yet he must fore see long before, part of that which afterwards he must governe by the eye. And as a horse which is pampered and not ridden, growes restit; and prones conprositable to bis Master for travaile: so the undestanding of a souldi-D er, idle auring peace, or fed with dreames and foolish inventions, will faile him at neede; and in the end purchase him dishonour and shame; Yet do not imagine my Masters, that I have veed this speech as blazoning you, and holding you for men of so poore an Enterprize, whose principall

study and affections is the reading of Juch Bookes, rather then in Jome worthy recreation and exercise. My meaning was onely to advertise you, that Histories, from whence with pleasure you may draw great profit, as these are which this Historiographer imparts oute you ought to bee in greater recommendation than those Fables, which have no grace, but when they are most without reason or any shew of A truth.

Finally, I bope you shall finde such sufficiencie in our Polybius, as you will make no question to preferre him as the paragon before all others, as well Greekes as Latines, which are come to the knowledge of men. Of whom I have presumed to translate in the help fort I could, those fine first Bookes, which of Fourty which hee hath written, have beene preserved halfe ruined by the negligence of time: B Hoping you will receive them as willingly, as I offer them with a good heart.

When as after the Printing of these five first Bookes. I had recomered some Latine Translations, of three parcels of the fixt, whereof the first and the third had not amy GREEKE Coppie, And likewife afterwards another of the sixteenth, both in Latine and Greeke, I imployed my selfe to put them into French, adding there-Cunto the forme of the Romanes Campe, as I could consecture it, by the discription which Polybius maker, in the parcell of the fixt Booke And when as the Printers successor had a desire afterwards to print the whole, and intreated mee to spend some time in the Remainder of that which was newly published of Polybius his worker, which are certaine parcells, and as st were Reliques (besides the a-D boue named) of the sewenth and eighth, and of all the subsequent Bookes unto the seauententh inclusive, it was not in my power to deliver him any other but those of the seventh and eighth, being afflicted with a quartane Ague, besides his obstinacy in ving a small Character, for the sparing of Faper distasted mee: Expecting that which asterwards followed, that few men would rest satisfied, for that all things

The Epistle to the Reader.

how good and excellent seeuer, are thereby found without grace, dull and conpleasing. For this cause desiring that seexcellent a writer, should not remaine distanced and without grace for want of an honourable Impression, and that the studious of Histories should bee the more incouraged. I resolved to adde the remainder of that, which at this day is come to our knowledge, assuring my selfe that the Printer for his part will have a care that for the saving of his moment her will not doe wrong to his honour, nor loose his charges instead of gaine.

To GOD alone be all honour and glory.



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The Printer to the READER.

Ourteous Reader, I desire your charitable consure in that there bee some listerall faults escaped, to the griefe of the Author being not able to attend the Presse, and likewise being absent at that time from London, and having but a yong Corrector which took too much woon him.

Errata.

D'Age 27. line 2x. for report read fupport, p. 27.1.9. for wridge vigg, p. 33.1.28. for ready the tready for the, p. 34.1.27. for nor beer nor to bee, p. 35.1.39. to shew then, p. 40.1.19. for yet began x, yet it began, p. 45.1.38. for bad been x, bad not been, p. 72.1.44. for Manniball x. Amilear, p. 62.1.37. (so dreamiants, dearmaniens, p. 68.1.18. for If dire x. Affis, p. 79.1.37. Riner x. Roofine, p. 10.1.30. x. time to pale, p. 13.3.17 for and palk x. be pale, p. 13.1.4. x. fuffs. their places, p. 13.1.31. for and palk x. be pale, p. 13.1.4. x. fuffs. their places, p. 13.1.31. for and palk x. began, p. 13.1.4. x. fuffs. their places, p. 13.1.4. x. fuffs. their p. 13.1.4. x. fuffs. their p. 13.1.4. x. fuffs. their p. 13.1.4. x. fuffs. fu





FIRST BOOKE of the Historyof POLYBIVS.



r the Commendation of the excellency of Histories had beene omitted by such as before vs have written the Worth and Prowesso of Men, happily it should bee necessary to vie some Arguments to make it to be generally Accepted and Received: For that there is no way more easie to resorme and better Men, then the Knowledge of things past. But seeing that not onely some, but in a manner all, begin thereby and

finish it amply, so as they are of Opinion that the Knowledge of Histories is a true Discipline and Exercise for the Conduct and mannaging of the Affaires of a Common-wealth, and that she onely is the Mistris, and meanes to beare the Variety and inconstancy of Fortune patiently, by reason of the example of another mans adversities, it is apparent that no man will hold it necessary to renew the Discourse of things, which have formerly beene so well delivered by others: Especially by me to whom the newnesse of Actions, whereof wee intend to Write, is much more then sufficient to perswade and draw the hearts of men, as well both Young and Old, to read our History. For where is any man so deprayed or filly, which desires not to vnderstand

the meanes and manner of Gouernment, by the which the Romans haue subdued and brought under their Obedience in a manner, all the Nations of the World, within the space of fifty and three yeares? the which in former times was neuer heard of. Or what is he fo much giuen and defiring to know other things worthy of admiration and other Disciplines, but will conceine that there is not any thing in this world worthy to be preferred to this knowledge ? I hope they will fee hew great and excellent our Worke is, if wee make comparison of other Principalities with the excellency of the Romane Empire, and namly of those which have beene in great honour and glory, whereof A Historiographers haue written much. Behold those which are most worthy to be compared.

The Perfians.

The Empire and power of the Persians for a time hath beene great, but whenfoener they did aduenture to paffe the bounds and limits of Asia they were in danger to lose not onely their Empire, but their The Lucdone- lines. . The Lacedemonians made a long warre for the Empire and command of Greece, but they could hardly keepe it twelve yeeres quiet after their Conquest.

The Maridonians.

It is true, the Macedonians have domineer'd and rul'd in Europe, from Adria to the Danowe, which is but a fmall portion thereof. And B fince they have held the Empire of Asia, after they had ruined the Monarchy of the Persians. And although that these haue in shew beene great Lords, and enjoyed large and spacious Countries, yet they nener toucht the greatest part of the World. As for Sicily, Sardinia, and Affricke, they never made shew to challenge any thing. In regard of other Nations, the most Martiall of Europe, and the most Westerne. they hardly in my opinion did cuer know them : But the Romans have not onely conquered a part of the World, but in a manner all. They may also know by our fequell, how great the profit will be to such as affect the knowledge of Hillory.

The Romans.

The beginning of the Hiftory.

Finally, the beginning of our Worke shall be according to the time. fince the hundred and eight and forty Olimpiade. As for the Actions, and first of the Greeians , wee will begin with the focial warre , the which Philip (who was Sonne to Demetrius, and Father to Perfeus) attempted first with the Acaians, against the Etolians, and in regard of those which inhabite Asia, the beginning shall beat the Warre which was in the Valley of Syria, betwixt Antiochus, and Ptolome, Philopater.

But as for Italy and Affricke, wee will begin with that betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, which many call she warre of Hanniball. The History shall begin at the end of that which Sicionius bath left in D writing. Before these times the affaires of the world were without Civillity. Since it hath happened that the History is in a manner drawne all into one, and that the actions of Italy, and of Affricke, are mingled with those of Greece and Asia, and that all tended to one and the same end. And therefore wee have begun our worke in those times, when the Romans had vanquisted the Carthaginians in this war, thinking they had performed their greatest taske, and to be able to affaile the whole world, they prefumed prefently after to fall upon the

rest, and to passe into Greece and Asa with great forces.

But if we had seene and knowne the manner of living, and the Lawes of Common-weales contending for the Monarchy, happily it would not be needfull to make any great fearch, to what end, nor vpon what power relying, they have entred into such great actions. But for that the manner of living, the precedent forces, and the actions of the people of Rome and Carthage are vaknowing to the greatest part of the Grecians . I have held it necessary to make these two first Bookes, before I enter into the History, to the end they should have no occasion A to wonder nor inquire in reading our Worke, what Councell, what Forces, and what Treasure and Wealth the people of Rome had to vn. derrake the warre and conquest of the whole Earth, and of all our Sea: Confidering that they which shall require it, shall see plainely by these first Bookes of our Preparation, that the Romans had reasonable cause to vndertake the Empire and Soueraignty of all things, and to attain vnto their ends. Beleeue that the proper obiect of our Worke, and the excellency of the Actions of our time, consists principally in this, that as Fortune hath in a manner reduced all the effaires of the world into one, and hath forced them to draw to one and the same B end : So the force which sheehath vsed for the perfection of all publicke gouernment, must be reduced and propounded to the Reader in one briefe History.

This hath chiefely incited and vrged mee to the enterprise thereof, especially for that none of our time hath vndertaken to write a generall History : neither would wee have attempted it : But seeing that many had written some particular Warres, and their private Actions, and that no Man (to my knowledge) hath hitherto made an vniuerfall and generall commemoration of things past, neither when nor how they began, nor how they were executed and performed, nor what issue C they had: I conceiued it would be well done, if by our meanes our Countrey-men might read a worke of Fortune excellently good and profitable : For although shee had done excellent things and worthy of admiration among men; yet shee hath not done any thing vnto this day, nor purchased the glory of victory comparable to our times. The which they that have written the particular Histories cannot make knowne, but that some one who peraduenture for that hee had lived in some renowned Towne, or for that they had seenethem in picture, imagine presently they know them; and consequently the seituation, the forme, and the order of the World, the which is nor probable nor

They which are of Opinion that a particular History is sufficient for the vnderstanding of the generall, in my Opinion stray no lesse from the truth, then if some one considering the parts separated of a living A good Con-Body, thinke by this meanes to have the knowledge of all the perfecti. Parison. ons and graces of the Creature. There is no doubt; but if any one takes these dikinct and separated parts, and doth presently ioyne them together, and make a perfect Creature, giuing it forme and life, and then presents it vnto him, hee will soone confesse that hee hath beene de-

Timeres an Hiftoriogra. pher.

Dinis.

ceiued. like vnto them that dreame. It is true, we may haue some apprehension of the whole by the parts: But it is not possible to have a true and cortaine Science and Knowledge. And therefore you must imagine that a particular History is of small vse for the knowledge of the generall: And that by the connexion, comparison and similitude of actions, there will be no Man found, who in reading, will not reape fingular profite and pleasure by History. Wee will therefore make the beginning of this Booke at the first Voyage which the Romans made by Sea, which is subsequent to those things which Timerus hath last writ: ten: which was in the hundred and nine and twentieth Olimpiade. We A must therefore relate how, and what time they ended their Quarrels in Italy, and what meanes they had to passe into Sicily: For this is the first voyage they ever made out of their Territories, whereof wee must fet downe the reason simply and without disguising : to the end that by the fearch from one cause to another, the beginning and consideration of the whole may not proue doubtfull. The beginning also must be agreeable to the Time and Subices, and that it be knowne to all : the which they may confider by themselues, yea, in seeking out those things which were past long before, and in the meane time relate the Actions fummarily: For it is certaine that the beginning being vn. B knowne or obscure, its continuance cannot perswade, nor purchase beleese: But if the Opinion of the beginning be true, then all the subsequent Narration doth cafily content the Auditors care.

Nineteene yeeres after the battell wone vpon the Riner Egos, and fixteene yeeres before the Warre of Leuttra, where the Lacedemonians treated a peace with Antalcides King of Persia, when as Denis the old held the Citty of Rhegium in Calabria besieged, after that hee had defeated the Grecians inhabiting upon the limits of Italy, necre vnto the Riuer of Elleporis: and that the Gaules having wholy ruined Rome, held it . except the Capitall: During which time the Romans having made C. an accord with them, which they found good and profitable, and had recourred their liberty contrary to their hope and expectance, and had in a manner taken a beginning of their increase, they declared Warre against their Neighbours. As soone as the Latins had beene vanquished, aswell by their prowesse as by the fortune of the Warre, they turned their Armes against the Tulcans, then to the Celtes which are in Italy, and finally vpon the Samnites which confine the Region of the Latins, towards the East and North. Sometime after, the Tarrentines seeing the outrage which they had committed against the Romane Embassadours, not relying much vpon their owne forces: they called in King D Pyrrhus the yeere before the Descent of the Gaules into Italy, and before the Retreate of those which were defeated in Battell neere vnto Delphos. Then the Romans after they had vanquished the Tuscans and Samuites, and beaten the Celtes often, began to make warte against the rest of Italy, not as contending for another mans Lands, but as for their owne, and formerly the onging vnto them, being now growne warlike by the Warres vach they had had against the Celtes and Sammises.

Lib. I. The History of POLYBIVS.

The Romans then after that Pyrrhus and his forces had beene chafed out of Italy . taking this Warre to heart, they purfued fuch as had followed his party. Being suddainly become Maisters of all according to their defires, and that all Italy was wholy subdued, except the Celtes, sieged by the they presently besieged some of theirs which held Regiam. One and Remans, the like fortune befell two Citties schusted vpon the Straight of that Sea, that is, Meßina and Rhegium. Some Campanois having beene The taking of lately in pay with Agathocles in Sicily, wondring at the beauty and Meffina by wealth of a selfina they find dainly when they found an apparatus of fome campawealth of Messina, they suddainly when they found an opportunity, nois. A affailed it, breaking their Faith, they having beene received into it by Friendship where they expell'd some of the Cittizens, and slew others. After which wicked act they shared their Wines and Children among them, as their fortunes fell out during the Combate: Then they divided their goods and lands. But after this suddaine and casse Conquest

of so goodly a Countrey and City, they soone found others that did imitate their villanies.

They of Rhegium amazed with the descent of Pyrrhus at such time as he past into Italy, and fearing in like manner the Carthaginians, being then Maisters of the Sea, they craued a Garrison and men from the B Romans Those which they sent vnto them, were to the number of 4000. vnder the command of Desius the Campanois, they kept the Towne for a time, and their faith in like manner with the Cittizens, in defending them; but in the end moued by the example of the Mamertins, who folicited them to comit this base act, they fallified their faith. being aswell incited by the opportunity of the deed, as by the wealth of Rhegium, and chased away some Cittizens and slew others, finally, shegium by they seased upon the Citty as the Mamertines had done. And al- some came though the Romans were discontented at the misfortune of the Rhegin, nowbeing there though the Romans were discontented at the misfortune of the Rhegin, nowbeing there in Gardion. vet they could not relieue them, for that they must settle an order for C their precedent VVarres. But after they had ended them, they be-Thetaking of fleged them of Rhegium, and afterward they entred it by force, where- Rhegiumby the as many were flaine; who being certaine of the punishments they were Romans. to endure, defended themselves valiantly to death. About three hundred were taken aliue, who presently after their comming to Rome, the Commanders of the VVarre commanded them to be brought into the The punisher Market-place, where they were whipt, and in the end their heads ment of Tray. strooke off, after the manner of the Countrey. They did vie this pu- tours. nishment to the end that their Faith (as much as might be possible) might be confirmed towards their confederates. Presently after they

D caused the Towne and Countrey to be delivered to the Rheeins. But whilest that the Mamertins (youtnust vnderstand that the Campanois caused themselves to be so called after the taking of Messiona) and were relieved by the Romans which held Rhegium by force, they not account onely enjoyed the Countrey and Towne peaceably, but they committed great spoiles vpon many other Townes their Neighbours, aswell of the Carthaginians as of Saragoffe (otherwise Siracufa:) The greatest part of Sicilywas tributary voto them. But soone after when they were deprined of those succours, and that they which held K begium

 \mathbf{B} 3

Hieron chofen King of the Saragoffins.

were belieged, they were in like manner by them of Saragoffe, for the caples which follow: As a little before the men of watre of Saragoffe camping necruinto Mergane, being in diffention with the Governours of the Commonsweale, they chose for their Captaines Artemidere and Hieron, who afterwards was their King, being youvery young: But finally fo wellendowed with all the graves of Nature and Minde. as hee wanted no Royall conditions but the Crowne. Hauing accepted the Magistracy, and made his entry into the Towne very well accompanied by his Friends, where having vanquished the Burgesses of the contrary faction, hee vied the Victory with in great elemency and A modesty, as by a common consent of all in generall he was chosen ! their Commander, although they did not allow of the Election made

by the Souldiers.

It is true that Hieron made knowne to men of judgement and vnderstanding, that he had conceived greater designes in his mindethen to be their Leader. First knowing well that the Saragoffins were mutinous and defirous of innouation, whenfoeuer they fent their Souldiers and Commanders out of the Countrey, and that Leptine was a man of great reputation, and of more credit then any other of the Cittizens, and that he was very pleafing vnto the Multitude, he held it fit to make B an alliance with him, to the end he might leave some report in the Citty for him, when seeuer he should goe to the VVarre, and lead an Army out of the Countrey. Having therefore taken the Daughter of Lepmade by Histor tine to VVife, knowing well that the old band of forraigne Souldiers were changeable and subject to mutinies, he led his Army of set purpose against the Barbarians, who held the Citty of Messina: And having feated his Campe neere to Centeripe, and put his men in battell close you the River of Ciamossure, he stayed in a place apart all the Horse and Foote of his owne Nation, as if he meant to charge the E. nemy on the other side: suffering the forraigne Souldiers to be defea. C ted by the Barbarians, and whilest the others fled, he makes his retreate fafely with all the Saragoffins to the Citty. When he had by this pollicy brought his defigne vnto an end, and had freed his Army of all the Mutines, hee makesa great leuy of Souldiers. Soone after when as all things were fettled in good order, Hieron feeing that the Barbarians were growne too audacious and proud of their late Victory. he parts from the Citty with an Army of his Gountrey fouldiers, well trained and disciplined, and making dilligence, he came to Myle, where along the Bankes of the River of Longane, he fought with them with all his forces. Having vanquished them and taken their Captaines, sec- D ing their pride much abated by this Victory, he returnes Sarazoffe B. W. parwith his Army, and was by the generall fauour and confect of all the

The Mamertins dehuer their Towne and Fort voto the Carthaginians.

with Leptine.

The pollicy

The River of

of Hieron.

Ciamofure.

Succours rea quired from

Cittizens faluted King by the Allies. The Mamertins as we have fayd, being deprived of the fuccours of of the Romane Legion, and having lost to great a Battell, their hearts being broken, they retire for the most part vnto the Carthaginians, and yeeld themselves and their Fort: The rest sent vnto the Romans, delivering their Towne, vnto them, and requiring fuccours

astothosethat were of the same Nation. The Romans were long in the Romans by suspence what to doe: For they found it strange, basing lately punished the stametine, their Cittizens fo feuerely, for violating their faith with the Rhegins, to fend fuccours now vnto the Mamertins, who were guilty of the like crime. They were not ignorant of all these things: Yet considering that the Carthaginians had not onely drawne Affricke under their obedience by force of Armes, but also many places in Spaine, and moreouer all the Islands of the Sea of Sardinia and Italy; they doubted that their Neighbour-hood would be dangerous, if they made them-A felues Lords of the rest of Sicily. They likewife understood, that it would be casie to effect, if the Mamertins were not relieued: And there was no doubt, that if Messina had beene deliuered vnto them, they would presently have recovered Saragosse, for that they held all the rest of sicily. And as the Romans considered these things, they were of opinion thatir was necessary not to abandon Messina, nor to suffer the Carthaginians to make vnto themselves as it were a Bridge, to passe into Italy at their pleasure.

This was long in debate, yet it was not concluded in that affembly: for it seemed virto them as vareasonable as profitable to relieue the B Mamertins. But as the Commons much weakned with their former Warres, seemed to have need of rest, so the Captaines shewing the great profit that might ensue, they resolued to succour the Mamertins. This Opinion being confirmed by the Commons, prefently The Romans they appointed design Classics and Classics and Commons, prefently resolute to fucthey appointed Appine Claudius, one of the Confuls, to passe the Army courths Mainto Sicily, and to relieve the Mamertins, who had put out of their mertins by Apr Towne, aswell by threats as pollicy the Captaine of the Carthaginians Pius Claudius which (as we have fayd) held the Fort. And they called vnto them The to american Appius Claudius, deliuering the Citty into his hands. The Carthagins- recouer the ans hung him on a Croffe which had had the Guard, supposing that he Captaincosthe C had yeelded it basely for searce and want of Courage. Then suddainly carrings in any they drew their Sea-army necre vnto Pellore, and that at land about the Countrey called Sene, holding by this meanes Messina streightly befieged.

In the meane time Hieron thinking to have found a good opportunityto chase the Barbarians which held Messina out of Sicily, followed the Carthagineans party. And going from Saragoffe, he takes his way Hieron follows to the Towne, and layes his Siege on the other fide necre vnto Mount the Carthagini-Calshidique: By this meanes he tooke from the Townesmen all meanes am party. to fally forth on that fide. But the Confull paffing the Sea by night

D with great danger, in the end hearrived at Messina: where seeing the Enemy round about it, and that this Siege was as dishonourable vato him as dangerous, for that the Enemies were the stronger both by Land and Sea, he defired first to try by Embassies sent to both Camps, if it might be possible to pacifie things, so as the Mamertins might be freed. But the Enemies not vouchfafing to heare them, he was in the end forced to vadergoe the hazard, and resolved first to give battell to the sarazossins. He therefore causeth his Army to march, and put it in bartell to the which the King likewise came speedily. But after that

The defeate of Appine had fought long, in the end he prevailed over his Enimies. Hieron by Ap. pursuing them into their Fort. The Consul after the spoile of the dead, retires into the Citty: and Hieron being frustrate of all hope, recourred Saragosse speedily the Night following.

The next day Appius Claudius advertised of the flight of the Sara-The defeate of goffins, and having refumed courage and confidence, he had no will to stay, but to goe and fight with the Carthaginians. Wherefore he commanded his men to be ready, and the next day he past early and chargeth his Enimies, whereof fome were flaine, and the rest forced to faue theresclues in the neighbour-townes. By this meanes the Siege A being raised, he rauaged and spoyled the Countrey of Saragosse and their Allies without danger: And after that he had ruined all, in the end he besieged Saragose. Behold then (for the causes aboue mentioned) the first Voyage which the Romane Army-made out of Italy. And for that we have held it fit for the entrance of our designe, we have made it our beginning, in looking somewhat backe to the times past, to the end we may not leave any occasion of doubt vpon the causes we shall yeeld. And in truth I have held it necessary to declare first at what time, and by what meanes the Romans being in extreame danger to lofe their Countrey, began to grow fortunate: And when likewise after B they had subdued Italy, they began to conquer other Countries; to the end that the greatnesse of their Empire, which was fince, may feeme more likely in knowing the beginnings. No man must wonder when as we speake of Townes of Note, if happily wee seeke for things farther off, in that which we shall relate hereafter : For we docit to the end that our beginnings and grounds may be fuch, as they may plainly understand the meanes and reasons, by the which every Citty is come to the estate wherein it now stands, the which we have done here of the

It is now time that in leaving this Discourse we returns to our de- C figne, in shewing first summarily and briefely the things happened before the times, whereof we meane principally to Write: Among the which the Warre betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians in Sicily is the first, then followed the Punique: In the which the deeds first of Amilear, then of Asaruball, are joyned with those of the Carthaginians: At what time the Romans began first to sayle into Slauonia, and other parts of Europe. Moreouer their Battels against the Gaules, who at that time made a discentinto Italy: The Warre also which was in Greece at the fame time, called Cleomenique, to the which all this relation, and the end of the second Booke tend. Finally, I have not held it necessary nor D profitable for the Reader, to relate things in particular: Neither is it my intention to Write them, but onely to touch that fummarily which may concerne our History. And therefore in relating briefely, we will indeauour by an order of continuation, to ioyne vnto the beginning of our History the end of those Actions, which we shall deliner by way of preparation. By this meanes in continuing the order of the History, they shall see we have touch that which others have lest in Writing: and also made an easie and open way for all subsequent things, to those

which defire to know. It is true that we have had a speciall defire to Write Comewhat at large this first Warre of the Romans in Sicily against the Carthaginians, for that they shall hardly finde i longer Warre, not greater preparations and expence, nor more encounters, nor grearerdiuerficy of fortune on cyther fide; For thefe two Nations in those times lived in their lawes with meane wealth and equall forces. Whereforcif we shall consider the Forces and Empire of these two Citties, we cannot so well make a Comparison by the other subsequent Warres as by this. But that which hath most incited me to write this Warre, was The blame of A for that Philinus and Fabius, who are effectived to have written well, Philinand Fas haue in my Opinion frayed too much from the truth : Yet I would not bissidifforiotaxe them to have done it maliciously, confidering their life and intention: But I conceiue, the affection which they beare vnto their Countreymen, hath deceined them after the manner of Louers. In regard of Philinus, for the affiction he beares to the Caribaginians, hee is of Opinion that they did all things with good Conduct, Prudence and Courage; and the Romans the contrary. As for Fabius he holds the contrary party. Peraduenture a man would not blame this manner of doing in other courses of life. In truth it is fit and commendable for a good man to loue B his Friends and Countrey, and to be a friend to the friends of his friends, and to hate his Enemies, But he that takes vpon him to Write a History, must vie such things with discretion, sometimes commending his Enemics, when their actions require it, and blaming his Friends and Neighbours when their faults are blame worthy. Beleeue me, as the remainder of the Body of a Beaft, which hath the eyes puld out, remainee unprofi-

leffe: And therefore when occasion is offered, he mult not forbeare to blame his Friends, nor to commend his Enemies, nor to hold it a dishonest thing to praise those whom we have sometimes blamed. Neither is C it likely, that they of whom we write, haue alwaies done well, or err'd continually. We must therefore in leaving the persons, sudge and speake

parluit

of their actions sufficiently in our Comentaries. To prooue my affertian true, we shall easily see it by that which Phifin writes. Who in the beginning of his fecond Booke faith, the Carthaginians and Saragossins held Messina belieged, and when as the Romane Army, after they had past the Sea, was arrived, they made a suddaine sally vpon the Saragossins, where they were vanquished and defeated, and fo retired into the Towne: they made a fecond vpon the Garthaginians, where they were not onely defeated, but most part of them taken : Pre-

table: So if truth be wanting in a History, the Discourse prooues fruit-

D fently after this Speech he faith, that Hieron after this Encounter had fo great a feare, that he not onely fer fire of his Lodgings and Tents, retiring by night to Saragose, but moreoverabandoned the strong places, lying betwixt Messina and Saragose. He relates also that the Carthagini. ans being in like fortamazed, dispersed themseliues here and there throughout the Townes of sieily, and that they durst neuer after that keepe the Field, and that moreover, the Captaines feeing their mendifcouraged, gaue aduice that they should no more runinto the danger of the war, nor hazard any thing. He faith moreouer that the Romans in the

pursuit of the Carthaginians, not onely ruined their Prouince, and that of the Saragoffins, but also layed siege to Saragoffe. This Speech is so farre from reason, as it were but lost time to seeke to confure it : For he pretends that they which besieged Messina, (to whom he gives the Victory) presently after abandoned their Campe, and that they fled, retiring into the Citty with great feare, and that finally they were besieged. In regard of those he affirmes were besieged by the Carthaginians, after the battell loft, he makes them suddainly Victors, and befleging Saragoffe, having taken their Camps, and made courses into the Enemies Countrey. Doubtlesse these are discourses which cannot well A be reconciled; for either that which he faith first, is falle, or that which followeth: But it is certaine, and knowne to all men, that the Carthagimians and Saragoffins abandoned their Campe, and railed the fiege retiring into their Towne, and that the Romans vied great dilligence to besiege Saragosse: Wherefore the probability is great, that his first Speech is falle, and that notwithftanding the Romans had gottenthe Victory befere Meffina, yet this Historiographer hath supposed that they were deseated by the Carthaginians. You shall often see Philin in this errour: and Fabin no leffe, as we have observed in many places. Wherefore to returne where we left, we will vie all possible indeauour to make the truth B of our History cleere and plaine, for those that defire to vnderstand it.

Marcas Taleris us Confuls.

10

After that the newes of Sicily were come to Rome of the Victory of us and offacti- Appins and his men, Marcus Valerius and Offacilius being newly chosen Consuls, they were sent thither with all their Roman power. The The order of Romans had foure Lagions in their Army of their owne Nation, besides the Romane the fuccours which they drew from their Allies. Enery Legion conthe number of fifted of foure thousand Foote, and three hundred Horse. By this meanes menina Le- at the Consuls comming, many Citties aswell of the Carthaginians, as of the Saragoffins, yeelded to the Romans. But when as Hieron faw that the Sicillians fainted, and that the Roman Army was great, and their C forces increased, he held it better to follow their party, then that of the Carthaginians. He therefore fends an Embassie to the Consuls, to treate of Peace and Friendship.

The Romans seeing the Carthaginians Maisters of all the Sea, fea? ring likewise that the passage for their Victuals might be interdicted, for that their Armies which had formerly past, had suffred great wants and necessities, they found the friendship of Hieron to be of great confe-An accord be- quence for them in this regard. Wherefore they treated a peace with twist Hieron the Saragossins vnder these following Conditions: First, that the and what it King should free the Roman Prisoners without Ransome, and moreouer D should pay a hundred Tallents of Siluer, and that hereafter the Saragoffins should terme themselues Allies and Friendsto the Romans. Afterwards Hieron, who of his owne free will put himselfe vnder their protection, succourd them with men and victuals when need required: So as afterwards he past the Remainder of his life with as great happinesse and fortune that euer Grecian had done. And in my Opinion this was an excellent man amongst others, who had beene alwayes happy in good Councell, aswell for the affaires of the Common-wealth, as for

his owne particular. When as the newes of this Treaty came to Rome, and that the people had confirmed it; they did not thinke it necessary hereafter to fend all their forces out of traly ! Wherefore conceiving that two Legions would suffice there with the alliance of King Hieron, they made their reckoning, that the Warre would be more casily mannaged, and that by this meanes the Army would be the better suppliod with all things necessary. But when as the Carthaginians faw that Hieron was become their Enemy, and that the Romans held the greatest part of Sicily, they knew well that they must have a greater power to A refift them; Wherefore they made a great leuy of Geneuois and Gaules Supplies which likewise of Spaniards to fortific them : And after they had caused them the Carthagito passe into Sicily, and seeing the Towne of Agragus very fit for the nims put into preparation of this Warre, and that it was a frontier place, and ftrong towards the Enemy, they put into it all the men they could draw toge. ther with flore of Munition, making vie of it against the Enemy as of a

uince ; in whose place Lucius Postbumus; and Quintus Emilius newly

chosen Consuls, come into Sicily with an Army: who after they had

B carefully confidered of the Carthaginians Designes, and their prepara-

The History of POLYBIVS.

Fort for the Warre. After the accord past by the Consuls with Hieron, they left the Pro-

Lib. I.

tions for Warre made in the Towne of Agragas, they were of opinion to mannage the affaires of Sicily with greater courage and resolution then the last Consuls had done: Wherefore they drew together all their Ar- Agrigar believe my, and besieged Agragas within eight Furlongs, and so kept in the ged by the Ro-Enemy. The time of Harnest was come, cuery man made his recko-ning that the Siege would be long; wherefore the Souldiers straying from their Campe, aducatured somewhat too farre in the gathering of Corne. When the Carthaginians faw their Enemies thus dispersed sunning here and there confidently throughout the Province, they conceived a great hope that they should one day be able to deseate them; wherupon C some of them assaulted the Campe with great fury, and the rest charged those which gathered Corne. But the diversity of the action faued the Scuerly of the Romans for that day, as it had done many times before; they having a wards their wards their custome to put those to death, which abandon the place which is appoin. Souldiers. ted them during the fight, or which flye from the Campe vpon any occasson whatsoeuer. By this meanes although the Carthaginians were farre greater in number, yet the Romans relisted them valliantly, who with great losse of their men made a greater slaughter of their Enemies. Finally, they not onely repulsed them from their Campe, but pursued them, killing part of them, and forcing the rest to retire in a thrung into the Towne. Moreouer that day was so dangerous to both Armies, as af-D terwards their feare was great, fo as the Carthaginians durst no more affault the Romans Campe inconsiderately, nor the Romans suffer their men to gather Corne rashly. But for that the Carthaginians made no more sallies, but did onely fight a farre off with casting of Darts and Stones, the Confuls deuided their Army in two: whereof the one was planted on the side of Bsculapine Temple, and the other on that fide which dosh looke directly vnto Herneleum . And that

which

which remained betwixt the two. Camps of either fide of the Towne. was rampered with a double ranke of Piles: Then they made a Trench betwixt them and the Towney to guard themselves from the Enemies fallies, and another without the Lampe, to hinder the freçoirs which the Neighbour-townes doe viually fend to the belieged. The places which were betwixt the Trenches and the Campo were well guarded? Moreover all the Allies vsed great dilligence to bring into the Towne of Erbele, victuals, and all things necessary for the Campo, lo as the

Souldiers lived at more case, for it was not farre off.

The Romans and the Carthaginians were five Moneths in this estate, A fortune showing herselfe no more favorable to the one then to the other: But what happened by their shooting and casting of Daris & But when Fifty thousand as hunger began to presse the Carthaginians, by reason of the great mention de multitude of Men which were coopt vp within the Towne, (they were great in truth about 66 they bear description of the great in truth about 66 they were in truth aboue fifty thousand Men) Haniball who was Generall of the Army, having no more hope, fends speedily to Carthage, to acquaint them with the Rampire and Pallifado made about the Towne, and to demaund succours, The Carthaginians moved at this Newes, railed an Army with a great number of Elephants, and fent them by Sea into Sicily to Hanne, who was another Captaine Generall for them: who after he had drawne together his whole Army, marcht to the Citty of B Heracleum, and at the first (after he had considered what was to be done) he tooke the Towne of Erbese by Treason, the which vntill that day had beene a Store-houle to the Romans. By this meanes he depriued them of Victuals and other things necessary for their Camper wherefore the Romans were no leffe befreged, then they that were befieged. The want of Victuals did often force them in a manner to refolue to raise the Siege: the which vindoubtedly they would have done. it Hieron King of Saragesse had not vsed great diligence to furnish the Army with Victuals and other necessaries.

But when that Hanno (after all these things) saw that the Romans C were much opprest with diseases, and want of all things (without doubt the plague was great in their Campe) and that his Mon were fresh, and resolute to fight, he drew together about fifty Elephants: And when as all the bands of Souldiers were affembled, he drawes his Army out of Heracleum, and causeth the Numidian Horse-men to march before, giving them charge to skirmish, and to doe all their indeauours , to draw the Romane Horse-men to fight, vpon whose charge they should turne head, and not cease to flye vntill they were returned vnto him. The Numidians failed not to execute the Command of their Captaine, nor to skirmish with one of the Camps to draw them to fight, Prefently the Romane Horse-men charge them, and pursue them indiscreetly: But the Numidians observing the Commandment flye backe to Hanno, and re-charging the Enemy againe, flew many, chafing the

rest vnto their Campe.

After these things the Carthaginians marched, and planted themfelues vpon Mount Tore, which was not tenne Furlongs from the E. nemies Campe. Continuing in this manner for the space of two Moneths.

Moneths, they attempted not any thing, but skirmified daily with their Arrowes and Daris. In the meane time Haniball trade fires often in the Night and fent men to Hanne, to aduertife him that the Army could endure hunger no longer, and that many of his men were retired to the Enethy for want of Victuals! Finally, Hannot moved by these reasons, pur his men in Baltell'; wherein the Confull vied no leffe dil-Abauell be. ligence in regard of their necessities. Either Army drew forth in Bat. wixthe contell into an equall place? Then they came to combare, whereas they thagintant and charged one another with great fury. The Battell was long and cruell: Romans.

Lib. I.

A Finally, the Romans brake the Vanguard, and forced them to fly among the Elephants : who being terrified, opened the rankes of the Carthagimans. The Captaines of Hundreds following the Route of the Elephants, forced the Energies to turne head. By this meanes the Carthaginians having hoft the Battell, and part of them flaine, the rest retired to Heracleum; and the Romans after the taking of most of the Blephants. The Carthagia and all the Baggage of the Carthaginians, retired to their Campe. Bur for that they were negligent to keepe a good Guard the night following, aswell for the great toy which men voully have for their good fortune, as for the toyle of the Battell paft : Haniball being frustrate of all

B hope, thought this a fit and convenient time to fine himselfe and his The Retreate Army, for the reason about mentioned. Wherefore he drew all his from Agragat. forces out of Agragas, and passed thorough the Enemies Trenches, filling them with straw : By this meanes he eleaped without any losse, and without their privity.

At the breake of day, when as the Remans were advertised of this Retreat, they followed the Enemy a little, but returning foone to take the Towne, they gave an affault voto the Gates, where they found no refistance. The whole Army entred and spoyled : It was a rich Towne, where as the Souldiers tooke many Slaues, and got great Wealth. C When as the newes came to Rome of the taking of Agragus, after the by the Komani.

defeate of the Carthaginians, the Romans lifted up their Heads, and beganne to conceiue greater Designes. They did no longer insist vpon the reasons for the which they were first mooued; neither were they fatisfied , for that they had presented the Mamertins and Melling or to have much weakned the Carthaginians in Stilly: But hoping for greater Matters, they defired to chase them away wholly, which done they had a great Hope and opinion to inlarge their Empire much. They were therefore very attention to this bufineffe, and had no thoughts but of Sicily : knowing well that they were vindoubtedly the stronger at

After the taking then of Agragas, Lucius Valerius, and Titus Ochacilius being chosen Consulls they were sent into sicily with agreet Army. Thus the Warre was in a manner equall, for that the Carthaginians were Maisters of the Sea without contradiction, whereof this is the reason; for after the taking of Agragas, most of the Townes which were in the heart of Sicily, yeelded to the Romans, fearing their Army at Land : But when as the Carthaginians Army by Sea was artiued, many more Sea-townes yeelded for feare to their Obedience.

fered the Romans by the Numidians.

A skirmish of

Thus their forces were equall. Many times also the Sea coasts of Italy were spoyled by the courses of their Army at Sea, the which Affricke did not fuffer. The Romans confidering carefully of these things, refolued to fight with their Enemics by See.

This is the thing which hath moved and most to Write this present Warre more at large, to the end the Readenmay not be ignorant of this beginning, that is to lay, in what manner and for what causes, and in what time, the people of Rome were induced to put an Army to Sea, and to fight with their Enemy. Seeing then that there was no probabillity that the Warre should be otherwise, ended, the Romans A speedily made sixe score Vestels for the Sea, whereof a Hundred were Quinqueremes or of five bankes, and the reft were Triremes. It is true that the Quinqueremes were more difficult to make, for that they had never vsed any such Vessels in Italy until that time. Wherein the excellency and great courage of the Romans is worthy of admiration, confidering they had neget beene inclined to actions by Sea, neyther had they ever thought of it vntill that day; yet they adventured it with fuch courage and resolution, as they had sooner sought with the Carthaginians, then made triall of the dangers of the Sea. Although the others held at that time, in that circuite of the World the princi- B pallity and command of the Sea, as formerly gotten by their Predecoflours, and left it vnto them as an hereditary right: which is a fingular testimony of the things which we have Written, of the Romans boldnesse and courage. Beleeue me, when they first aducatured to passe their Army to Messing were only a Hundred ships of War, and moreover they nad not one Galley nor one Briggandine. It is true when they undertooke the Voyage of Sicily with an Army, they made vse of the Quinqueremes and Triremes of the Tarrentines, Locreins, and Neapolitans.

At that time many Carthaginian Ships scoured the Seas about Sicily, C whereof a Quinquereme straying farre from the rest, was broken by Cafualty, and afterwards taken by the Romans, which afterwards ferued them for a patterne to make the like, so as all their ships were made in that manner. Wherefore is this had not hapned, they would have found themselves much troubled in their enterprise. Whilest these were a making, they did practife a number of men to the Oare after this manner. They did fet bankes in order upon the Sand, upon the which the men that were to Rowe were placed, being attentiue to the voice of the Patron or Gouernour, who was in the middest of them, where as they did learne to ftretch foorth, and pull backe their armes D altogether, and did draw their Oares in the Sand; finally they beganne and ended altogether according to the Patrons whiftle. By this meanes having learned the Arte to Rowe, and their ships finished, they put to Sea, and within few dayes after made a Tryall. And when as the Confull Cornelius, lately appointed Commaunder of the Sca Army, had given charge to the Sea Captaines, to draw vnto the Port affoone as the Vessels should be ready, he went directly to Messels with seauenteene ships, and lest the rest upon the Italian shore, whereas ha-

Sixe Score Sea made spec-dily by the Ro-

The Romans

inuention to invre their

men to the

Oare.

The History of POLYBIVS.

Lib. I.

uing made prouision of things necessary for the equipage of his ships, he failes upon necessity directly to Lipparo fooner then was needfull. At that time Haniball Commaunder of the Carthaginians, kept his Sea Army at Palermo, who being adversifed of the Confuls comming, fent one Boodes a Senator of Carthage, with twenty ships to draw into that Quarter: Who arriving by night, found the Roman ships, and befieged them in the Port, lo as at the breake of day, the multitude got

But Gneius Cornelius thus vnfortunately sufprised, could finde no o- Cettaine of the A ther meanes but to yeild himselfe vnto the Enemy. The Carthaginians Roman thips after this prife returned to Haniball; soone after this apparent and new with their comdefeate of Cornelius, Haniball (to whom Fortune was at that time gra-prifed by a Carcious) receiued as greata losse. He had intelligence that the Romanes that the Romanes the Romanes that the Romanes that the Romanes the Romanes the Romanes the Romanes that the Romanes the Ro Army at Sea, which coasted about Italy, was not farre from Sicily. full. Wherefore defiring wonderfully to see their number, and their order, and the manner of the trimming of their ships, he takes fifty Vessells and failes into Italy. But for that he had a contrary VVind, the which was fauourable to the Romanes by the reason of the Coast of Italy, he was fauourable to the Romanes by the reason of the Coast of Italy, ne fell vnaduifedly into their Army, which was in order and in Battell, Hanibal ships, B where he was fuddainly charged, foas he loft in a manner all his ships, for want of a and faued himselse with very sew contrary to his Hope, and the opini. good Wind. on of all the VVorld.

The Romanes after this defeate, approached neerer vnto Sicily, and being aductifed by the Prisoners of the Confuls over-throw, they sent speedily to Caius Duellius Consull. having at that time the charge of the Army by Land: Where having attended some space, and received newes that the Enemies Army at Sea was not farre off, they all prepared to battell. They planted vpon every one of their ships, (for that they were ill built and heavy,) a kind of Engine, which was afterward called a Rauen; behold the falhion of this Engine. They did unned by the Certa Pillar or Mast of source fathome long, and nine inches thicke vp. Roman called pon the Prowe, the which had also a pulley on the top, and one the a Rauen. fide was made an affent of boards all along, the which was foure foot broade and foure fathome long; the passage was turning about the pillar, in the two first fathomes of the affent : About the which were barres of eyther fide to the height of a mans knee, and they had fet at the end of it an Iron like vato a pestell, which went vp streight, the which had on the top of it a King, so as altogether seemed as an Engine wherewith they pound things. To this Ring was fastned a cord, by meanes whereof at the encounter of the ships, they fastned the Rauens by the pulley, and let them fall vpon their Enemies ships. Some-D times at the Prowe, sometimes on the side in turning, when as they could not affaile them by the flanke; and after that the Rauens were fastned within the bands of the ships, and that the Vessels were grap. led and fast, if they found themselves vpon the side, they entred it of all fides: And if it were by the Prowe, they marcht by the bridge two and two to the Combate, whereof the first couered their bodies with their Targets, and they which followed defended the flinkes,

Lib. r.

and held their Targets eyen with the bars. When as this Equipage at Sea was ready, they attended a connenient time for the battell. When as Cains Duelins had beene suddainly aduertised, of the mis-fortune of the Commaunder at Sea, he left that at Land to the Tribunes of the men of Warre, and makes hast to that at Sea. And being aduertifed that the Carthaginians spoyl'd the Country of Myles, hee drew thither with his whole Army : But when the Enemy was certayne of his comming, they were in great hope, thinking the Romanes vnderstood not any thing in Sea-fights. Wherefore they drew out to Sea, with an Equipage of fixe score and ten Vessels, thinking this War not A worthy of any order of battell, as if they had gone to a certaine booty. Whereof this Hanibal who (as wee fayd) retyred his Army by night, and past ouer the Enemies Trenches,) was Commaunder. He had a Vessell of season bankes which did sometimes belong to Fyrrhus King of the Epirotes.

When as the two Armies beganne to approach, and that their Engines called Rauens were discouered, the Carthaginians were a time in suspence for the nouelty. Finally whatsoeuer it were, without any further reckoning they charge with greatfury. The ships loyn'd and grapled, fo as the Romane fouldiers by meanes of their Engines called B Rauens, entred their enemies ships, where there was a great slaughter made of the Carthaginians. The rest being amazed at this kind of Engines, yeilded : you would have fayd it had beene a battell at Land, where the danger is not leffe. The thirty Veffells of the Carthaginians, which gaue the first Charge were taken, among the which was that of the Captayno, which we have fayd had belonged vnto King Pyrrhus. Haniball whole Fortune was otherwise then he expected, saued himselfe in a little Skiffe : The rest of the Carrbaginian Army came with great fury agaynft their Enemies, as the former had done; but when they were aduertised that their first ships had beene taken by the C meanes of the Engines, they did not charge in Front, thinking to a uoy de them, but came vpon their flanke, trufting to the lightneffe of their Veffels, thinking by this meanes to anoyde the violence of their Engines; but they were made in fuch fort as of what fide focuer the El nemy approached, they could eafily grapple with them. Whereford the Carthaginians amazed with the strangenesse of these Engines, in the end fled, after the loffe of fifty of their fhips.

A battel at Sea

Carthaginians

and Komans.

16

by affault.

The Romans being now become mafters of the Sea, contrary vnto their Hope, sayl'd about the Sea towards Segeffane, and raysed the fiege which lay before the Towne. Then parting from thence, they D tooke the Towne of Macelle by affault. After this battell at Sea. when as Amilear (being then Captayne Generall in Sicily of the Army by Land) was advertised, remayning at Panorme, that there was a great quarrell betwixt the Romanes and their Allies, touching the prowesse and glory of the Combate, and that the Allies after they A dereate of four chouland had beene beaten, were retired apart betwixt Prope and Termine, hee nien, allied to marcht with all speed to the Allies Campe, and slew foure thousand by surprize. Haniball after all these Fortunes, retyred to Carthage,

with those few ships which he had remaining at the battell. Within few dayes after he was dispatcht to goe with an Army into Sardinia. with some excellent Sea Captaines, but he was soone inclosed in a Port by the Romans, and in a manner loft his whole Army: And as he had escaped the Enemy, he was suddainly taken by the Carthaginians which had faued themselues, and was crucified. Moreouer the Ro-Hamiballetucimans imployed all their care to feize vpon Sardinia, being now Ma-fied. sters of the Sea.

The yeare following there was not any thing done worthy of Me-A mory in Sicily by the Roman Army. Cains Sulpicius, and Aulus Rutilius were afterwards made Confuls, and fent to Palermo, for that the Carthaginians forces wintred there. And after the Romans had paft, they put themselues in battell before the Towne : But the Garthagini. ans being within it, presented northemselves to battell. The which Hippane and the Romans feeing, they left Palermo, and went to Hippane, the Millitate taken which soone after they tooke by assault: The Towne of Aysistrate with many or the Consider they tooke by assault and Consider they tooked was taken likewise by the Confuls, having held out sometime by reason of the scituation of the place. And as they had besieged the Citty of the Camerins, which had lately abandoned the Romans, it was ta-B ken by force by the meanes of their Batteries and breaches: Afterwards Acra was carried by affault with many other Townes of the Car-

thaginians; Lippare was also belieged. The yeare following, the Seaarmy of the Romans lay in the Hauen of the Tindaretins under the charge of Aulus Rutilius, who feeing the Carthaginian Army necre the thora, Aulus Rutilius he fent word vnto his thips to make hafte to follow him. In the means time he put to Sea before the rest, only with ten Vessels. But when as the Carthaginians faw that fome did but imbarque, others began to fer faile, and the first were farre from their Fleet, and neere voto them , they turned with incredible swiftnesse, and compast them in, so as most part \
C of them were sunke, and the Consuls ship had like to have fallen into the Carthaginians hands, with all that were within it: He hardly clea.

ped by the force of his Oares and lightneffe. In the meane time the reft of the Romane Army, which had gotten into the open fea, encountred the Enemy, whereof ten thips were a ken, and eight lunke, and the rest recovered the Islands called Lipperees. But howfocuer either of them parted from this Combate with an Opinion to have gotten the Victory : Wherefore they were more eager to continue the War by Sea, and were more attentibe to Marrine affaires. As for their Armies at Land, during this time, they did no-

D thing worthy of Note, bulying themselues about small things, and of little efteeme. But the Summer following having gluen order for their affaires, (as we have faid) they prepared to Warre. In regard of the Romans, they made their affembly at Meffins, to the number The Romans of three hundred and thirty Vessels armed; and saying from thence The Promonleaving Sicily on the right hand, and paffing the Promontory of Pa. tory of Pachileauing Sicily on the right hand, and paning the Frontiers of the Gribal, they fayled to Echnomen, whereas the Army by Land at the Gribal tended them. The Carthaginians in like manner put to Sea, with minns army of three hundred and fifty Sayle armed, and stayed at Lilybeum, and three hundred and fifty sayle.

The Romans from thence went to Heracleum, and so to Minoe. intention was to passe into Affricke, and there to make their chiefe War, to the end the Carthaginians should not onely run the hazard of the War of Sixily, but also have it at their owne Houses. other fide the Carthaginians confidering how eafily their descent would be into Lybia, and what little defence the Countrey-men would make when they should be once entred, they defired to fight presently with the Romans, and by that meanes to hinder the descent into Affricke. Wherefore the one being resolved to defend themselves, and the other to affaile them, confidering the obstinacy of either party, there was like- A ly-hood of an vindoubted battell. When as the Romans had given order for all things necessary for the equipage of their Sea-army, and to make their descent into Affricke, they made choice of the ablest men in all their Army at Land, and imbark'd them, and then deuided their Army into foure, whereof either had two Names. The first was called the first Battalion, and the first Army: So were the rest according to their order, but the fourth and the third were called Triari, as in an Army at Land. Al this Army at Sea amounted to aboue 140000, men. Euery Vessell had three hundred Rowers, and fixe score Leginaries.

An Army of 140000 Romans and more Carehagipians.

In regard of the Carthaginians, they were furnished onely with men B accustomed with Sea-fights, being in number about 150000 men, according to the order of their Vessels. Wherefore they that were present and faw the great danger, and power of the two Armies, the great charges, the multitude of combatants, and of thips, they did not only wonder, but they also who heard speake of it. The Komans considering that upon necessity they must goe vpon the side, and that their Enemies sayl'd more lightly, they imployed all their Art to make their battell strong and inuincible. For the effecting whereof they fet two Veffels in front of fixe Bankes in equall distance, in the which were Marcus Attilius, and Lucius Manlins. After which march'd the first and second Battalion of C either fide, their ships following one another, fo as the distance of the two Battalions did still inlarge themselues. The Rems of their ships logked ontward. By this meanes the Battalions drawne thus inlength, made the two parts of a Triangle, to the which they added the third Battalion in the same fashion, as a foundation, so as the three Battalions made a perfect figure of a Triangle. After the third Battalion the fhips which carried the Horles, were ordered one after another, feruing as a Rampier to the third Battalion.

The Triary followed after in their order, making the fourth Battalion, every Vessell being ordered in such sort, as they past the precedent D on either fide. All the Romane Army was thus ordered, whereof the first part, that is to say, the two sides of the point of the Triangle, were empty in the midft; but the fides following after the foundation were better supplied. By this means their Army was firme and hard to breake. In the meanetime the Commanders of the Carthaginians drew their Souldiers together, and put courage into them, letting them understand, that if they wone the battell, there would be no more War but in Sicily: But if the Romans had the Victory, they must expect not to

fight for Sicily, but for their owne Countrey, their Houses and their

After this exhortation, they make them imbarque; the which they did resolutely, and prepared to fight, thinking of the time to come, according to the discourse of their Captaines : Who seeing the order of the Roman Army, deuided theirs likewife into foure; whereof three gayning the Sea, making the Right-wing longer, stayed as if they would inviron their Enemies, against whom they turne their beake-heads; and they make the Fort to looke towards the Land, by a circuite of the Left A wing of the whole Army. Hanne and Amilear were Commaunders of the Carthaginians, Hanne (who was defeated at the battell of Agrazas) had the leading of the Right wing, with the lightest Vessels, and Amilear of the Left. This is he who as we have fayd, fought at Sea neere vinto Tyndaris, who hazarding then the middest of his Army, vsed this

kind of Stratagem of War for the Combate.

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The Romans feeing at the first charge, that the Battalion of the Carthaginians was weake, forc'd resolutely thorough them: But the Carthaginians observing the Commaundment of Amilear, left the place presently, making shew to flye, to the end the Roman Army should se-B parate it felfe, whom the Romans followed with too great heate: And therefore the first and second Battalion sayl'd with too great Courage after the Enemy, but the third and fourth were staved, drawing after them the ships that were laden with Horses; with whom the Triari remained for their Guard. When as the two first seemed to be tarte A Battell at from the others, the Carthaginian, alres a figne given them by amil- Sea betwice car, as he had instructed them, thrining the Prow luddainly, they all the Roman affault the Roman Veffels which followed them.

The Combat was cruell, It is true, the Carthaginians had a great' advantage by their lightnesse, and their pollicy inturning . But when as they came to fight, and that the Armies affronted one another, the C Romans had no leffe hope then the Carthaginians, for the Force and Prowesse of their men, and by the staying of their Ships, and casting of their Engines, and finally by the Combate of the two Commaunders and the hazard they were in their fight.

This was the estate of the Battell : Presently after Hanno, who as we have fayd had the charge of the Right wing, and did not budge before the first charge was given, feeing the Battell begun with the Romans, went to Sea and charged the Triary, where there was a great fight, the which was long in suspence. In the meane time the fourth Battalion of the Carthaginians, which continued need the flore, turning the Prow vponthe Enemy, affaulted the Battalion in D front, by the which the ships which carried the Horses were cowed; who fuddainly flips the Ropes and fought with great fury Porty 213

There they faw three parts of the Battelly and three Combats at Sea at one instant, in three divers places, and farre remote. The Compater was equall, for that the Ships of cyther fide tweete of the like number. Without doubt every man performed History Duty in fighting, lo as all was indifferent and equall. Finally,

A Remonby the carthaginie Captaines to the Souldiers of their Army.

Lib. I.

Amilcar vane quished.

Amilear was defeated, and forced to flye with his Squadron. And Lucius Manlius towed away the ships that were taken. In the meane time Attilius feeing the Combate of the Triary, and of the ships wherein the Horses were, came presently to succour them with the Vessels of the second Battalion, which were yet whole and entire: But when as the Triary who had beene long and violently charged by Hanno, fo as they were in great danger, faw the Consull come, they refumed courage, and recharged him resolutely : And then the Carthaginians being much discontented to have an Enemy in front and behinde, and to be inuested by succours contrary to their expectation, gained A the open Sea, relying vpon the lightnesse of their Vessels, and saued themselues by flight. And Lucius Manlius in the meane time seeing the third Battalion prest necre the shore by the left wing of the Carthaginians, and Marcus Attilius in like manner, leaving the ships with the Horses and the Triary in safety, resolved both together to succour those that were in danger: For they werein a manner besieged, and almost at the last gaspe, and had beene defeated, if the Carthaginians had not feared to loyne with them by reason of their Engines or Rauensa Neither did they presse vpon them, but onely to chale them to the fhore. Finally, the Carthaginians were fuddainly compast in by the B Confuls, whereof fifty of their thips were taken with the men. Some A Victory of being driuen vnto the shore faued themselues. Behold the threeseuerall Combats which the Romans and Carthaginians had in one day: Yet the Romans in the end had the Victory of the whole Battell. In the which 24 of their ships were broken and about thirty of the Carthagini. ans. There was not one Roman Vessell taken whole by the Carthaginians with the men. But the Romans tooke three score and source of the Carthaginians with all the men. Soone after this battell, the Romans parted with an intent to fayle directly into Lybia, after they had made prouision of Victuals, and all other munition, ioyning to their Army the ships taken, being well repaired.

The Cape of

thaotaians.

There is a place in Affricke which they call the Cape of Mercure, running farre into the Sea, and is directly against Sicily, where the Remans arriving and receiving their Veffels, repaired all: Then paffing this strong, they sayled vato the Citty of Alpis, where they put their Army in Battell neere vnto the Towne, and retired their thips, rampering them with Ditches and Pallifadoes, refoluting to befregeit, for that they which held it would not yould to the Romans. It is true that the Carthaginians who a little before had escaped from the Battell at sea, and recoursed Carthage by flight, furnished the most necessary places be- D longing to their Citty, with Horse and Foor, and with necessary shipping, supposing that the Roman Army after the Victory would come directly vnto them. But when they were aduertifed of their descent, and of the fiege of Afri, they leuied men, and regarding no more the landing of the Romans, but having an eye aswell to forreigne affaires as to their owne Countrey, they omitted nothing of that which was necessary for the Guard of the Citty and Province. Hill In the meane

time the Confuls after they had taken with by affault, and

put a Garrison into it, and in the Country, and had fent voto Rome to advertise the Senate of their successe, to the end they might consider what was afterwards to be done, they drew the whole Army into the Carthaginians Country, where they found no Resistance, spoyling Courses made and letting fire on their goodly and glorious buildings, fo as they carrie in the Conthaed away a booty of all forts of Beafts, with about twenty thouland girent Coun. Prisoners, which were Embarked.

21

In the meane time they received newes from Rome, by the which the Senate fent them word, that one of the Confuls should remaying A in Affricke, with sufficient forces, and that the other should Returne with the ships. The pleasure of the Senate being knowne; Marcus Attilius Regulus Stayed in Affricke with forty thips, fifteene thouland foote, and fine hundred Horse, and Marcus Manlius fet sayle with the rest of the ships and Army, having the Prisoners with him; and arrived first in Sicily, and then at Rome without any mischance. But' the Carthaginians fore-feeing that the Romans War would be long they first made two Generall Captaynes in their Army, which were Afdru- Afdruball, 20. ball the lonne of Hanno, and Boftar : Moreouer they fent for Amilear, car Comman who was in Heracleum, who Embarking profently with fine thousand ders of the B toote, and five hundred Horfe, came to Carthage, and was conflitue Carthaginians ted the third Cartage of the Army, ted the third Gaptayne of the Army, taking the Conduct of the War with Afdruball and Boftar.

When as these Captaynes had held a Councell, concerning the Affayres of the War, they were of opinion that it was necessary to relieue the Prouince, and not to indure to grace a pillage and spoyle of the Country. Murcus Atoilius some few dayes before marching in: to the Country, rozed the weaker Caftles, and belieged the ftronger. But when he was come to the Citty of dis which was worthy of a flege, he plants himselfe before it, and indeauours to force it. The C Carrhaginian . " retrifed hereof made haft to fuccour it , defiring to Raife the fiege. And therefore they march with all their power again. the Remans. Recovering a little Hill to the prejudice of their Bnemics. and very commodious for themselves : Whereon planting their Camp. they hoped for an absolute Victory, by the meaner of their Horse and Elophants. Leaning therefore the playne, they drew halo high and vneuen places, as if they would adderrife the Enemy what they had to doe, the which vidoubtedly they effected. I For when the Romanics had confidered the little vie of Blephants, for they were in a Mountal nous and Hilly Country, in the which the Enemies had feeled their D chiefe hope, as of great effect and terrible, they aduled not to attend their Descent into the playne: Wherefore ving the opportunity of the time, they thut them vp at the breake of day in the Mountayne of all

10 By this meanes their Cauallety and their Elephants were altogether Maprofitable: Their adventurers onely did their duties in fighting on the top; i and had already forced the Roman Leginaries to gitte backe a little? when as fuddainly the reft which had gayned the top of the Mountayas thowed themselves. The Garshaginians seeing themselves inclosed of

all fides abandoned their Fort, and fled into the deferts of the Mountaines. The Elephants and Horses recovered the Playne, and saued themselves without danger. The Romans made some little pursuite after the footemen, then they fpoyled the Campe, and ouer-ran the whole Country, wasting all, and ruining the Towne.

the Romans by affault.

22

Some few dayes after they belieged Tunes, which they tooke by af-Yunes taken by fault where they planted their Campe for that the place feemed conucnient vnto them to mannage the Warre, being a frontier to Carthage and to the whole Prounce. The Carthaginians having a little before beene defeated at Sea and now by Land, not by the cowardize of their A Souldiers, but by the basenesse of the Commanders, they fell into a miferable and desperate estate: For after their last descate and slight by the Romans, a great Troupe of Numidians, gaping after spoyle, fell vpon them, doing them in a manner as great harme as the Romans. It is a wandering and vagabone Nation and great theeues', carrying away all they finde.

great robbers.

Embaffadours

thaginians to

Marcus Atti-

The Carthaginians terrified by the Numidians abandoned the Country, and retired to Carthage, where they suffered much, aswell by famine, as for their owne cowardize, and moreouer the multitude being great they feared a long fiege: And although that Marcus Attil- B line was perfwaded that the Carthaginians were wonderfully weakned, aswell by Land as Sea, being in hope that the City would be in short time delivered ynto him: yet fearing that the new Confull, whom they expected some in Affricke, would reape the honour of his prowesse and valour, he began to treate of a peace with them, whereunto they willingly gave core. Wherefore they fent the chiefe of their City in Embassic to the Consult, to make this treaty. But when as they were arrived they were so farre from agreeing, as they could hardly without choller heare the vareafonable things that were enjoyed them. Make your account that Marcus Attilius did hope that his offer would bee C accepted as a thing of grace for that he had prevayled in all his affaires: The Carthaginians on the other fide, thought that when as fortune should reduce them to extremity, the Consult could not make them a more bitter answere. Matter to by the en

Their Embassadours therefore returned not onely withour any agreement, but desetting wonderfully the Confuls answere, as to hard and proud. The which being heard by the Senate of the Carthaginians, they entered into fo, great an indignation upon the Confuls demaund, and selumed fuch courage, that although formerly they were out of hope, yet then they resolved to attend all extremities, and rather to trye their D fortune, and to attend the time, then to fuffer for ignominious a thing and vnworthy of their valour. It happened as the same time, that some one of those which had beene fent into Greece in the beginning of the warre to Leuic Men, returned and brought with them a good number of Souldiers: among the which there was one Xautippus a Lacedemonian, a man of ludgement, and practifed in the warrest who after that hee had heard a relation of the defeat of the Carthaginians, and the manner, the place, and that what time it happened : having allo confidered the equipage of

lephants

the Carthaginians, with the number of their Horse and Elephants, he returned fuddainly to his Companions, faying, that the ignorance of the Captaines, not the Romans, had defeated the Carthagintans. This speech ran presently thoroughout the whole Citty, and came vato the

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The Carthaginians caused him to be called, and resolved to vie his Councell, who in their presence deliuered plainly the Reasons of his speech, and the cause of their Defeate; and if they would follow his Councell, and hereafter keepe the Plaines, leauing the hilly Coun-A try, and there plant their battell, hee would teach them how their Army should be out of danger, and their Enemies Vanquished. The Captaines mooued with the words of Xantippus, presently Refigned vnto him the Conduct of all this Warre, and now there ranne a bruite vnto him the Conduct or all this yvarre, and now there rause a brunce throughout the whole Campe of Xantippus speech, with great Hope of the Caribeand Ioy. But after that all the Companies of the Army were drawne ginians Army, into the field, and that hee had put them in order, there was so great given to xana difference betwirt his and that of the other Captaines, who vnder- upper. flood not the Art of Warre, that presently the common cry deman. ded nothing but to fight, so much they were assured vnder the leading

R of Xantippus. This done, the Carthaginian Captaines seeing the courage of their Men, exhorted them a little according to the opportunity of the time, and within few dayes after they marched to find out the Enemy. There were in the Carthaginians Army aboue twelve theuland foote, foure thousand Horse, and neere a hundred Elephants. When as Marene Attilius heard of the comming of the Enemy, and that the Carthaginians kept their Horses vpon an euen Country, camping contrary vito their custome on the plaines, hee wondred as at a new accident : Yet hee marcht directly to them defiring battell, and fodged within twelve hundred paces of their Campe. Three dayes after the Carebaginian Captaines held a Councell what was to be done: But the multitude defring the combate, turned towards Xantippus, calling him by his name, with a countenance feeming to be willing and ready to vadergo

all dangers, and intreated him to lead them speedily vnto the battell. When as the Carthaginian Captaines faw their Men thus resolute, and desirous to fight, and that Xantippus fayd the time was fitting and conuenient, they suffred them to prepare to battell, and gaue him leane to do all at his pleasure: Who after he had taken charge of the Captaines, hee orders the battell, before the whole Army hee fets the The order of Elephants one after another. After which hee caufeth a Legion of Car- the bandl by thaginians to march, with some distance, and placeth the strangers Xantipput, D vpon the Wings. Then he ordereth the brauest among his foote, to

fight of eyther fide betwixt the Wings of the Horse men. The Romans seeing the Carthaginians in battell, stayed not to doe the like; yet fearing the Violence of the Elephants, they fet in Front the most active of their men , re-inforcing their Reare with many Enfignes, and dividing their Horic men upon the Wings. Their Ordonance was lesse then formerly, but more close, for feare least the E-

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lephants should open them. But as the Romans had set a good order against the Elephants, so they had neglected to keepe themselves from inclosing. For as the Carthaginians had a greater number of Horse, so the close Ordonance, gaue them an easie meanes to breake and seperate

Battell giuen etrians.

The two Armies being in battell, either attending who should first by the Romans Charge; Suddainly Xantippus causeth the Elephants to beginne the Charge, and breake the Enemies rankes, and that the Horle-men of both Wings should withall charge suriously. The Remanes cause their Trumpets to found after the manner of the Country, and charge where A the Enemies forces were greatest. It is true that the Roman Horse-men terrified with the multitude of their Enemies, abandoned the two Wings: And the Foote-men of the left Wing waving from the Fury of the Elephants, and making no account of the forreigne Souldiers, charged the right Wing of the Carthaginians with great fury, and put it to flight, pursuing them vnto their Fort. On the other fide, they which indured the charge of the Elephants, were broken and trodden vnder their feete by heapes. It is true that the whole Ordnance continued for a time in battell, for that their supplies beeing in the Reare were very close. But after that the Romane Legions, fet in the Reare- B ward, and compassed in of all sides by the Carthaginian Horse-men, were forced to make refiftance there, and that they (who as wee haue fayd) wereappointed to make head against the Elephants, were by them repulled into the thickest of the enemies Battalion, where they were defeated and flaine, then the Romans beeing affaulted on all fides. some were beaten downe and slaine by the intollerable fury of the Elephants, and others by the Horse-men, in the same place where they had their first posture given them, some few of them seeing no more hope, fought their fafety by flight, of which (confidering that the Country was very plaine) some were defeated by the Elephants, and C the rest by the Horse-men : And some sying with Marcus Assilius, were taken to the number of five hundred.

us taken with 500.Romans.

> The Carthaginians lost that day but five hundred Aduenturers strangers, whom the left Wing of the Romanes had defeated: But of all the Romane Army there escaped but two thousand with their Ensignes, who (as we have fayd) purfued a troupe of enemies into their Fort. All the rest were cut in pieces . except Martur Attilius and a few Men which fled with him; in regard of these Enfignes which beyond all hope efcaped, they came vnto Afpis. Finally the Carthaginians after the spoile of the Deed retired to Carthine with the Consull and other D Priloners, making great joy and tryumph.

If we shall duely consider this, we shall finde many things profitable aremonstrance for the conduct of Man: First, Marcus Attilius serues for a faire example to all the World, that it is a great folly and indifferetion, to put his Hope in Forume, vades the colour of good fuccesse and enterprises brought to an end according to our defire: Who of late after fo many tryumphant Victories, had not any compassion of the Carthaginians, being reduced to extremity, refuling to grant them peace, which they

craued with fo much humility, hath beene presently after reduced to that constraint, as to make the like request.

Moreover that which Euripides hath formerly spoken so well, that the good Councell of one man alone doth vanquish a great Army, hath beene this day verified by that which hath happened. In truth one man alone, and the Councell of one man, hath vanquished and defeated an Army, formerly invincible; raising and restoring a Towne lost, and the hearts of so many desolate men. Beleeue mee, I haue thought good to relate these actions for the benefit and instruction of the Readers of A these Commentaries

For as there are two meanes easily to correct and amend our errours, whereof the one is his owne Misfortune, and the other the example of another mans Miseries; there is no doubt but the first hath greater efficacy, but it is not without the losse and prejudice of him to whom it happens: And although the second be not of so great force, yet it is the better for that they are out of danger, and therefore no man imbraceth the first meanes willingly, for that they cannot helpe it without their owne trouble and loffe. As for the second, every man followes it willingly; For wee may fee by him (without any hazard B or losse) what wee ought to follow for the best.

Wherefore if wee confider it well, we shall finde that experience (by the remembrance of another mans faults) feemes to be a very good doctrine of a true life: Without doubt it is that alone which makes the good Iudges of reason without any losse: But wee have discourfed fufficiently of this Subject.

The Carthaginians having ended their affaires happily, and to their content, they reloyced in many forts, both in gluing thankes vnto God; and sacrificing after their manner, or in vsing amongst themfelues a mutuall beneuolence and courtesse.

Soone after that Xantippus had raised the hearts of the Carthaginians, Xanippus rod hee returned into his Countrey, as a man well aduised: For the Prow. turnes into his esse and Valour of men, and their Vertues, are many times the cause of Countrey. greatenuy and detractions. Against the which Cittizens that are well allied, and have many Friends, make easie resistance : But strangers Which have not that support, are easily ruined and defeated. They fay hee went away for fome other reason, which wee will deliuer when

After that beyond all hope the Romans had received News of the defeate of their Army in Affricke, and the taking of the Con- Apinbesieged D full : And that the remainder of their men was besieged in Apis, by the carthaconsulting presently of the safety of those which were remaining in smians. Affricke, they appointed an Army to bee raifed to goe thither with

In the meane time the Carthagaginians belieged Afpis, strining to force it, with hope soone to have this remainder of the Battell .: But the Vertue and Courage of the Romans which defended it, was to great, as all the Enemies attempts could not preuaile. Wherefore being out of hope to enter it, they raif'd the Siege. Soone after

Newes came that the Romans prepared an Army at Sea to fend into

Affricke : For the which the Carthaginians being mooued, they v-

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fed all dilligence to repaire their old Vessels and to make new. Presently after they laboured to stand vpon their guard, and to hinder the defcent of the Romans into Affricke, with two hundred Veffels armed and well furnished: But when as the preparation of three hundred and fifty Roman Veffels was ready, they fent Marcus Emilius and Servius Fuluiwith the whole Army into Affricke in the beginning of the Spring. When as the Confuls had fet fayle, to draw first into Sicily, and from thence into Affricke, they were not farre from the Cape of Mercure, A but they presently discoucred the Carthaginian Army: the which (as One hundred wee haue faid) watched their comming at the passage, and charged and fourteene /them fuddainly with great fury, taking a hundred and foureteene Vesfels armed : failing from thence to Afpis, they retired their Men, and after they had stayed some time in Affricke, they returned

But when they had paft the Sea betwixt Affricke and Sicily with a prosperous Winde, and had anchored neere vnto the Camarins Towne, it is nor possible to deliuer the greatnesse of the torment and misery that befell them. Hardly could they preserve soure score Vessels whole B of foure hundred three score and foure which were in their Army. All the rest (either sunke in the Sea, or split against the Rocks) fill'd all the

mane thirs shore with wracks, or dead Bodies. Tempest.

26

Carthaeinians

tak o by the

A great num

ber of the Ru-

Romans.

It is not in the memory of man of any fuch thipwracke by a tempest. This miserable misfortune happened not ensually and by chance, but by the ouerweening of the Confuls, confidering that the Marriners had let them vnder fand, that they must avoid the Coasts shoue Sicily, for that it was not to be approached, being bad and difficult to fayle in, especially at that season, for they sayled betwirt the Starres of Orion and the Dog flarre. Whatfocuer it were the Confule dildaining the C admonition of the Marriners, made hast with a glorious confidence of their late Victory, to surprize some Townes a long that shore : where as they fell into extreame calamity under the shaddow of a prore hope. Then they knew their folly, carrying the repentance of their prefumption. Defacing by this wracke the things which formerly they had done well.

And although that in all things the Romans relye vpon their forces, and thinke whatfoeuer they refolue, must be put in execution, holding nothing impossible when they baue once vidertakenit, and that this obstinacy doth many times turne to good. Yet sometimes they fall in- D to great and apparent errours, especially in Sea matters. It is true that in Battelsat Land fighting with men, it is not fo ftrange if they vanquish: For the Combate is equall, although they bee sometimes varquished : But as for the Sea, for that they thrust themselues into hazard, and without confideration, they fall many times into great inconveniences.

This happened at this time, and hath done formerly, and will befall them many times hereafter, vntill they have supprest and reformed

reformed this ouer-weening, thinking they are able to goe to Sea at all featons. The Caribaginians being adverrised of the shipwracke of the Romane Army, they had the greater defire to raile an Army both by Land and Sea: For that their force seemed as great at Land, as that of the Romans, by reason of the defeate of Mateus Attilius : The like they conceined of the Sea, after the great loffe the Romans had indured. Wherefore they presently sent Afdruball into Sicily with the old Bands, and a new levie of the Men of Heracleum, with an hundred and fifty Elephanes. They wrigd out a Fleete of two hundred Veffels, and other into sicily by A Equipages necessary for Nauigation. When as Afdraball landed at the Carthagini-Lilibeum with his whole Army, he trayned his Men, and exercised and his Elephants, making roads into those Countries which were allied vnto the Romans. Finally, he was very watchfull and dilligent. And although the Remans loffe had much abated their courage, yet they vfed all possible diligence to raysea Fleete of two hundred and twenty Veffels with a Pallifado: the which they effected within three Moneths, and put it to Sea, the which is difficult to beleene, to the end the World should not thinke they would strike sayle vnto the Carthagini. ans. Lucius Aquilins, and Cains Cornelins Confuls, were appoin-B ted to leade this Army, to fighe with the Carthaginians in Socily, who passing the Sea presently, arrived at Messina, where they received the Remainder of the ships, which had beene preserved in the storme-By this meanes their Army confided of three hundred Veffels.

From thence they tooke their Course to Palermo, the chiefe Towns of the Carebaginians, the which they affailed vigotroufly, creding ratems before two forts of Engines, and other preparations to that effect, fo as they gedby the Ro easily ouerthrow a Tower feated vponthe Sea, by the which the Soul- ken by affault. diers entring by force, tooke that part of the Towne which was called Naples. After this the Burgeffes dying for feare, yeelded vnto the

C Consuls the other part which they called the old Towne. After the taking of Palermo, the Confuls put in a good Garrison, and then returned to Rome. The years following, Gneus Sempronius, and Caius Seruilius were Confuls, who in like manner past into Sicily with an Army, to goe from thence into Affricke : where being arrived, they dispersed their Men into divers places, and committed great spoiles, yet they did not any thing worthy of Memory. Finally, they arrived at the Idand of Losophages, which they call Mirmyx, which is neere vnto a little Shelfe or Barre of Barbary, where not knowing the passages, they were in a great streight, and D were stayed by reason of the ebbing of the Sca: They were for a time in suspence what to doc. Finally, the Flood comming suddainly upon them, they were almost deinen to dispaire : Yet they could not faue themselves vntill they had lightned their ships, and cast out their baggage to faue themselues.

After that Day the Romans were so amazed with so many dangers, as they failed continually as if they had fled. Soone after they returned into Sicily, and leaving Lilybeum, they tooke Port at Palermo. But loone after that they were gone from thence to faile into Italy, there

Towne

One hundred of the Roman Veffels left.

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rose so great a storme as aboue a hundred and fifty of their ships were driven vp and downe, and in the end perished. And although the Romanes after fo many losses, were of aduice to preferre the honorand Maiesty of the Empire before all other things, yet they were so broken with fo great miseries, as they resolued to abandon the Sea. And therefore they only leuied an Army by Land, wherein they thought they should be more consident and of better hope, the which they sent into Sieily with the two Confuls, Lucius Cecilius, and Cains Curius; To whom they deliuered only three score Vessells for their Victualis. By this meanes the Carthaginians, became againe Maisters of the Sea with A out contradiction. seeing the Romans had no more any Fleete at Sea. Moreover they had great confidence in their Army at Land, and not without cause. For after that the report of the battell given in Affricke, came to Rome, and that they understood that the defeate of their men hapned by the force and fury of the Elephants, for that they had broken the Rankes and opened the battalions, and that they had made a wonderfull flaughter of them

Their feare of the Elephants from that day, was fo great, as for two yeares after they neuer durst charge the Carthaginians, although they made many incounters in Affricke, and in the Country of Selinun- B tia, nor Campe in the Plaines within fine or fixe furlongs of them, keeping alwayes the Mountaynes and hilly Countries, to faue themselues from the Elephants; so as they only forced Theruce and Lipara, Wherefore the Romanes knowing the feare their Army had, refolued against

to put a Fleete to Sea.

by the Romans.

Theruce and

Lipara.

At that time the Remane people being affembled, they chose vnto the Consulship Caime Attilius, and Lucius Manlim: They also made A new Army at fifty new thips, and Rigg'd out the olde, the which they furnished with Souldiers proportionably. When as a sarah Generall of the Carthaginians, knowing well the feare of the Romans, had beene ad- C. uertifed by the Fugitiues, that one of the Confuls was returned vnto Rome with halfe the Army, and Cecilius remayned alone at Palerme with the other, he parts from Lylsbeum (when as Haruest approached) with his Army to spoile, and falls upon the Territory of Palerme, plan. ting his Campe voon the Mountaines. Cacilius having newes of their comming, and knowing that Asdruball defired nothing but a battell, kept his Army within the Towner

By this meanes Asaraball growing very confident, conceiuing that Cecilius kept himselfe close for feare, he causeth his Army to March to Palermo, having ruined and bornt all the Champion Countries. The D Confull was alwaies of opinion not to go to field, vntill that his enemy was drawne to passe the River, which runnes neere voto the Towne Walls. But when he saw that the Campe and the Elephants approached, he caused a fally to be made by the nimblest and most active men of his Army, commaunding them to skirmish with the enemy, vntill their whole Campes should be forced to come to the combats. And afterwards confidering that matters had succeeded as he defired, he ordaines the lightest and most active, to plant themselves beyond the

The policy of teate the Ele. phants.

Towne ditch, giuing them charge to cast Pertuisans, Darts, and Spits a farre off at the Elephants: And if they came running voon them with fury and violence, they should stip into the Ditch, and from thence cast their Dares at them. He also commaunded the Archers of the Market place, to go out of the Towns, and to fight at the foore of the wall. In the meanetime, he issued foorth with all the Ensignes, by another fide of the Towne right against the enemics left Wing, and sent many to those which fought with Darts.

Presently after the skirmish begame, the Maister of the Elephants, A who with a defire of glory would haue the honour of the Victory, incented them against the enemies, not attending Astrubals pleasure. The Romans observing the Consuls commaundment, turned head press fently; and when as the Elephants pursued them with fury; they flips into the Ditch, the Elephants being vppon the fide of it, they were fuddainly charged with Darts and Pertuitans, aswell by the Townesmen which were voon the Walls, as from the Souldiers which lay in the Ditch. And when as they could passe no further, they turned head, being necessarily forced to fall vpon their owne battallions with great flaughter.

B In the meane time Cecilius goes suddainly to field, having his whole Army entire and in good order, by another gate, and chargeth his enemies furiously, who being already broken by the Elephants, and char- A defeat of the ged againe by the Confuls Troupes, were eafily defeated. A part of Carthagmians, them were flaine, the rest laued themselues by flight : There were ten Elephants taken with their Indian Maisters; the raft were taken after the battell, their Gouernours being cast downe. This Victory purchased great honour to Cecilius, as the Man who by the report of all the whole World, had beene the cause that the Romanes after that time resuming courage camped in the Plaines. When the Romanes had newes of this C Victory, it is not credible the joy which they conceined, not fo much for the taking of the Elephants, whereby the Carthaginians power was much decreased, as for that their menseemed to be growne more hardy in the Warre, for that they had conquered them. Wherefore Sea prepared they Prepared an Army at Sea, as they had formerly resoluted, and by the Romans. fent the Confuls into Sicily with two hundred Veffells, defiring to make an end of that Warre: Whither they past having made provision of Victualls, and other things necessary. This was the foureteeneth years

fince the beginning of the Warre. The Confuls being arrived, and receiving the Bands of Souldiers that were there, they go and lay fiege to Lylibeum, hoping after the taking thereof, they might easily transport the Warre into Affricke's But the Carthaginians mooued with the like confiderations, refolued by all meanes to keepe it, knowing well that after the loffe of Lylibe. um, they had nothing elle remaining in Sielly. The Romans in truth held in a manner the whole Hand, except Trepanum. But to the end that what wee speake of sicily, may not seeme obscure to some one, by reason of the ignorance of places, we will deliger the Scituation in few words.

The Scituagie of Sicily.

30

Three princis

All Sicily hath its Scituation in regard of Italy and the limitsthereon of the Iland of, like vnto Mores in respect of Greece, and its bounds. It is true. chere is some difference, for that there is a little Sea betwirt this and Italy. Whereas Morea is joyned vnto Greece, by a little flip of Land, for they may goe on dry foote from Morea vnto Greece, and not from Sicily into Italy without shipping. Sicily is of a Triangular forme, and fo many Angles as it harh, to many Capes or Promontories there are vpon the Sea shore. Among the which, that whereon the Sicilian Sea doth beate is called Pachinus, and lookes towards the South : that which tends towards the North, where the Sea doth end, and is not a- A boue a mile and a halfe from Italy, is called Pelorus. The third which hath his Aspect towards Affricke, and towards the Winterly West; and which is right against Carthage, from the which vnto the Affricke shore, there is not about one hundred twenty and seven miles, is called Lylibeum, dividing the Sea of Sardinia and Sicily. There is a Towns on this Cape, which carries the same name, the which the Romans befreged at that time: The which is strong with Walls and Ditches, and moreouer with Marshes and Pooles, by the which lyes the passage for ships into the Port; but the entry is difficult, and not acceffible but by expert Marriners.

The Romans then to befrege it throughly, made round about it Trenches, Rampiers, and Bastions, one necre vnto another. Finally, they fet vp their Engines of Warre; neyther did they omit any thing that Many Towers was necessary to force a Towne. At their first beginning they battered ruined by their a Tower, which was scared voon the Sea shore, looking towards Affricke, adding daily new Engines and planting them in order. Finally, they ouerthrew at the same time axeother Towers neere vato it, by the shaking of great Beames, armed withiron at the end, like voto a Rams-head. Wherefore as this fiege was troublesome and dangerous. and that some Towers were much indammaged, and others overthrown by the Violence of the Engines, and the Towne continually battered, the besieged beganne to faint, and to grow searcfull and amazed. They were ten thousand Souldiers besides the inhabitants of the Town. Yet Imilcon, who had the guard thereof, maintayned this siege against the Romans by his Councell and great courage: Wherefoeuer the Romans made any breach in the Walls, he repayred it within; and if the enemy did Mine, he prevented them by countermines. By this meanes he still defeated their interprises. Sometimes hee also made fallies, hindring them much in all their attempts, and trying if hee could to fire their Engines of battery. Many times hee gaus Allarums, D both by day and night, fo as there was a greater flaughter and loffe of men by this kinde of incounters, then many times in their fer

Imilcon.

A Conspiracy by mercenary Souldiers fer -Caribaginiani.

Battells.

Alexon.

At that time some Commaunders of mercenary Souldiers, conspired to yeild the Towne vnto the Romans; who being confident of the uing valer the consent of their Companions slipt downe the Wall in the night, and goes vnto the Campe, discouering their charge vnto the Consult: At what time there was likewise a Grecian in Lylibeum called Alexon, who had

had sometimes saued the Towne of Agragas from Treason, when as the Saragoffins held it.

This man after that he had understood the enterprize of the Treafon, reuealed it vnto Imilcon: who caused all the Captaines to bee prefently called, except such as had slipt downe the Wall, and declared vnto them what he had vnderstood of the Treason, intreating them they would not fo ignominiously deliuer him and the Towne vnto their Enemies. Moreouer he made them great promises, if they would keepe their faith: And when they had all confented to that which hee pro-A pounded, he presently sent Haniball with them to pacific a Troope of Gaules. This was the Sonne of that other Haniball, who (as we have faid) was hang'd vpon a Croffe in Sardinia, after he had made that loffe of the Army at Sea. He hoped well that he would be pleafing vnto them, for that had beene at the Warre with them vader his Fathers commaund. Hee likewise sent Alexon to other bands of strangers, for that they had great confidence in him. Presently after hee had assembled the Companions, he prevailed so by prayers and promises, as all generally kept their Faith and Friendship with the Carthaginians. Wherefore affoone as the Chiefe of the Treason were returned, and B ready to speake vnto them, and to relate what they had treated with the Romans, they not onely denied to confent vnto them, but they dissained to heare them, driving them from the Walles with Darts and Stories.

Thus the Carthaginians being in a great and manifest danger of Trea-fon, had like to haue fallen into their Enemies bands. But Alexon (who formerly for to keepe his Faith with them of Agragas, had not onely preserved the Towne, but the Countrey likewise, their Lawes, and liberty) was the cause at this time (in the opinion of all the world) that berty) was the cause at this time (in the opinion of all the world) that the Carthagenians were not defeated. And although they of Carthage of the Carthage C could not be aduertised of the affaires of Lylibeum, yet doubting the givian. necessiries which they might fall into during a long Siege, they armed Hanibill sonne fifty theps with ten thousand men: whereof Haniball the Sonne of Amile in toni car, who formerly was Captaine of the Treremes, and a great friend to Captaine of so At arbe; had the leading to whom they gaue charge in few words to thips with doe what possible he might, to enter into Lylibeum, and to succour the besseged. Haniball then with these ten thousand Souldiers, arrives first at the Islands of Egule, which are mid-way betwixt Carthage and Lylibeum, and there attends the Winde : After which setting sayle, he bent his course directly to the Hauen of Lylibeum, having his men all in bat-

D tell and ready to fight. The Confuls amazed at this suddaine approach of the Enemy, doubted that if they attempted to fight with them, the violence of the winde would likewise drive them into the Port. Wherefore they resolved not to stop their entry. It is true that they prepared themselues vpon the shore, and sought to terrifie them at their entry. In the meane time all the troops within the Citty, feeing succours come, resumed courage, le iping for hopeand toy, and giving courage by fignes and shouts to their Succours. Haniball with incredible courage, sayles won-

derfull fwiftly and enters the Port, the which no man would have immagined, and puts his Army fafe into Lylibeum. It is incredible the ioy which they within the Towne conceived, after their fuccours were entred, not so much for the refreshing of men, but for that the Re-

manes durst not hinder the entry of the ships.

But Imileon Commaunder of the Carthaginians, seeing that the Souldiers demanded nothing but to fight, aswell the old Garrison, in regard of their supplies, but the new succours, for that they had not felt the former miseries; he would not loose this opportunity, resoluing to set fire on the Romanes Engines by what meanes socuer. Where. A fore when hee had drawne them altogether, hee made a speech vnto them, promising good rewards to such as should shew themselves brave Men: And affured them that the Carthaginians would acknowledge it. The Souldiers mooued with these speeches, told them that they were ready to do their duties. Moreover they cryed out with a loud vovce. intreating him that without any further stay he would lead them to fight. Imilean commending their courage, fent them to refresh themselves, and gaue them charge to be ready, and to performe that which their Captaines should commaund them: Whom presently after hee drawes a part, and acquaints them with his interprize; then hee appoints vnto every one his Quarter and place, commaunding them that every one should retire speedily in the beginning of the night, the which they performed.

At the breake of day Imileon made his fallies in many places. and fell ypon the Engines. The Romans who doubted the enemies defigne, were not negligent, but were all in Armes keeping a good Guard. Wherefore as foone as the Carthaginians beganne their fally, they marcht against them, so as the Allarum was great neere vnto the walls. The Carthaginians were about twenty thousand men, and the Romanes many more. And for that the combate was without any order of battell, the danger was the greater: For in so great a multirude of Souldiers, they did fight Man to Man, as if it had beene a fingle combate. It is true, that the heate of the fight, and the greatest Allarum was neere vnto the Engines. Beleeue that they which were appointed aswel by the Carthaginians to affaile, as by the Romanes for defence, came to fo great and cruell a combate, as they dyed with incredible Refolutions, never abandoning the place which they had beene ordain'd them. But they which were mingled in fighting, cast themselves upon the Romanes with fuch great courage, affailing the Engines with fires, Darts, and fuch like Armes, as the Romans that day, feeing themselues not able to refift the enemies interprize, thought in a manner all to beg vtterly loft.

When as the combate had continued long, Imilcon sceing the great loffe of his men, and that he could not prevayle, he caused a Retreate to be founded. And although the Romanes were that day in great danger to loofe all their equipage for battery, yet in the end they defended their Engines, and all their furniture, relisting the enemies with incredible valour.

After

After these actions, Hanniball parting in the Night from Lylibe wm, volunowne to the Enemy, with all the shippes which hee had brought with him, hee fayled to Tripanum to cadherball, who was Generall of the Carthaginians, for that they had alwayes a great care to keepe it, in regard of the opportunity of the place, and the beauty of the Port : It is but fiteene miles from Lylibeum. Ard although that in the meane time the Carthaginians were very destrous to heare newes of the affaires of Lylibeum, yet it was not possible, for that the Towns after Hanibals departure was kept so short, as no man could H miball a Rhe-A enter or come forth.

At that time a Rhodien named Haniball, an able Man, sceing the great defire of the Carthaginians, promised them to enter into Lylibeum, mauger all the World, and to bring them certaine newes of their effate. But although the Carthaginians were glad to heare him, yet they held it impossible, for that the Romanes Army at Sea was in a manner within the Port. Yet the Rhodien Mures them, and parts with his ship: And being arrived at an Island neere voto Lylifein, The great rethree dayes after having the Winde in Poope, hee sayled directly solution of the thither at noone day, and in the fight of the Enemy, (striuing by all andien, meanes to hinder him) hee entred, performing that which hee had

One of the Consuls wondring much at the great courage of this man, drew by night to the entry of the Port ten of their best Saylers to furprize him in his returne : with the which lice himselfe kept watch vpon the departure of the Rhodien, and gave this whole Are

The hippes which were at the entry of the Port of either fide the Marifles, attended with their Oares ready the returne of the Rhodi, en flippe, thinking that hee could not audi it, but would bee inueffed: Bur the Rhodientelying much vppon his courage, and the fwiften fle of his Vessell, past thorough the Enemies ships being thus prepared, not in the night, nor by ftealth, But in the open day, and not contenting himselfe to bee thus escaped safe with his Men, seeing himselfe a little out of the preffe, hee turned the Prow of his Veffell, calling them to fight, yet no man durst affaile him, in regard of the swiftnetic of Lang The mouver

Finally, hee returned to Garthage, having triumphed over the Enemics with one Veffell, and related all the newes with the Strate. The which he hath performed fince many times, daining great fernice by D this meanes to the Carthaginians, in adderiti ig them of what was no cellary, and bringing hope and comfort to the belleged with an amaze ment to the Romans of lo great boldmelle, wherein net was animated for that a little before the route that was made vito him by dilligen experience : But suddainly when lice was discourted, lice tuffing his Prowe directly to the Tower which Rands vool the Sea towards Which was the onely meanes whereby Saylers might with a good wild recouer the Port. Many mooued with the viduunted boildning of

this Rhodien, and knowing the places profumed to doe the like.

The Romans discontented with this great affront and scorne, vied all dilligence to fill up the entry of the Port, for the effecting whereof they filled many Merchants thips with land, and funke them : Then they cast great store of earth vpon them, yet they lost their labour and time, for the great depth swallowed all ; and the chbing and flowing of the Sea dispersed whatsoever they cast in. Finally, there was some part, which by chance had made a Barre or Banke, where fuddainly a Carthaginian Quadrireme fent in the Night was stayed : After the taking whereot, being well armed and furnished in the Port, the Romans attended the comming of others, especially of the Rhodien A Vessell. By chance hee arrived with the accultomed celerity: But at his returne, the Quadrireme pursuing him, began to presse him neere. The Rhodien at the first fight wondred at the lightnesse of the Vessell: But having well viewed it, hee knew that the Carthaginian Quadrireme had beene taken by the Romans. Wherefore having no more hope in flight, hee resolved to fight.

But when they came to joyne, the Romans had the advantage, aswell by reason of the multitude of their shippes, as the bounty of their men. Wherefore the ship was easily taken with the Rhodien. B After which prize the Remans joyn'd it to the Quadrireme, and kept them continually armed and ready in the Port: By which meanes they tooke from them all casie entranceinto Lylibeum. In the meane time they battered the Towne violently, and the Walles were ouerthrowne in divers places with their Engines. But Imileon built a new Wall where as the old had been operthrowne, having no more hope in his Sallies, nor be able to fet fire on the Engines. And as they had continued sometime in this manner, there did suddainly rise so great a ftorme . as all the Engines and Instruments were fraken by the vehemency of the Winde : lo as the upper flory of some Towers were ouer-

A Sally of the Carthaginians spen the Re-

of Battery.

The Rhadien

thip.

eaken with his

throwne to the ground. Some Greeian Souldiers among the belieged, holding this very commodious for the burning of the Engines, discouer their Opinion to the Gouernour, who finds this conceit good, and after that her had made promition of things, meetfary, heefuddainly makes a Sally, and casts fire in three places vpon the Engines. The which when the Souldiers had done fuddainly, the fire by reason of the violence of the Winde cooke calily, and confirmed them speedily, for that they were dry, and had beene long burnoin the Sume . Neither was it possible to prevent it by the hand of Man, for the violence of the Winde. In tructh they were to amazed at this new accident, as they had not judgement to fee and confider what they had to doe, fo as fitting to fuccour their Engines, some fell, being ouerthrowne with great Firebrands falling from about, or blinded with smoake. And the more the Romanes found themselves crossed and troubled for the reasons about mentioned, the more beneficiall and fortunate it was for the Carthaginians : For they might eafily discouer the Enemies and all the Engines, and if they they cast any thing against the Romans or

their Engines, the Winde draue it with great violence, and made the blow more forcible. Finally, the fire was fo great, as the foundation whereon the Towers were fet, were burnt, and the Heads of the Rammes confumed.

The Consuls after this had no more care to repaire their Engines, refoluing to carry the Towne by a long fiege, in causing a great Trench with a Rampier to be cast vp round about it, and there Campe, with a resolution not to raise the Siege before they had taken it. When as they of Lylibeum had campired all places necessary, they induced the A Slege with great courage. But after the Romans had received newes of this Difafter, the Senate caused ten thousand men to bee raised, which they fent into Sicily to refresh their Army, for that many had

died at this fiege, and their Army at Sea was bare of Men: Thefe faild first vnto the Port, then they marcht by Land vnto the Campe

before Lylibeum.

Appine Claudius being now Consuil, and chiefe of the Army, and An enterprize the other Confuls vpon their returne to Rome, feeing the Succours also of the Roman arrived affembled the Confuser and last a feeing the Succours also vpon Tripanam arrived, affembled the Captaines, and let them know that in his Opibion it was time to fayle to Tripanum with all their forces by Sea, to

B furprize Adherball, the Generall of the Carthaginians nothing doubting of the Succours which were newly arrived into Sicily, and would neuer conceine that the Romane Army would put to Sea after to great a losse of men, during the siege of Lylibeum. When as this aduice was approved by the Captaines, hee made choice of some out of the old and new Bands, and furnished all his thips with the ablest men in the whole Army, who imbarked most willingly, for that the Voyage was short, and the promises great. Being then ready, they parted at mid-night vaknowne to the Enemy, and sayled directly vate

Tripanum.

But at the breake of day, being neere the Towne, and they discorering that they were Romane thips, Adberball recoursed his spirits, and affored himselfe, although that at the first hee was amazed at their suddaine arrivall, resoluing to trythe fortune of the fight, and to vindergoe the hazard rather then to be belieged hamefully in the Port. Wherefore he prefently caused their Odres to imbarke, and caused the Trumper to found, to draw the Souldiers together, shewing them in few words, according to the necessity of the time, that if they did their duries, there was hope of Victory : But if they refused to fight; he layed them, before the mileries of men belieged. And when as the Soul-D diers made flew of resolution, crying out that hee should make no find to march against the Enemy, then Auberball countriending their towardnesse, callegh them all to imbarke; gining them charge to hade an eye voto his thip, and that they fliould follow with courage. Presently after hee parts first out of the Port, as he had said, on the contrary fide to the Romans.

But the Confull feeing the Enemies contrary to his hope, not to abandon the place, nor ready to flye, but feeking the Combat with great heate, her called backe his shippes, whereof some were

already in the Port, others at the entry, following them neere. And when as the first turned head, according to the Consulis commaund, and that the rest which followed farre off made hast to enter into the Port, they fell foule one vpon another at the entry, and at the comming foorth, fo as the Romans were in danger to have lost all. Finally after the Vessells had recovered the open Sea, the Captaines Ranked themselues along the shore one after another, turning their Prowe to the enemy. But the Consull who from the beginning had alwayes followed the Army, made the left Wing, casting himselfe into the open Sca.

In the meanertime, Adherball having gotten aboue the left Wing of the Romans with fine Veffells, and turning the Prowe to the enemy, he fortified himselfe by the Sea, commaunding other foure which followed him to do the like. When they were thus in Front against the encmy, he gives them a figne to charge the Romanes, whose ships (as we haue fayd) were Rank'd along the shore. It is true they had done it, to A Combate at the end that the enemies Vessells which should part out of the Port, the homans and might be incountred with more eafe. The battell was long and furithe Carthagini- ous, so as the danger seemed equally without doubt they were the choyce men of both the Armies at Land. Yet the, Carthaginians had B alwayes the better, for that their Vessells were lighter, their men more expert in Rowing, and moreover they were in the open Sea, where they might turne vp and downe at their pleasure. If any one were necre prest by the Enemy, he knew how to save himselfe suddainly, by the lightnella of his thip , And if the Enemies purfued him, many others turning presently together, compassed and hemb'd them in by their lightneffe.

By this meanes they spoiled them much, and sometimes sunke them. And if any one of their companions were in danger, they relicued him easily without perill, sailing in the open Sea. Contratiwise the shore neere unto the Romanes did annoy them much; for being forced in a fireight, they could not Retyre in necessity, nor defend themselves. nor luccour them that were preft, nor passe beyond the Enemies to charge them againe . Which is a most requilite thing in fighting at Ses. For that they were closed up in a ftreight, and their Vellels were heavy, and their Marriners ynskilfoll in Sea chiles, nor well practiled to Rowe. The Confull feeing that all went from bad to world; Tome of his thips being broken upon the thore, others finite, and finally being voide of all hope, he flyes away firsh. There were about thirty Velicis remayning of the whole Army, which by chance were here him, and D followed him; all the test to the number of some leave and thirteen were taken by the Carebaginians. Moreover all the hands of men were taken, except those which perished by the Wracke.

Adherball was in wonderfull great effectue among the Carthaginians for this Victory, having well mannaged the Affaires by his onely Wildome and great Courage. Whereas on the other fide, Appins Claudius was infamous, and indured a thouland infuries by the Romane people, for that he had carried himfelfe to indifferently, and had

drawne the Romane Common wealth into to great danger. Finally, being Deposed from the Consulship, he dyed by the hand of Iustice with ar deposed ar deposed great ignomy and shame.

And although the Romans were very sensible of this great Deseate; fulling, and condemneate yet like Men of great Courage and Resolution, they suddainly prepare dye. a Fleete at Sea with a new Leuy of Men, and fend Lucius Iunius the Lucius Iunius, Confull into Sicily; to whom they give charge to Relieve the Campe before Lylibeum, and to carry them Victualis and other necessary Mu-

nitions. He sail'd directly to Meffina with threescore Gallies, and A there drawes together all the Vessells with Beake heads in Sicily out of Lylibeum, and makes a Fleete of fixescore Men of Warre, besides the Merchants, and those which he had to carry the Victuails, to the number of eight hundred, of which he gaue in a manner the one hilfe to the Questor, with some that had Beake heads, to conduct the Victuals vnto the Campe. In the meane time he stayed at Sarragoste, expecting the rest of the ships which came after him from Messina, and the Corne which the Allies of the inland Country did furnish. At the same time Adherbal sent the Prisoners and ships which he had taken at the battell to Carthage. Then he disparch'd Captaine Carthalo with B thirty Veffels, to go and find the enemy, whom he followed neere with threescore and ten others.

Moreover he gave charge to Carthale, to take what thips he could whole from the Enemy, and to burne the rest. When as Carthalo surprized by (vling dilligence to faile all night) had furprized the Romane Fleete fud- Carthalo. dainly, which was retired into the Port of Lylibeum, and had burnt fome, and taken others, hee drew the Romans into great danger; for when as they which kept a Guard about the thips made great cryes, and gaue an Allarum, Imilcon hearing the noyle, and feeing theirs comming at the breake of day, he presently made a fally vpon the Enemy. C By this meanes the Remane Army being innirened on all fides, was in

great danger.

Lib. 1.

After that Carthalo had taken and burnt fome Romane thips, he went to Heracleum pito cur off the Victualis which came from thence to the Campe. And as he made the Voyage, fome Discourters bring him newesthat they had seene a great multitude of thips. After which neivos; Carebara without making any thew; (for that lice did not much esteeme the Romanes in regard of the former Victories mikes haft to moerethem. The Remines were like wife addertifed that the Carrier. mias Army approached. But for that they did not hold themselves able D to incommer them at Sea, they cast themselves by Portune when the need rest shore, where their were some retreates and turnings to the which did hang fome Rocks, whether the Romans tettring, they repulled the Enemies ships with stones and slings : And although at the first the Carthaginians were refolued to keepe them belieged with they had is ken them. Yet feeing that the place by Namite defended them, and that Romans , refiltance was greater then they expected, they failed in the end (after they had taken forme Merchants veffels) to a River which lay necrevato them, to observe the parting of the a omans. In the meane

drawne

A Victory at againft the Ko. 38

time the Confull having dispatch'd the Affaires for the which he staied at Sarragoise, he past the Cape of Pachinus to come voto Lylibeum having no advertisement of that which had happed voto his men some

daves before.

The Carthaginian Captayne having newes by his Scouts of the Confulls comming, vied all dilligence to incounter him farre from the other ships. But when as Lucius Junius saw the enemies Army a far off. he was amazed at the great number. fo as he durst not fight; neyther could he well five being to neere vnto them. Wherefore Retyring by dangerous and difficult places, hee stayed in the first Port, resolving A rather to indure all extremities, then to fuffer the Roman Army to fall into the enemies hands. The which Carthalo Commaunder of the Carthaginians perceiuing, he made no more pursuite, but retyred into a Port betwirt the two Roman Armies, hoping by this meanes to keepe both Armies from parting. Some few dayes after there role a great storm; the which the Carthaginians perceiving, as Men which had great experience in Sea matters; and knowledge of the places where they were, informed Carthalo that in passing speedily beyond the Cape of Pachinum, he should anoyde the violence of the storme: whereby they preserved all his Fleet. But the Romans were so beaten with the storm, for that the places where they were had no Ports, that their ships were broken in such fore, that there remayned not any thing, whereof they could afterwards make vie. By the meanes of their mif-fortunes at

Sea, the Carthaginians were afterwards the stronger.

The Romanes having lately made to great a lotte at Tripanum, and now against having log all their Equipage abandoned the Sea. relying only you the Land. The Carthaginians on the other fide were Maifters without contradiction: neyther were they without hope at Land. And therefore the Lords of the Senare, and they which were at the ficee at Lylibrum, were of adulce to continue the ficee, although they had bin afflicted with the former mif-fortunes. By this meanes the Ro- C manes fent to the Campa at Lylibeum what foeuer they thought necessaty, and they of the Campe yied all possible meenes to continue the fiege. Lucius Iunim after this great thipwracke arrived at Lylsbenm much discontented, studding continually how he might performe some Act, whereby he might in losse fort Repayre his diferace for the last lolle. Wherefore loone after he tooke by Treason without any grear occation Mount Erix, the Temple of Fram and the Howne. Erix is a Mountaype of Sicily, which hath his Afpect you the Sea towards Italy , betwirt Trypanum and Palermy, but negret to Palerme. It is Mount Aina, the greatest in all sicily, but Aine. It shath a playing vpon the rop, where stands the Temple of Fenus Ericina, the which (by the Report of all the World) is the richest and most beautiful of all Sicily. Alitthe under the top of the Hill, there is a Towne of the same name, which is very long, and bath the acceffes very vnealy and difficult on างสุดเหมายหมูดกูพายตระวัง 💎 🥬

The Confull fet a Gatrilon voon the top of the Mountayne, and at the foot upon the approaches from Tegganum, thinking by this meanes

that he should be able to keep the Towns and all the Mountayne lafely, After the taking of Erix, the Carthaginians made Amilear, furnamed Barca Captaine Generall of their Army at Sea. This man falling upon Italy with his Army spoyled all the coaft (it was then the eighteenth dmillar spolles yeare fince the beginning of the War) and from thence (after that he met. made great spoiles in the Countries of the Locrines, and Calabra) he returned into the Territory of Palermo with his whole Army, where he planted himselfe in a Place betwixt Rhegium and Palermo, the which lay high about the Sea, and was fortified by nature, and fafe A for his Campe.

Lib. I.

It is a Mountayne inuironed with caues and holes, woon the which there is a playne not lesse then twelve miles in compasse, the which is commodious and fit for labour. It hath moreover all the Sea Winds, and is not infected with any venomous Beaft: Moreover it is invitoned both by Sea and Land with inaccessible Rockes; in regard of the places which are betwirt both there is no great need of buildings. It hath on the top a little Hill which serues for a Watch and Fortreise; it hath like. wile a very pleasant and commodious Port, for such as passe from Trye panum or Lylibeum into Italy; and it hath flore of Water. There are B but three wayes to go vnto this Mount, which are difficult and vnealy, two vpon the firme Land, and the third towards the Sea. Amilear Planted his Campe there, where there was no conuenient Towne, but was lodged among his enemies, whom he did not fuffer to live in selt a For many times he went to Sea, and spoyl'd the coast of staly voto Cumes . and then he led his Army by Land vino Palerme, and befieged it within eight hundred Furlongs of the Romanes Campe : where he staje ed neere three yeares, performing many braue Acts which were difficult to relate in particular. For even as when excellent Combattants re-doubling their blowes with dexterity and force, the prize of the C Victory being propounded, it is neyther possible for them, nor for the standers by, to yeild a reason of enery charge and blow, taking in generall a sufficient knowledge of their Valour, aswell by the Prowesse of the Men, as by their mutuall indeauours, and by their Experience and Virtue; we must conceive the like of the Commaunders of whom we now ipeake.

For if any one will Write the causes, or manner how they lay Am. bulhes, and intertayne skirmilhes and incounters, he should not be able to number them, and would cause a great trouble without any profit to the Reader; where we may better attayne to the knowledge of D things past, by a generall narration and by the end of the War. They likewise cannot perceine in this present War, any thing by the History of the great pollicies, nor by the time, nor by the feeling of the prefent cale by things done, which have bin decided with an ouer-weaning and violent boldnesse. There are many causes, for the which they could not discerne betwixt the two Campes: for the Armies were equal and their Forts not easie to be approached vnto, for that the space betwixt both was very ftrong and little a fo as there daily happed particus lar combates. Finally they performed nothing which concerned the

The Romanes

Fleete broken

at Sea by the Violence of a

ftorme.

Lib. I.

from the Ro. mans by Amilcar.

A good Comparifon .

40

end of the Warre: For many times in incounters some were slavne, and others turning away, and escaping the danger assured themselves, and fought againe, where Fortune remayning like a good Distributer changing them from Front to Front, hath inclosed them in a narrower compasse, and a more dangerous fight in regard of the place and precedent Combat.

Whilst the Romans (as we have fayd) kept the top and foote of the Mountayne of Erix, Amilear surprized the Towne, which was betwixt the top of the Hill, and the foote of it, where the Roman garrison lay. By this meanes the Romans which held the top, were besie- A ged by the Carthaginians, with great danger: The Carthaginians like. wife were no leffe in the Towne, feeing they were befreged from the top of the Mountayne, and from the foote, and having but one way. they could hardly draw vnto them that which was necessary. Thus either Party perfitted one against another with extreame obstinacy: Suffring great extreamities and running into great dangers. Finally, they purchased as acred Crowne, not as Fabius sayth, as Men weakned and tyred, but constant and not vanquished: For before that one party ouercame the other, although the War continued two yeares, yet beganne to haue an end by another meanes. Finally the Affaires of Erix, R and the forces were in this estate.

You may imagine that these two Common-Weales, did like vnto Rauening Birds fighting among themselues vato the last gaspe: For although that sometimes their flight fayled them for want of breath, yet they repulse the affaults with great courage, untill that hiding them. felues willingly, they fled away eafily, this done fome take their flight before the rest. In like manner the Romanes and the Carthaginians ty red with toyle, grew cold in their continuall combats, abating their forces for the ordinary charges. And although the Romanes had abandoned the combats at Sea, almost for fifteene yeares, aswell for their mis fortunes, as for that they did hope to make an end of this Warre C by the Army at Land; yet feeing their defigne not successeful, considering likewise the courage of Amilear, they conceived a third hope in their Forces at Sea. They aduised well, that if their defigne were fuccessofull, it would be a meanes to make an end of their Affaires, the which in the end they effected.

First, they left the Sea yeilding vnto their mis-fortunes: And for the second time, for that they had bin vanquished neere vito Trypanum, and finally at the third time, they were of another humour, by the which being Victors, they cut off the Victuals from Erix, and made an end of the Warre. This attempt for the most part was like a Combate of great courage, for the publicke Treasure vnable to furnish this charge: But the Cittizens contributing enery Man vnto his power, many together built a Quinquereme, supplying the necessary expences; fo much the peoples hearts were influend to Armes, and to aug. ment the Romane Empire. By this meanes they made a preparation of two hundred Quinqueremes, after the patterne of the Rhodien, the which as we have fayd had beene taken before Lylibeum: Wherefore

they afterwards gaue the commaund vnto Lucius Luctatius Confull, and fent him in the Spring against the Carthaginians, who being sud. The port of dainly arrived in Sicily with his Army, tooke the Port of Trepanum at Trepanum tahis entry, and all the rest which were about Lylibeum.

In the meane time all the Carthaginians ships retired to their Cap dero the Ros taine. Afterwards hee indeauoured to take Trepanum with his Engins, mane Army. and other things necessary to force a Towne: But for that the Carthagia mians Army at Sea was not farre off, they had a remembrance of things past, and of what importance the knowledge of the Sea was, he was not A idle nor negligent, caufing his Rowers and Marriners to bee continually kept in practice, not suffring any one to be idle. By this meanes the Souldiers in a short time were inured to the Sea. The Carthaginians contrary to their hope, having newes of the Roman Army at Sea, presently prepa. An Army sa red their ships, and traighted them with Corne & other Municion, to the Sprepared end the besieged within the Towne of Erix should not have any want of by the carthan things necessary. Hanno had the charge of this Army, who past first to the Island of Hieronesus, and from thence he made haste to sayle about the Enemy to Amilears Campe, to discharge his ships, and to vietuall it. But Luctatius being advertised of their comming, and doubting of their

B. enterprize, (for it was not hard to coniecture) made choice of the ableft men of the Army at Land, and failed directly to the Island of Egufe, which is not farre from Lylibeam. Then having giu n courage to the Souldiers, he makes a Proclamation that every man should be ready the

Three daies after the Confull feeing at the breake of day that the wind was good and prosperous for the Enemy, and contrary to his Army; and that the Sea was much troubled with a storme, he was long in suspence what he should doe: but suddainly he resolued, that if his men came to fight during the storme, he should have nothing to doe but with Hanne C and his Army at Sea, and with ships that were laden and incumbred: But if he should delay the fight vitill the Sea were calme, he should haue to deale with thips that were light and very swift, and with the choice of the Land fouldiers: and moreover with the courage of Amilcar, who was then held to be very terrible. Finally, he refolued to fight with the Enemy notwithstanding the storme and the contrary Winde. The Carthaginians comming with full sayle, he put himselse before A fight as Sea them with his Army ready and in battell. When the Carthaginians betwin the Refaw their course to bee hindered by the Enemy, and their thips in bat- thaginians. tell, they strooke faile, and prepared to fight, where they charged D of either side with great courage : But for that things were mannaged in another manner, than when they were defeated at the battell of Trepanum, it was no wonder if that their Affaires had ano-

In regard of the Romans, their ships were very light, and free from all incombrance, but of that which was necessary for the Warre. Their Rowers had beene long practifed, and were therefore eager and ready to fight. They had also made choice of the best men in their Army at Land : the which fell out contrary with the Carrengian-

A Victory of the Romanes against the Carthaginians.

ans. Their ships were laden, and therefore vnfit to fight: Their Rowers and Marriners were men gathered together by chance, and not accustomed to the War: their Souldiers were also new, and had not seene any thing: for they had no more care for the affaires at Sea, imagining that the Romans would not attempt any thing more at Sea. And therefore as soone as the Battell began, the Romans had the Victory, whereas fifty of the Carthaginians ships were broken or sunke, and three score and ten others that were laden, taken. The rest set sayle and got the Winde, and recourred Hieronese with incredible swiftnesse, by a suddaine change of the Winde. After the Battell the Consull retired to A Lylibeum with his whole Army, whereas the booty and Prisoners were deuided amongst the Souldiers: For besides the dead, there were aboue ten thousand men taken.

The Carthaginians amazed at this heavy and great defeate, found themselves troubled for many reasons, although their minds were alwaves inclin'd to Warres. First they had no meanes to victual those that were in Sicily, after the defeate of their Army at Sea: Confidering that their Enemies were Maisters of all the Sea. Moreover they imagined that it would be a Traiterous act to suffer their Generall and the Souldiers which had ferued their Common-wealth to be loft. In re- B gard of continuing the War, they had neither Men nor Captaines to mannage it : wherefore they fent a Man to Amilear, and gave him full power and Authority to doe what he should thinke fitting for the good of the Common-weale. Amilear performed the duty of a good and wife Captaine: For whilest there was any hope in the Carthaginians af. faires, he never complained of his paines, nor avoided perill, but being a man of great industry and courage, he thrust himselfe continually into all dangers, to vanquish as any of the other Captaines. But when as he faw there was no more hope in the Carthaginians affaires, hee fent Embassadours to the Consult, to treate vpon an accord, yeelding wifely and discreetly vnto the time: For wee must know that the duty of a good Captaine confifts aswell in considering of the time, not onely to vangnish, but also to strike sayle. Whereunto Lugarius did willing. ly give care, knowing well the necessities which the people of Romeendured by this tedious VVar, Finally, a peace was thus concluded: that the Romans and Carthaginians should line in amity and friendthip, if the people of Rome would confene vated it : And that the Carthazinians should leave all Sicily. Neither should they hereafter make War against Hieren, nor against the Saragossins, or their Allies, and that they should restore all the Prisoners without ransome: And more- D overthey should pay thirteene hundred and ewenty thousand Crownes within twenty yeares.

These Articles were fent to Rome, which the people notwithstanding would not yeeld vnto: but committed ten men with power from them who were fent into sicily: Being arrived they altered nothing of the treaty of peace, but the time of payment, which they florefied, angmenting the summe with 600000. Crownes more. Mercover they did articulate, that they should not onely dislodge out of Sicily, but

allo out of all the Islands which are betwittelt and Italy. Behold the end of the first Warre between the Romans and Carthage mians for Sicilys. It continued foure and twenty whole yeares, and hath beene the longest and the greatest that was ever heard spoken of During the which (I omit other things worthy of membry) they have Jought at one instant with aboue fine hundred Quinqueremes on both fides: Afterwards with not much lesse their sauen hundred. The Real mans haue loft seauen hundred Quinquertmes, besices those which at lundry times the torments have lunke, and the Carthaginians about fine hundred. Wherefore they which formerly hade admired Armies A affwell by Land as Sea, and the Combats at Sea of Antigonus, Piolomey, and Demetring, have reason to cease, considering the great decis of the Romans and Carthaginians. But if they will confider how great a difference there is betwirt the Quinqueremes and Triremes, whereof the Persians made vse against the Greeians, and which the Ashenians and Lacedemonians vied in their Warre, they shall undoubtedly see, that there was never seene such great forces fight at Sea, wherefore that ap. peares plainely which we have propounded in the beginning, that the Remans have not onely indeauoured to conquer the value fall Empire by vallour, but they have also accomplished their desire, not by good For.

tune as some Grecians suppose, nor by chance, but by a wonderfull experience and practice in such great affaires.

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Although that some may demaund how it happeneth that the Rowans, who are at this day farre greater Lords both at Land and Sea, considering that they held in a manner the Empire of the whole would, cannot draw together fo many Vessels, nor rayse so great an Army at Sea at one instant. The reason will be easie, when they shall let them vaderstand what the Romane Common-wealth was, what their Lawes and their manner of lining, although it will not be profitable neither C for vs nor for the Readers of our Workes, to make mention of things which concerne not our purpose. Without doubt the Reasons are great: the which notwithstanding in my Opinion no man hath knowne vito this day by the errour of Historiographers : Whereof some knew not what they wrote, and if others understood them, they have made them obscure and unprofitable. If they would duely consider this War, they shall finde that the courage and power of these two great Citties were equall. First their desire was alike, they had the same cour rage, and the like defire of glory. It is true, the Romans had the berter Souldiers : But Amilear Generall of the Carthagintans, furnamed D Barca, Father to Haniball, who afterwards made Warre against the Ro- drileir Father

mans, had not his equall in prudence and vallour. When as the peace to Hanniball. had beene concluded, either of them fell in a manner into the like inconpeniences : - for Civill war followed after. The Romans had prefeotly War against the Inhabitants of Mount-Flacon: the which was fooneden cide d and their Towne taken.

But the Carthaginians being affailed at the same time by Strangers, Numidans, and other people of Affricke, who renolted with hem, were tha manner quite ruined. Finally, they were forced to fight not onely

for the Prouince, but for themselves, for their liberty, for their Children, and for their owne Country.

This is a warre which we will relate fummarily and briefly, for it is worthy, as we have promifed in the beginning. So they shall easily see by the deeds of these times what this warre was, and of what furly, which they call irreoneiliable : And they may likewile observe to what things the Commander of an Army ought to have care, and to be wary how he imploies Mercinary men . And moreover what difference there is betwin the confuled manner of liuing of Barbarians, and those that are bred vp voder, Discipline, Lawes, and Policy: And with all they may eafily fee by the knowledge of this warre, the causes for the which Ha. niball made watre against the Romans, which is a principall poynt, whereof in opening the truth, wee have not done little for those which defire to fee our worke. For that they have not onely beene doubtfull and obscure to those which have written, but also to such as have beene present. After that amiliar had treated the peace with the Romans, he led his Army from the Towne of Erix to Lylibeum, and religned his charge, giuing the conduct thereof into Affricke to Captaine Gefcon, who was at Lylibeam: who fearing that if fo great a multitude of men, should passe together into Affricke, there would grow some mutiniy B and contenttion for that there was much due voto them for their pay, the which they could not fatisfie for want of treasure: Wherefore he prouided long before, that the troupes should not passe altogether, but at divers times, leaving fome respite of purpose : to the end that they might with more case prouide, in sending them backe by troupes, and that the first might be retired to their houses, before the feconducined. The Carthaginians had confumed their treasure, in their former charges, and did not fend them backe to their houses but commanded them to attend within the City vntill the returne of their Companions, to the end they might make some accord with them altogether concerning their Paye. But whenas the Souldiers committed many Royots day and night within the City, and that the infolencies of fuch a troupe were insupportable, the Carabaginians called the Captaines, and inrreated them to leade all this multi ude affembled in their City to the Towne of Sicca, vatill they had given order for their Prouinces. Moreouer they caused some money to be deliuered to euery one of them, to the end they might tolerate their expectance the more easily. The Captaines obeying the will of the Carthaginians, drew forth their

Infolency of the Souldiers within Car. there.

Gefcon.

But for that every man defired to leave his baggage within the City, D as they had done, hoping to make a fnort returne for their payer the Carthaginians doubted that if they should allow that, some would not budge for the love of their children, others for their wives, and by this meanes they should bee nothing bettered within the City. Wherefore in the end they forced them to depart with their baggage. Being within the Towne of Sicca, they lived at pleasure in idlenes and basely, which is a pernicious thing for an Army, and in a manner the onely fountaine and beginning of Mutinies. Some began to demaund their pay more audatioully,

tiously then they had beene accustomed, and much more, reducing to memory the promise of Presents, which the Captaines had made vato them at need, when as they intreated them to fight valiantly. More o. uer they expected much more then their Pay amounted voto & Buc they were frustrated of their hope: For assoone as they were all assembled in Sicca, Hanno, Pretor of the Carthaginians was fent yoro theme Who bringing no presents vnto them, intreated them moreous for tome abatement of their Pay, shewing them the pouerty of the Treat

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fure. They generally murining at this speech, began to tile undain. Musing of the A ly, fo as there was a great tumult and ledition in the Army, coulder Souldiers. ring the great discritty of their manner of huing, and languages, he true the Carthaginians had some reason to raise their Army out of discris Nations : For by this meanes fo divers an affembly could not caffly mike a Conspiracy. Moreover the Captaines better obeyed. And likewife if there did rife any mutiny or fedition in the Army, they thould not finde meanes to pacifie them, for ignorant men are mooned with fury. Beleeue me when they are once in choller, they increase it more and more, like bruite Beafts with an vnrestraine cruelty. The which happened at that time in the Carthaginians Campe ; For forme were B Spaniards, others Ganles, fome Genenois, and others of the Islands of Maiorqua, and Minorqua.

There was also a good Troope of Gretians; most of which were fugitiues and flaues, and the greatest number were appleans. Wherefore it was not possible to draw them altogether at that time, although they could not have taken a better course. Moreover Hanne could not vaderstand all their languages : and it seemed in a manner more imporfible to imploy many Interpreters at one time to draw the Army toge ther, and withall tovie the fame speech vnto them foure or fine times. The last remedy was to mannage this by the Captaines; the which C Hanno attempting prevailed nothing : For some vaderstood not what

their Captaine fayd vnto them, others related it other wife then they had spoken, although they had conferred voto the clieft, some did it ofignorance, but the greatest part through malice! Wherefore all was full of perplexity, inhumanity and diffruft.

Among other things they complained, that the Carthaginians of The complaint purpose did not send one of the Captaines under whose charge they had of the Souldimade War in Sicily, and who had made them formany promifes; but ex. one who had beene in those actions. Finally, they runne to Armes being all in a muriny, making an accompt of Hanne, nor of the other Cap-D taines, and marcht directly to Carthage, planting their Campe neere vin to the Towne of Tunes, which is fifteene miles from Carthage, being about twenty thousand Men. Then the Carthaginians began to look one vpon another, and to acknowledge their great errour, when there was no tedresse in their affaires. In trueth it was a great fault in them'to haue drawne together fo great a multitude into one place after the War was ended. They committed another which was no leffe, when we they did not retaine their Wines Children and baggage, whereof they might haue made vie in necessity asof Hostages. Being in no small feare

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of forgreat a multitude of Men., they omitted; nothing which they thought behoovefull to pacific their Rage, cauting Corne to be carriedynto them, and all other things necellary, and to be delivered yo-

to them at their pwhe prize.

Moreover the Senate fent Embassies often varo them, promising to do according to their commaund, to as it were in their power : But the Souldiers who are now growne more infolent, did torge daily new Quarrels, perceiping the feare of the Carthaginians, especially for that they had bin trayn'd up in the War of Sicily, and that the Carthagemans nor any other durit looke voon them in order of battel. Wherfore A whereas formerly they had made their quarrell, but for the pay that was due, they now demaunded Recompence for their Horses that were flayne, and not content with that, they pretended there was Corne due vinto them for many yeares, for the which they demanded payment at a prife, whereof vntill that day they had never heard them speake. Finally they daily pretended new quarrels to enter into War. for the most Wicked and Mutinous had the greatest credite in the Army.

And when as the Carthaginians had made promise vinto them, to do all things possible, in the end they agreed, that for any thing that should be doubtfull, they should Refer themselves to that which the Generall should decree, under whom they had made War in Sicily. They did not much affect Amilear Barca, under whose charge they had bid, for that he came not to fee, them during this diffention, and that he had formerly Relinquish his commaund over them of his owne motion: Contrativise they all in generall loued Gefcon, who had bin their Gaptaine in Sicily, and who had intreated them curteoully aswell in all other things, as in their passage to Affricke; wherefore he had the charge by a common confent. Presently being imbarked with Mony, and arising at Tunes, he called the Captaines: then he caused eugry nation to Assemble, and blamed them for their faults past, and C admonishing them for the present, and giving them advice by a long to the Souldiers Theech for the time to come, to continue good friends to the Carthagi. nians, who had intertayned them so long. Finally he perswades them to. Rest satisfied with their pay, the which he desired to divide among the Nations.

Spendius.

Malbe.

ratale ...

Or Geffon.

There was by chance a Campanow in the Army called spendius, who being lately a flaug vnto the Romanes, had fled into Sicily: This was a bold and hardy Man, and a good Souldier: Who (fearing that if they agreed with the Carthaginians, he should be Restored to his Maister, D and then put to Death according to the Roman Lawes) vsed Audacious speeches, and laboured by all meanes to mutine them all, defiring troubles rather then any accord, and Wars then Peace. Moreover an Affricaine called Matho, a free Man who had beene in the Wars of Sieily, for the Carthaginians, feared to be punished, for that he had much incenfed the Munity a during the Differtion. This Matho ioyning with Spendius, drawes together all the Affricaines, and Aduises them to consider well what they had to doe in this Action, and that

they should restassured, that presently after the Retreate of the other Souldiers, having received their pay, the Carthaginians would be reuenged wholly vpon them, (labouring by this meanes to terrific all the Affricanes with punishment) and for this reason they should looke well to themselves.

The whole Troupe being much mooued with this speech, and like. wife for that Gefcon had onely tpoken of their bare pay, without any mention of Recompence for Horfes dead, nor of Corne for fo many yeeres, they drew presently all together to consult of their Affaires. A And when as Spendius and Matho vied very bad speeches against Gescon and the Carthagintans, they easily gaue eare vnto them. And if any one fought to thew the contrary, they had not the Patience to heare them, if it were contrary to the opinion of Spendim, but beat them downe presently with stones. By this meanes the Murther was great, not onely of Captaynes but of fimple Souldiers, fo as there was nothing heard in the Army during this Mutiny, but all cryed out together, Charge, charge. And although they did this continually, yet their fury was greater, when they parted drunke from the Table. By this meanes as soone as any one cryed Charge, the stones flew about, so B as there was no meanes of Retreate. Wherefore when no Man dorft speake any thing in the Assembly, they made choise by a general confent of Matho and Spendius for their Captaines. And although that Gefeon faw this great trouble and mutiny in the Campe, yet he defited to prefer the Publicke Vtility before all other things. Wherefore leeing that by the mutiny of the Souldiers increasing daily more and more, the Carthaginians were in great danger, he refolued to pacific it, and to trye all meanes with the hazard of his life.

One day he called the Heads of the Conspiracy, another day some Nation apart, labouring to pacific their fury by prayers and promifes. C But for asmuch as they had not yet received the Corne, which they fayd was due ento them, and that they quarrelled continually, Gefcon defirous to reftraine their concempt, commaunded them to fet downe their demands to their Captaine Mathe. At which words the Commons incensed grew so insolent, as they presently seized uppon all the Siliter which was brought thither for their pay, laying hold vpon Gefcon and the Carthaginians that were with him. But Mathe and Spendine Captaynes of the whole Troupe, thought prefently to commit some Act of great Villany, to the end that the War might be the more inflamed. And therefore in commending the infolency of the Souldiers. D they tooke with the Money all the baggage of the Carthaginians, and gave order to thut vp Gefcen with all his company, after they had done them many outrages.

After this, they made open War against the Carthaginians, with the most cruell Conspiracy, that ever had beene heard speake of voto that day. Behold the causes of the beginning of this War, made a. gainst the Souldiers, which they call Affricane.

After that Matho and Spendius had done as wee have fayd, they affine by feat Embassics to all the people of Affricke mooning them to liberty; Marino and

and Spending.

and intreating them to give them fuccours against the cruelland tyrannous Empire of the Carthaginians, who in a manner all found the enterprize good, and sent Men and Victualls in aboundance. And after that the Captaines had divided their Army in two, one part went to beliege Bisarthe, and the other Hippona, for that they would not conlent vnto the Conspiracy. The Carthaginians who had beene accustomed to feed their families only by Tillage, and to draw their publicke Treasure from the Tributes of Affricke, and moreover to mannage their War by Mercenaries; being then not onely frustrated of all their things, but moreover seeing they were all turned to their Ruine, found A themselues suddainly in great difficulties, not knowing which way to turne them. And they found them the more desperate, for that they had hapned contrary to all opinion.

It is true, they were in hope, after they had beene tyred with the long Wars of Sicily, and had in the end made a peace with the Romans, that they might rest for a time, and take breath; but it succeeded otherwise. Beleeue me, this War suddainly kindled, was more dangerous than the other: For that in the first, they did not fight with the Romans but for the Conquest of Sicily; but in this they were forced, to vndergoe the danger for themselues, for their samilies and their Country. Moreouer they were vnfurnished of Armes, of a Fleete at Sea, and of Equipage for shipping, for that they had lost many in their battels at Sea. They had no more hope of Tributes, nor in the fuccours of their friends and Allies. Finally they faw then what difference there was betwixt a Forraine and Transmarine War, and the mutiay of a civill fedition, of which mischiefe vndoubtedly they themselues were the cause: For in their first War, they did Lord it over the people of Affricke, with too great Tyranny and conetousnesse, for that they were of opinion they had good cause, so as they leuied a full molety of all their fruites. They also doubled the Tributes, and did C not pardon those which had offended through ignorance. They gave Offices not to fuch as were milde and gracious, but to those which augmented the publicke Treasure, although they had tyrannized the people, like vnto Hanne of whom we have spoken.

The cruell and

pire of the

Carthaginians.

By this meanes it hapned that the people of Affricke feemed glad to Revolte, not onely at the perswasion of many, but at a simple Messenger. There is nothing moretrue, that even the Women of every Towne conspired, for that in former times they had seene their Husmence afficke. bands and Children led into servitude, for that they had not payed the Tribute: so as they made no reservation of their goods which they had D remayning, but moreover they did contribute their Icwels, (a hard thing to believe) to supply the payment of the Souldiers. By this meanes Matho and Spendius gathered together so great a quantity of filuer, as it was not onely sufficient to satisfie the promises which they had made to the Souldiers, from the beginning of the Conspiracy, but they had more than was needfull to mannage the War. Wherefore a wife man must not looke vnto the present time, but also vnto the future.

And although the Carthaginians were environed on all fides with fo many miseries, yet they fainted not abut gaue the conduct to Hanne (for that formerly they held he had ended the Warre neere voto Hecatontophylon) of those Souldiers they could leuie in this necessity of time. They also armed the young men of the Towne, and caused their Horfes to be practifed : They repaired the remainder of their ships, and old Tri. emes, and caused new to be made.

In the meane time Matho and Spendius, (to whom three score and ten thousand armed men of Affrica had joyned,) after they had desided their Army in two as wee haue faid, held Bifarthe and Hippona besieged, yet not abandoned their Gampe neere voto Tunes. By this meanes all Affricke was shut vp to the Carthaginians. You must vnderstand that Carthage is seated upon a Promontory, which aduanceth into the Theseituation Sca, and is in forme of an Island, but that it ioynes vnto Affricke by a of carthage. little space of land. In regard of the Citty, it is enuironed of the one side by the Sea, and on the other by Marishes. The breadth of the Countrey whereby it is iounced to Affricke, containes not about three miles; whereof the Towns of Bisarthe is not far off from that side which looks towards the Sea: And that Tunes ioynes vpon the Marithes. The Ene-B mies hauing planted their Campes at Tunes and Bifarthe, tooke from the Carthaginians the rest of Affricke : and making courses sometimes by Day, and sometimes by Night vnto the walles of the Citty, they gave

them great Allarums, and put them in feare.

In the meane time Hanno made preparation of all things necessary for the Warre. Hee was a diligent man, and well practifed in fuch things; although that soone after hee had gone to field to finde the Enemy, he committed an act of little judgement, in not discerning the times. You must vnderstand that assoone as he was sent to succour the besieged in Bisarthe, he forced the Enemies at the first charge, being C terrified with the multitude of Elephants : but afterwards his conduct was fo bad, as hee drew the befreged (for whose succours hee was come into great danger, and extreame milery. For when he had brought great prouision of all forts of Engins for battery, and had lodged his Campe neere voto the Towne-walles: hee fought with the Enemy, who could not endure the violence of the Elephants : Wherefore they abandoned the Campe, with great loss of their men, and retired to a little Mountaine strong of it selfe, and full of Groues. But Hanno who had not beene accustomed to make Warre but against the Numidians, who after they have once taken a flight, doe seldome stay untill the Numidians. D the third day, had no care to pursue them, supposing he had gotten an absolute victory; but entred into Bifarthe, not thinking of any thing but to make good cheere.

But the Enemies having made Warrein Sicily under Amilear, and beene accustomed many times to flye before the Enemy, and suddainly to charge agains the same day, having newes of Hanno's retreate Surprise of the into Bisarthe, and that the Campeas Victors was secure; they as- Surprise of the fayled it by furprize, and flew part of them : the rest were forced to re- Campe. couer the Towne, to their great shame and ignominy. All the equipage

The River of

Da achera.

Sepbyra.

50

of Engins was taken without refiftance. It is true, that this was not the onely misfortune which at that time did prejudice the Carthaginians by the folly of Hanne. For some few dayes after, when as the Enemies camped neere vnto Sorze, and that an opportunity was offered to defeate him easily, having beene twice in quarrell, and twice in battell one against amother, as they are accustomed, hee lost these two occafions by his folly and baleneffe.

Wherefore the Carthaginians confidering that Hanno did not mannage this War well, they by a generall confent made Amilear Captaine againe: to whom they gaue three score and ten Elephants, and all the A Souldiers and Fugiriues, with some Horse-men, and the young men of the Towne, so as hee had about ten thousand Souldiers. But affoone as he had marcht forth with his Army, he presently by his admirable vertue brake the hearts of his Enemies, and raised the siege of Bifarthe; and then he shewed himselfe worthy of the glory which they had given him for his prowesse in times past; and that hee was worthy of the hope which all men conceiued of him. Behold wherein they first disco-

uered his diferetion and judgement.

The Cape whereon Carthage stands, is joyned to Affricke like vnto a crooked backe, and is very flony; with Mountaines full of wood, B whereas the waves are very vneasie and inaccessible, they being most of them made by the hand of man. And therefore Mathe had feized voon all the little Hills that were voon the way, and had planted good Garrisons. Moreouer hee passed the Riser which they call Machera, the which hath high banks, and a very swift course, and cannot be past but by a Bridge, vpon the which stands the Towne of Sephyra, the which Matho did likewise hold. By this meanes the pallages of Affricke were not onely that vp from the Carebaginian Army, but also from a private person. The which Amilear confi. dering, and trying all meanes to passe into Affricke, in the end hee C vsed this inuention. Hee had observed that sometimes the course of this River was fo stopt by the Winde, as the mouth of it overslowed, and made in a manner a great poole, and at that time it had no great fall into the Sea. Wherefore hee was of opinion, that at this feafon they might passe it neere vnto the Sea. Hee kept this secret, and onely made necessary preparation for the Army to march. Hee carefully attended the opportunity of the time, and then appointed his Army to part secretly in the Night, and to passe the River.

But at the breake of day the Enemy and they that were in the Towne, were wonderfully amazed at this passage. In the meane D time Amilear march'd with his Army directly to those which held Sephyra. When as Spendius had the news that Amilears Campe had past. he presently makes haste with his forces to succour his men. Behold how the two Campes succoured one another. There were 10000, men in Sephyra, neere vnto the Bridge: and about 15000 in Bifarthe. These thinking they might easily compasse in the Carthaginians, if they all marcht against them at one instant, some in front, and the other at their backes, suddainly they tooke courage, and marcht against amilear

with all their. Troopes awho shwaves mad but the the the politicis in the following the best wild the the politicis in the following the best wild at the week of the best wild at the week of the best wild at the best wild at the best will be the shift of the shift o wated feturned backe on making thew of forme meht alfind they which were in the Reastertaking another was somatche distinity to the foreward. The which the Lykian feeing who affailed the Caribad in an on eithing fide, and thinking that the Enemites amazett at this Anarum and A feet; they began to purious them without order, and came fudball to fight. But when as they faw the Hibrae, men approach, and fight of the But when as they faw the Hibrae, men approach, and factor of the Buttalions to fall upon them with great furly (Amillard at 1915, new The Victory of manner of War, they were foone broken y and in the fall factor of Amiliar. Some were defeated by the Legionaries, who charged them upon the A taks with great flaughtens; others by the Elephants and Horie mes who entred after the Lagionaries There were fixe thousand men fline hand about 100 thousand ha ken? the rest said them dies ph. Help in 1914 if the 1 owne of 1814 it the interest was them when in the said the contract B fortune amiliar pursued those which had gotten into separate the cooke at his comming, for the Souldiers that were within it, fled prelently to Tunes .: and from thence running oper the Pro-

uince, he tooke diners Townes, whereof lome were won by breach and affault. By this meanes the Contraction, who before were dejected and Witholit hope, tooke heart, and reconered their ancient courage. At that time Matho lield Hippone belieged, and had per waded spendies, end Ausarice, Captaino of the daules; to purfue the Enemy and that Hying the Plaines, by reafon of the multitude of Elephanis and Horse men, they should keepd the foote of the Mountaines, and not to C goe faire from them vpon any occasion that should be offered. Moreother nedends often to the Numidians and Librare, foliciping and interesting them to give him succours and not to lole lo great an opportunity to reflore Affrick to liberty: spending then having made choice of fixe thoufand old Souldiers out of the Campo which was at Tunes, lodged contiqually negre vato the Enemy a keeping the foote of the Mountaines. Moreoner he had the Gaules with him, which were ynder the charge of Antarice, to the number of about two thouland menifor the rest of their Troope which was in Sicily had retired to the Romans during the

Whilest that Amilear stayed with his Army in a Plaine, wholly in uironed with Mountaines, there came great supplies of Numidian and Supplies of Numidian Affricans to Spendius. By this meanes the Carthaginian Atmy (Was come to Spenbelieged with three Camps. The Affricans were in front the Wanniele dim. suspence what counsell heeshould take, being thus befet. There was at that time among the Numidians a certaine man called Warane por a noble and auncient extraction, and of a Royall courage, Hee had alwayes beene fanourable vnto the Carebaginians, keeping his Fathers

Naraue,

affection,

affection, and who then had succoured them, for that similear was chofen facil Capesine. Thinking new to have found a good opportunity to purchale their friendlhip., he marched directly to the Campe, accomproved with about an hundred Namidians being necte wire it he makes a fland, giving them a figure with his hand that he would parley. geller wondring ap his great boldneffe , fends an Horfe man vnto him, to whom he layd, that he was come to speake with the Commaunder of the Army, And as amilear flood fithin doubt, and could not be-Teche him; the Numidian leanes his Horfe, his Lauce, and his Company, and goes directly voto him without any feare for amazement. A The whole Army wondred, and were amaged at this Namidians Breat confidence. Finally, being called to parley, he told him that he had alwayes borne a great affection to the warthaginians, and that he had dong deflied the Friendship of Amilia. Moreover that he was come to doc him feruice, and to put thimselfe and his estate faithfully into his hands upon all occasions. Amiliar hearing this Speech, was so lioyfull, aswell for the holdnesse of this young Man, who had presented himselfe foconfidently vato him, as for the planeness of his Speech, that he not onely made him Companion of his fortunes, but protefled and vowed white him to glue him his Daughter, in keeping his faith to B the Carthaginians. After this discourse Narane retired to his men, and within three dayes after returned to Amilear with two thousand men which he had vnder his charge. The Carthaginians being fortified with this troope, Amilear durft

fight with the Enemy. Spending likewise supplied with Numidians and Affricans, drawes his Army into the Plaine, and without any long flay comes to the Combate, which was cruell. Finally, the Carehaginians relying in the multitude of their Elephants, and likewife Narane performing his duty well, they had the Victory: Autarice and of the carpa.

ginians against Spendius having no more hope, fled. There were ten thousand men C

flaine, and about foure thousand taken.

After this battell Amilear freed those that would follow the Warre vader him, and armed them with the Enemies spoyles, telling them that refused, that they should no more carry Armes against the Cartha. ginians, and for all that which they had formerly done they were pardoned. Moreover, that it was lawfull for them to retire into their Countrey, if they thought it good : but if they were found heareafter attempting any enterprize, their punishment was certaine. At the fame time the mercenary ftrangers which kept Sardinia, affailed all the Carthaginians that were there, after the example of Spendius and Ma. D Sardinia.

Bollare flaine, the, and having thut vp Captaine Boffare with his Company into a Fort, they put him to death. Hanno was afterwards fent with a new Army, against whom the Strangers conspired with the old Souldiers, and after they had committed great cruckies, they hang'd him. Then feating to be punished for so great a villany, they sew and strangled all the Garthaginians which inhabited Sardinia, and tooke all the Townes and Forts, enloying the Hand untill that a fedition rifing betwirt them and the Sardinians, they chased them away, and forced

A mutiny of mercenary Souldiers in Sardinia.

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them to flye into Italy. By this meanes the Carthaginians loft Sardi. wie wavery great Hland, well peopled, and abounding with all come the Corthagimodicies: It will not be needfull to relate thole things which are apparent by that which others have written.

Mentho, Spendius, and Autholee Chiefe of the Gaulet, fearing that this clemency of amiliar in feeing the Priferers with pardon, would gaine the Lybians, and other Souldiers, they laboured to commit forms villanous act; to effrange the hearts of their men wholly from the Carthaginiums. And therefore they affembled them together, where foone after a Post comes with Letters, as if hechad beene suddainly arrived A from Sardinia; the tenor whereof was, that they fliculd keepe Goffen and the other Prisoners carefully and that there were some in the Campe, who to parchale grace and fanor with the Carthaginians, would fer them at liberty. Spendim having found this occasion, first advised his Companions that they should not regard the deliusry of the Prife. ners, under the colour of Amilears counterfeite clemency : For her had not freed them for any defire hee had to faue them, but to the end shat by this meanes hee might have them all, and afterwards punish them ingenerall. Moreover he gave them chaige to keepe Gefon with his G ompany carefully, that they might not escape through negligence: but if they did otherwise, the Enemies would make no great accompt of them, and withall they should have great inconveniences in their Warre.

But who will doubt that to excellent a Captaine, and of fo great experience in the Warre, will not fuddainly become their mortall Enemy, when he shall be escaped by their negligence ? Whilest hee was Letters from thus fpenking, behold another Me flenger comes from Tunes, bringing Tunes, tothe Letters of the fame Tenour, the which being Reid voto the AC fembly, ansarice Commaunder of the Gaules flood up, faying, that he faw no meanes for their fafety, but by taking away all the hope they C haue in the Carthaginians. For as long as any one hath respect vnto their clomency, he can neuer be a loyall Companion in the War. And therefore we must believe, heare, and content vito the opinion of those. which shall give advice to do the worst we can vuto the Carshaginians. and to hold such as shall fay the contrary feet enemies and Traytors. When he had made an end of this Speech, hee aduifed them to put Gefcon and his company to fome cruell death, with all the Carrhagini.

ans which had bin fince taken:

This Antarice had great credite in their Affemblies, for that they all vaderstood him, speaking the Purique Language, which at that D time was common among the whole Army, by reason of the long War, wherein he had ferued wider the Carthaginians , and therefore his Aduice was easily allowed by the Army, in regard of the fauour he had among the Souldiers. And although many of every Nation, walking and conferring together; did not thinke it fit to vie fuch cruelty, especially against Gescon, who had done them so much good, yet they heard nothing of that which they foake, for that they talked among themselves in their Languages. But when as they saw that they did not like of patting the Carthaginians to Death, a leditious Min

Lib. 1.

A great inhu.

who was by chance among them, Grysd our with a loud voice. Charge: At which word they were presently bearen downdwith flones by the Multitude, foas their Kinimen carried them away foone after differenbred as if brute Beilts had torne them in peaces dro dollward velacit

to death.

This done, they take Gefcon . and the other Prisoners which were to Gellon with his the number of feuco hundred, and led them without the Ranspiers. Con pany put and there beginning with the head, whom a little before they had cho-Ten among all the Cartherinium as the Man which had intreated them belt, they cut off all their hands, and Diffeembred them, and in breaking their Less, they sall them thus living into a Ditch. The A Carthaginians aductifed of to great a ctuelty dope who their Citizens, knew nor what to do, but that which was in them; to be wontlerfully incenfed, and to lament for the great ignominy of their Citeys and the mifety of their Citizens. Finally, they lent to Amilean and Hanne, which were the other Commaunders of the Army, increating them that fo great a cruelty done voto their Citizens : Bould not remayne Morcouer they fent an Embassie to the seenemies to require the Bodies

A cruell refo-

to be interred, Who not only refused them, but alforfor bled them inot to fend hereafter any Treaters of Reace voto them, nor Embeffice, and if they did it they must expect to indure the like paynes that Gefcon had fuffied: and moreover they had concluded, that as many Carthagini. ans as fell into their hands, should be cruelly flayne: And as for their Allies they should lose their hands, so the which afterward they idid carefully observe. Wherefore he shap will duly consider these things. may boldly lay, that the Bodies of Men, and lome of their Vices, do not onely increale lometimes , butallo their hearts much more it Belecue that cuen as Vicers are inflamed by Medicines, and are impaired if they be applyed; and it they make no reckoning of them, they dilate and extend themselves of their mature, and never cease vitill the Body be wholy corrupted and rotten; fo, it many times fals out of the C Vices and corruptions of mans minde , fo as there is no. Beaft fo cruell or fauage as Man: To whom if thou doest any grace or remission of punishment, or some other good, he growes worse, esteeming all this but Deceite, and wilbe more distruitfull of his Benefactors: And if on the other fide thou feekest to refift him; there is nothing for nreasons. ble, fo cruell, nor fo wicked, but he will eafily undertake it glorifying himselse in his presumption, vntill his proud Spirit hath past the bounds of Reason. Of which things the beginning and the greatest part, proceedes from the lewd life, and bad breeding of Youth. There are D other things which adde much vnto it, and namely the Couctoulnes and cruelty of the Captaynes. All which Vices were found at that time in this Army, and especially, in the Commaunders,

In the meane time Amilear bearing the enemies outrages impatiently, caused Hanno, another Captayne Generall for the Carthagini. ans to come vntohim imagining that when the whole Army were together, the Warre would be the more easily ended. Finally, he caufed the enemies which were then taken, or afterwards, to bee cruelly The second of th

flaine. or denoured by Beafts, hoping that the Watre would then haue an end , if hemight pur them all to Death. As the Carthaginians seemed at that time to be in better hope . Fortune suddainly chan. Red, fo as their Affaires beganne to impaire and grow worfe : For as foone as thefe two Captaines were joyned together, they fell into fuch Differtion bediffention, as they not onely left purluing the enemy, but good them and Hango. great occasions of their owne defeate.

For which causes the Carthagintans being modued; they sent word that one of them should returne to the Citty, and that hee which the A Souldiers loued both, should remayne in the Campe. They had alfo a. nother inconvenience : For their great thippes wherewith they brought Corne and other neseffaries to the Campe, were in a manner all broken in a storme. Moreover Surdinia, from whence they were wont to draw great succours for the affaires of Warre, was lost for them, as we have fayd. And to the end their miferies should be full, the Townes of Hippona and Bifarthe, which alone among all the people of Affrick had Bifarthereuolt kept their Faith inniolable to the Carthaginians, not only in this War, from the carbut in that of Agathocles, and in the time of the Romanes; revolted then not onely ignominiously from the Affricanes, but also shawed B them fuddainly a wonderfull Affection and Loue : And to the Carthagia mians an implacable hatred, casting into the Ditches all the Carthagimians with their Captaines, which were there for their Guard, to the number of fine hundred, after they had cruelly flayne them: And they

deliuered the Towne, and would not render the Bodies to the Citizens of Carthage to interre them. By this meanes Spendins and Mathogrew more infolent, and laved flege before Carebage. Amilear at that time had Hannibal for a companion in his charge, whom the Carthaginians fent him, when as the Souldiers left Hanne, to whom during the diffention of the Captaines. C the people of Carthage left a power to retayne whom they pleafed. Amilear accompanied by Hannibal and Naraue, ouer-ran the whole Prouince, cutting off the Victuals from the enemy, wherein the Numidia an Naraue did him great feruice. This was the estate of their Campes. The Carthaginians being thus oppress by their enemies, were forced to erate fuccours from their Allies, to whom at that time Hierenof, Saragosse fent them great affishance, supplying them with whatsocuer they demaunded. For he was of opinion that the preferuation of the Garthaginians was necessary for him, as well for the safety of his cstate, as to entertayne the friendship of the Romanes ; to the end that after the D ruine of Carthage, they might eafily do whatfoeuer they pleafed with-

our contradiction. This was wifely confidered of him: For in truth no Man must feeme carelesse of such things, neither must they suffer any one to grow to lo great a power, as he shall haue cause euer after to feare a manifest iniustice. The Romans also bound by the Arricles of the peace, did what they could possibly to relieve them. It is true, that in the beginning, there was some differtion for the causes which follow. When the Carthaginians were first besieged, they tooke about fine hundred

shaginians.

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Men, who tayling from Italy for gayne, were taken and put in prilon. The people of Rome tooke this in ill part. But when as foone after they had lent an Embaffie for this cause, the Carshaginians freed them, and intreated them cuttoufly. This was so pleasing voto the Romanes, as The courtese presently they delivered all the Prisoners, which they had yet remayof the Remanes ning fince the Warres of Sigily, without Ransome, succouring them still when soeuer they required it and suffered their Merchants to carry them Corne, forbidding them to furnish the enemies Campe with any Victuals. Moreover at fuch times as the old Souldiers of Sardinia reuolted agaynst the Carthaginians, they would not give Audience to A their Embassadours, who were sent to deliver them the Island. A while after they would not receive the Bifarthins, who would in like manner have given themselves veto them : For that they would not in any fort infringe the Articles of the Peace: The Carthaginians thus relieved by the fuccours of their Allies, indured the fiege more eafily.

Mathe and Spendim were no leffe befreged than they did befrege: For Amilear had reduced them to fuch great want of all things, as they were in the end forced to raile the fiege. Soone after they made choyle of the ablest Men of all their bands, to the number of fifty Theuland, and went presently to seeke out Amilear. Moreover they kept not the plaines, fearing the Elephants and the Horse men, whereof Narane had the Charge, but striving still to gaine the high and inaccessible places : during the which, although they were as strong and hardy as the Car. thaginians, yet they were often beaten, for that they vnderstood not the practife of Warre. Then they might eafily judge what difference there is betwint the good conduct of a Captaine, and the ouer-weaning of a Multitude. He separated some and inclosed others by his industry, being forced by their private necessity. Healfo defeated many by Ambushes in full fight. Sometimes he terrified the enemies, falling vppon them by surprize. All such as were taken aliue, were cast vinto the Bcafts.

Finally, he lodged about his enemies to their great disaduantage, and to the benefit of the Carthaginians, drawing them into such necessity, as they neither durst come to fight for feare of the Elephants and Horse. men, neyther could they fafely flye, for that they were enuironed with necessity which Ditches and Pallisadoes. Finally, hunger did so presse them as they did eate one another. Behold the reuenge which the gods tooke of them for the cruelties they had committed against their Friends. They came not to fight, both for that the Carthaginians were assured of the Victory, and their punishment was certayne. They made no mention of any treaty of peace, for that they knew well there was no hope of D Mercy, having committed such great cruelties. Finally they indured all miseries, expecting daily succours from Tunes. But when they had Famine makes cruelly caten up their Prisoners, and their Servants, (a kind of living which they had long vied) and that no fuccours came from Tunes, they knew not what to resolue, for the extremity of the Famine, and the feare of punishment. Finally, Autarice, Zarne, and Spendius resolued to parley with Amilear. By this meanes they demaunded leane to

The extreame preft the ftrangers Campe.

them to cate men.

fend Embaffadours : The which being granted, the Embaffic comes, with whom Amilear agrees, that it should be lawfull for the Carthaginians, to chuse ten such as they pleased out of their whole Army, and that the rest might retire in their shirts without any harme. The which when they had concluded, Amilear told them, that according to the agreement he made choise of those that were in his presence. By this meanes Spendius, Autarice, and the other heads of the Army were delivered vnto him:

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When the Lybians had newes of the taking of their Captaines, thin-A king that the Carthaginians had broken their Faith, for that they knew not the Articles of the peace, they tooke Armes, fortifying themselues in a Quarter of the Campe : To whom Amilear gaue battell with the Elephants and his whole Army, and slew them all, whereof the number was aboue forty thousand men. This was neere vnto a place which Forty thousands and the fauther flat they call Serra, for that it doth resemble an instrument, which at this by Amiliar. day is called Sie. This done, the Carthaginians who before feemed to have lost all hope, began to affure themselves, and to recover their courage and Spirits. In the meane time Amilear with Hannibal and Naraue ouer-ran the Country, and the Townes of the Prouince, where B having reduced the greatest part of Affricke with the Townes, they go and lay fiege to Tunes, and befiege Matho with all his Company. Hannibal lay on that fide which lookes to Carthage, and Amilcar was

opposite vnto him : Thither they brought Spending and his Companions, who were hang'd on a Croffe. Matho seeing that Hannibal made his retreat but badly, and without order, did not thinke it fit to lose this occasion. Wherefore he pre- A defeatof the fently gaue a charge, and flew part, the rest stying away. Finally hee partbaginians spoyl'd the Campe and all the Baggage. Hannibal himselse was taken, whom presently they crucified in the place of Spendius, after they had C done him a thousand indignities. Moreouer they slew thirty Gentle had men of Carebage; about the body of spendius most cruelly, by a power gluen them by Fortune for a mutuall reuenge. Amilear was not loone enough advertised of the enemies fally, by reason of the distance of the two Campes, neyther was it in his owne power to relieue them, in regard of the difficulty of the places. Wherefore leaving Times, and

leading his Army to the River of Machera, he lodged pointhe bankes ar the month of it.

Lib. I.

The Carthaginians having newes of this defeate, began againe to haue a bad conceite of their Warre : But they presently resumed cou-D rage, vfing all possible diligence for the preservation of the Citty. They fent an Embassie to amilear of thirty Senators, with a leuy of young men vnder the Commaund of that Hanno, who formerly had brene the Generall. They give these Senators charge, to deale so with the two Captaines, as their private hatred might be smothered and supprest, and that they should force them to manage this Warre by their common Counfell, in laying before them the miseries of the time and the presentnecessity. After that the Senators had drawne these two Captaines together, and vied divers speeches vnto them, in the

A Battell WON ginians,

Reconciliation end they perfeade them to pardon one another, and to obey the Carof Amiliar and than in ans. By this meanes all the Affaires were governed by a common Councell, so as when as Mathe was reduced to a streight, after many incounters, Ambushes, and pursuits which they had layd for him neere to the Towne of Leptis, and in other places, in the end they ap-Affignation of pointed a fet day of battell with the enemy : to the which both Armies prepared with Resolution. So they called their Allies, and drew men from all parts, even vnfurnishing their Townes of Garrisons, as if by this battell they should decide all their affaires. When as all things necessary for the fight were ready on eyther side, they io yned vpon the A day appointed. The battell was cruell, but in the end the Carthagi. nians had the Victory. The greatest part of the enemies were slaine in fighting: The reft which retired to the next Towne, yeilded soone after to the Carthaginians. In regard of Mathe he was taken aliue. They only of Bifarthe and Hippona finding themselues guilty, and having no hope of pardon and Mercy, continued obstinate in their Rebellion. See how a reasonable contentment hath power in all things, and how much better it is, not to affect and seeke a thing, which afterwards is intellerable to another.

Finally after that Amilear and Hapno began to approach neere vnto R them, they had no more hope, but were forced to yeild vpon such conditions as pleased the Carthaginians. Thus ended the Warre of Affrick, but so happily for the Carthaginians, as they not only recoursed Affricke, but punished all the Heads of the Rebellion according to their merites. Thus Metho and all the other Priloners, were led in Try-Matho punish- umph through the Citty by the Youth of Carthage, and in the end punished for their Villanies. This Warre continued peere three yeares and four moneths, the most cruell and inhumane that cuer was heard

The Romanes at that time folicited by the Souldiers which were re-Note the Initi- thred out of Sardinia vnto them, prepared to undertake the Voyage. flice of the Ro. And when as the Carthaginians were discontented, saying that the Island belonged vnto them, and prepared an Army to send thither, the Remanes laying hold of this occasion, fignified Warre vnto them, complaying that this preparation of an Army was not le much for Saidinia as against them. But the Carthaginians vellding to the time. vnderständing well their owne weaknesse, to renew a Warre against the Romanes, indeauoured to avoide all occasions, so as they left the Island vnto them. And moreover they paied vnto the Romanes seapen hundred thouland Crownes to redeeme the Warre. Thus matters pate D at that time. The substitution of the su

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SECOND BOOKE of the History of POLYBIVS.



Lib. 2.

E hauerelated in the Fiest Booke, at what time the Remanes began to inuade Forraine Nations, after they had pacified Italy . And how they past into Sicily, and the causes why they made Warre against the Carthaginians: At what time alfo they began first to put an Army to Ses, and Summarily all the Affaires which hapried to the end of this Warre, to the one of the gener. In the which finally the Carthagins and and oned

Sicily, whereof the Remanes were absolute Lords, except those places which Hieran King of Saragose held. Wee have subjequently let downe, how after the Mutiny raifed betwirt the Carthaginian and their Souldiers, the Warre was kindled, which they call affricaine; And what extremity and incredible cruelty was vied, and whathe end was. Now we will indeauout to writein few Words the accidents B which hapned fince, touching every thing as we have propounded a the beginning.

After that the Carthaginians had reduced Affricke to their obedience, they fent smilear prefently into Spaine with an Army, who (parting with all his Troupes, and having his Sonne Hannebal with him, about nine yeares of age) past beyond the pillars of Hercules, and recouered a great part of Spaine. Where Raying about nine yeares, comquering many Townes by force, and others by composition, to haue their lives and goods fafe, hee dyed a Death worthy of his The death of

actions. Amiliar.

Afdrubal made Generall.

бo

actions. For when he had made Warre against couragious and powerfull people, he dyed after hee had exposed himselfe to all dangers. with great affurance, and the admiration of all the World. After this the Carthaginians made Asdrubal kinsman to Amilear, (who had commaunded the Triremes) Generall of their Army: At which time the Romanes palied to Sclauenia, and tothat part of Europe with an Army. They which defire to vnderstand truely our Discourse, with the beginning and increase of the Remane power, must diligently observe it. This Voyage by Sea, was undertaken for the causes which here

Agree King of Sclauonia.

Demetrius Father to Philip.

Agron King of Sclauonia, was the Sonne of Plurate. This King drew to field more foote and Horse, than any that had reigned before him in Sciquenia. It is true, that he was corrupted with money, at the perswasson of Demetrius Father to Philip, so as he succoun'd the Midieniens, whom the Btoliens held belieged. You must vnderfland, that when the Etoliens faw that they could not draw the Midioniens to line according to their Lawes, they began to make Warre against them; laying siege to divers places, and doing what they possibly could to take the Citty. And as in the meane time the day of the affembly was come, wherein they were to chuse another Captaine of a the Army, and that the belieged were growne so weake, as they seemed to have no other thoughts but of yeilding , he which at that time was Generall. came vato the Etoliens, and let them understand that it was reasonable, that he who had indured so great paines, and exposed himselfe to so many dangers during the Warre, should have the booty and ipoile of the enemies if they were vanquilhed. There were many, cuen of these which had any colour to attaine vnto that charge, who discontented with this kind of demaund, intrested the multitude not to determine any thing . but to leave the booty to him to whom Fortune should give it. Finally the Etoliens decreed that who forter should winne the Towns, he should share a moiety of all the Booty, Riches, and Armes, with him who formerly had beene the Com-

Sclauonia to

While matters flood on these termes, and that within three dayes after the Assembly was to meete (where according to the Custome of the Etoliens, the last Commanuer was to be Deposed, and a new chosen) there arrived in the night about a hundred ships neere to Midionia, with ten thouland men of Sclauonia: Who after they had the Midionians. recovered the Port, and the day began to breake, they landed in hafte and by steales, and then they marched in battell after their manner a- p gainst the Esoliens Army. And although the Esoliens being advertised of their comming, were at the first amazed at this newes, and the boldnesse of the Sclauonians. Yet having great spirits and courage, relying also in their Forces, they drew out before their Campe, the greatest part of their Horse and Armed men, and placed vpon some passages, which were not farre from the Camp, some Horses and such \ as were lightly Armed. The which were charged and broken by the Scianonians, as well by reason of the multitude of their Souldiers.

Souldiers, as for that the middest of their battell was strongly fortified. In regard of the Horse men, they were forced to flye shamefully vato their Campe: From thence thorough the advantage of the place, they marcht speedily against those which kept the Plaine, whom they the Etolium by charged and put presently to flight. The Midionians fally forth, and the Selanonians purise them; fo as there was a great flughter of the Etoliens, and many Prisoners, with the spoile of all their baggage, hauing found no resistance. When as the Sclanonians had performed their Kings Commaund, and shipt all their baggage and booty, they fet sayle and A retire to their houses.

The Midionians also being thus preserved contrary to their hope, they affembled, and held a Councell among themselves, as well for other affaires, as for the division of the booty taken from the Enemy, and of their Armes, to deuide them in common, by an example taken of him who had beene Chiefe of the Bioliens, and of those which according to the decree of the Esoliens, should succeed him : as if Fortune had done it willingly, to make the world know her force by the misfortune of the others. Intruth, these in a short time made their Enemies to feele the miseries which they themselves expected suddainly. The

B Etoliens after this milery serued for an example to the world, not to hold future things as already done, nor to put their hope in things which may succeed otherwise: And that wee must alwayes reserve some part in things which may happen contrary to our hope, as well as in all other actions, (leeing we are men) as in the affaires of Warre.

When as the victorious thips were arrived. King Agren transported with incredible toy for the exploits of his men, having vanquilhed the Esoliens, relying much vpon their forces; he gaue himselfe so to banqueting in the night, and to a foolish delight of drinking and watch- The death of ing, as hee fell into a Pleurisie, the which grew to violent, as hee King Agran. died within few dayes after. After whose death his Wife Tened Queenerena reigned, governing the Realme by the counfell and advice of her Friends. But afterwards shee followed her womanish affections, haming no care but of this prosperity, nor any regard to forreigne affaires: suffering all those that would goe to Sea, to spoile all passengers. Shee

allo railed a great Army at Sea, letting the Captaines vinderstand, that the Countrey which was right against hers, was Ehemy voto her : Who at the first affailed the Elsenses and Messenths, whom the Sclanonians spoiled often. But for that there is a laige Sea, and that the Townes of those Regions were all vyon the firme Lind; they D could not easily present the Scianonians countes : and therefore they did spoile and ruine the Countrey without any obstacle, And as at

the same time they sayled to Epirus to fetch viQuals, they came to phenisetaken Phenice, where there were about eight hundred Ganles, effertained by the Sclaus, by the Epirotes to guard the Towne. Here they landed and mians, paried with themito deliver it, whoreunto they yeelded for as they tooke it, and all that was within it by the helpe of the canter.

When the Epirotes had the newes, they came prefently to fliceout them with all their people, and lodged vponthe banks of a neere River.

Lib. 2.

Scerdilaide .

Then they tooke away the planks of the Bridge, to be free from the danger of those which kept the Towns. In the meane time they were aduertifed, that scerdilaide came by Land with fine thousand men, by the Streights of Antigonia. Wherefore they decided their Army in two. whereof the one went to guard the passages of Antigonia, and the other remained in the Campeidlely and negligently, confuming what was in that Countrey without feare, and disdayning to becreeany watch or guard. The Sclauonians within the Town advertised of the separation of the Army, and of the negligence of the Enemy, goe forth at mid-night, and lay planks vpon the Bridge: So croffing the River, A they gaine a place strong by Nature, where they passe the remainder of the Night without any noise. At the break of day either side were in batof the Selauonie tell, and the fight began. The Selauonians got the Victory: fo as few ans against the Epirotes escaped, the rest being taken or saine.

The Epirotes seeing themselves involved with so many miseries, and out of all hope, they fent an Embassie to the Etoliens and Acheins, crauing Succours from them; who having compassion of their afflictions, & desiring to relieue them, marcht to Helicrane: whither the Sclanonia ans (who as we have fayd had taken the Towne of Phenice, being iov. ned to Scerdilaide) came and lodged neere vnto them, defiring battell. B But the difficulty of the places kept them afunder: together with their Queenes letters, who commrunded them to make no longer stay, but to returne, for that some Townes of Scianonia had revolted to the Dar. daniens. Wherefore after they had fooiled the whole Province, they made a truce with the Epiretes: by the which they yeelded the Citizens and the City, but carried away all the flaues and pillage in their fhips. Thus one part retired by Sea, and the other by Land by the streights of Antigonia, leaving a wonderfull feare in the Sea-townes of Greece. Without doubt when they considered, that so strong and powerfull a Towne of the Epirotes had beene spoil'd, contrary to all expectance, they were not onely in feare (as formerly) for the Countrev. but also for themselves and their Townes.

After that the Epirotes had ended their Affaires farre better than they expected, they were to farre from taking revenge of the wrongs which they had received, or to thanke those which had allisted them . as they presently sent an Embassie to Queene Tenca; and made a league with the Arcanians and Sclauonians. Wherefore folon of the Bi- lowing after that time the party of the Udiriens, they became Enemies to the Acheins and Etoliens. Whereinthey were not only ingrate and vnrhankefull to their Benefactors, but also they had beene very ill counselled from the beginning of their affaires. And where as many (like men) fal fomtimes by the hazard of Fortune into great adverfities and milerles, it happens not for much by their owne fault, as by that of Fortune, or by fuch as are the procurers: But when as men feeke their misfortune by their owne indifference, their fault is evident. And there. fore when we fee some great disaster and adversity beful some men by Fortune, we doe not onely pitty them, but relieve them to our power: whereas we blame, condemne, and hate those whom we know to

haue beene the cause of their owne misfortunes by indifcretion and malice. The which the Grecians might at that time do with reason vato

But what man is so confident, which having no seare of the common fame of the Gaules inconstancy, would have dared to commit so noble a Citty vnto their charge, who had so many reasons to doubt of their Some Gastes fairh being benisht our of their Countries of their faith, being banisht out of their Countrey, for that they had fallified Countrey for their faith with their owne Nation : and who afterwards being re- their diffoyale tired by the Carthaginians, at fuch time as they had Warre with the ty. A Romans, and hearing a bruite of the revolte of mercenary Souldiers for pay which they had pretended was due vnto them, begin first to spoile Agragus, whereof they had the Guard, being about a thousand

men. Afterwards they were put in Garrison into Erix by the Carthaginians : the which they would have betrayed whilest the Romans besieged it. The which not able to eff. et, they retired to the Romans, who received them : After which they spoyled the Temple of Venus

When as the Romans law the treachery and fallehood of these Barbarians, having concluded a peace with the Carthaginians, they B disarmed them, and shipped them away, chassing them out of all traly. These are the men whom the Epirotes mede the Guardians of their Lawes and Common wealth, to whom they intrusted to faire and / rich a City : Who will not then blame them? Who will not fay but they have beene the cause of their owne miseries? Without doubt it is a great folly and indifferetion to entertaine forces, especially of barbarous men; and to put them into a Towne where they may bee the stronger, or more in number than the Cittizens. But wee have spoken sufficiently of the Epirotes folly.

The Sclauenians before, and many times spoiled such as faild from Italy and Phenicia, seeing that of late dayes they inhabited there, who leparating the miclues sometimes from the Army at Sea, spoiled many Merchants, or flew them. They had also carried away a good number of Prisoners. When this had been often complained of to the Senate; they made no accompt thereof ; Yet in the end they lent into Scianonia, Caine and Lucius Coroncanus in Embaffie, when as the complaints of many came voto them concerning the outrages of the Illieians. Maion's go

Vyhen the ships were returned from Phinicia in Safety, Tenes The Michigan (wondring at the beauty and greatnesse of the spoile) had a great are sclaunt. D and longing defire to make Warre against the Greciens , for in truth, one. it was the nichest Towne of all Epirus : But for that her Countrey was then in Combustion, flee could not attempt it. Moreouer, after thee had pacified Scianonia, and at fuch time as thee held the Romans befieged, which had alwayes continued firme, the Range in Fine Romans fic arrived, who having a day of audience appointed them, by the Teura Queene of Schumu. Queene at they made knowne wate her the outrages off within had done them. The Queene gaus care vato them with great price and arrow

After they had delinered their chargeine made answere, that she would take order, that her Subjects should not make open War against them: but it was not the custome of Kings to prohibite their private subjects to make what profit they could at Sea. At which words the yongest of the Embassadours made a bold and couragious answere, but in bad season. A told answer And therefore sayd he . Madame, it is the custome of the Romans to take apublicke revenge for private wrongs, and to relieve the atflicted : So as if it please God, wee well take such order, that hereafter you shall not be much troubled to reforme this kinde of royall customes. The Queene an ouer weening woman, grew into such a rage, as neglecting the right of A Nations, thee fent men at the returne of the Embassadours, to kill the youngest who had vied this Speech.

The Romans being advertised of this great affront, prepared presently to Warre, leuied men, and made a good number of Vessels: Finally, they prepared all things necessary to take reuengeof so great a crime. In the meane time the Queene fent in the Spring a greater numbet of ships into Greece than formerly; whereof one part saild to Cor. fue, and the other bent their course to the Port of Durago. Where making a shew to refresh themselves with water and victuals, they refolued to take the Towne. They of Durago being confident, and fea- B Durage furgit- ring nothing, fuffered them to enter without Armes, under colour of water and victuals; although their true intent was to take the Towne by Treason. But when they law themselves within the Towne, they tooke their Armes which they had hidden in their veffels for water, and killing the Guards at the Gate, made themschues Maistere thereof. Those in the flips being ready, entred in like manner, and seized voon a great part of the Walles : And although that they of the Towne were much amazed at this great and fuddaing accident, yet they made a long refistance, defending themselves valiantly; fo as the Scianonians were forced to retire. By this meanes it happened, that the Duralins who

were in danger to lose themselves and their Citty by their negligence.

after they had escaped the perill by their vertue, did afterwards fettle

Corfue belien ged ty the Schauoni ans.

a better order in their affaires. The Sclaubnian Captaines weighed Anchor prefently and put to Sea toyning with those, who, as wee have sayd, went to Carfue, and made hafte loyntly to beliege the Towne. They of confee being thus fuddainly furprized, and not finding themselves strong enough; sent to crave aide from the Acheins and Esoliens ; the like they did to them of Appelonia and Durazo e intresting them not to fuffer them to bee thus shamefully chased away from their naturall Countrey by the Barbariand who having pirty of their fortune armed ten thips of Warre of the Atheins, and within few dayes, after fayled to Corfue; hoping to raise the Barbarians liege at their comming a But the Illivians has uing recoulered feuen Vellels armed from the meananians with whom they had made a league, muched against the webern, whom they chebilitied need vino the Mands which shoy call Paker, and there they fought. The Acarnaniane and the achieve thips fought equally; and continued long firme, onely their men were wounded.

But the Illirians interlaced themselves with their Enemies, who were tied foure together, and enuironing them, they hindred them much: Then the Enemies Vessels were much troubled, being peirced and grapled withall, their Spurs being fastned to the Sclauonians Vessels : who entred them with fury, and vanquished them easily by reason of their multitude. By this meanes foure Quadriremes of the Acheins were taken by the Illirians, and one Quinquereme funke, and all that was in A Victory of the Schulonians it : In the which was Marcus Caryneus, a man of great esteeme a- against the mong the Acheins, who had alwayes performed his duty well for the Achein.

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A Countrey. But when as they which fought against the Acarnanians, faw that the Illirians had the Victory, they fled, relying much in the lightnesse of their Vessels : And saucd themselves from the Battell, retiring to their houses. The Sclanonians growing proud of this Victory, besieged the Towne more boldly than they had done. They of Corfue having no more hope, after they had maintained the siege for a season, corfu yeelded. in the end yeelded it to the Illirians, receiving their Garrison, and Demetrius of Pharos their Captaine. After which the Illirian Captaines returned to Duraze, and besieged it.

In the meane time the Roman Confuls, Caius Fuluius with an Ar-B my at Sea of two hundred ships, and Canchus Postbumus with the Army at Land, parted from Rome : So as Fuluius came to Corfue, thinking that the fiege had continued fill. But when hee faw that hee came too late, for that the Illivians were withinit, hee resolued to passeon, as well to understand what had beene done, as to try what Opinion they had of Demetrius: And for that he had understood that his Enemies had brought him in difgrace with the Queene, and that hee feared her fury, he had fent men to Rome, to promise them the Towne, corsuyee bled and what some relation to the Romans to the Romans to the Romans. arrivall, delivered vnto them (by the confent of Demetrius) the

Towns and the Illivian Garrison. Finally, they put themselves vader their protection, hoping that by this meanes they should bee no more subject to the outrages of the Illivians. When the Romans had received them into league, they fayled to Apolonia, whither Demetrius guided them. At the same time Ancus Postbumus caused his Land-army to imbarke at Brunduzium, being about twenty thousand Foote, and two thousand Horse, all which met at Apolonia; the which being apotonia yeelyeelded, they sayled to Durage, for that they had newes the 11. ded to the Rec. livians had befieged it : who being advertifed of the Romans comming,

they raised the siege for feare, and fled here and there.

When the Romans had received them of Durago into friendship, they fayled on into Sclauonia, taking many Townes in their way, and shut up the Sardiens. In the means time there came an Em. Parthenia yeal baffie from Parthenia to the Remans, giving themselves and their Citty vnto them. Who being received with the Antitages, they tooke their way to Ise, having understood that the Illerians held it be fieged: where they entred after they had railed the siege : After which they tooke many Townes in Sclauonia by force, wherein they loft not onely many Souldiers, but also some of their Tribunes, with the Questor neere

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voto Nutria. They tooke twenty of the Illirian shippes, which ferued them to victuall their Campe. In regard of those which were within iffe, they were all deteated, and fled to Narente, except those which were of Pharos, which were given to Demetrius. Queene Truca with a small company retired to RhyZon, a strong Towne, and farre distant from the Sea, scated vpon the Bankes of the River of RhyZon.

When the Consuls had put many Townes and great Seignuries into the hands of Demetrius, they returned to Durage, with their Armics both at Sea and Land. From thence Cains Fulnius returned to A Rome with the greatest part of both Armies. But Posthumus stayed at Durage, whereas he riggd forty Vessels, and after hee had leuied men in the neighbour Countries, he fetled his Garrisons, having in his company the Ardienses, and all the rest that were allied to the Romans. When the Spring came, Teuca fent an Embassie to the Romans to treate a peace, the which in the end shee obtained upon these conditions. That shee should pay them a yeerely tribute, and that shee sh u'd leaue all Sclauonia, except some petty places : And as for that which concernes the Grecians, thee might not layle beyond 1/le, but _ onely with two ships without any furniture of Warre. During these B actions Pollhumus fent an Emboffie to the Cheins and Etoliens, to aduertife them of the cause of the Warre, and of the Romans voyage by Sea : And to let them vnderstand what they had done, and to reade the conditious of the peace. Who after they had obeyed the Confuls commaund, and had beene well received by these two people, they returned againe to Corfue; the Cittis of Greece being then freed from feare by this accord made with the Illirians. For in those times the Illirians did not assult any one in particular, but all the world in generall. These are the causes for the which the Romans past first with an Army into Sclauonia, and into that Countrey of Europe. Since they fent an Embal- C fic to Corinth, and to the Atheniens, at fuch time as the Corinthians defired to make the Romans partakets of the Watre, which they made against them of the Istmus.

At that time Afdrubal (for here wee formerly left our discourse of the affaires of Spaine) had by his great vertues much increased the Carthaginians Empire in Spaine, and built a Towne which some called Carthagena, others Villanena, most commodious by reason of its scituation, as well for the affires of Spaine as of Affricke. Of whose scituation, and of the benefit it may bring to the two Provinces, we will speake in another place when it shalbe fitting. The Romans seeing the D Carthaginians forces growne thus powerfull in Spaine, did not hold it fit to let things passe in this manner : But acknowledging their negligence for that formerly like menafleepe, they had by their owne weaknesse suffered the Carthaginians name to grow great there, they resolued to repaire this errour : Yet they durst not begin a Warre, feating a descent of the Gaules, whose fury they apprehended much. And therefore they resolved to treate first with Astribal touching Spaine, and then to affaile the Gaules: And whatfocuer should happen to

Carrbagena built in Spaine by the Carthaginians.

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vodergoe the danger, in holding it for certaine, that it was not poffible for them, to be Lords of Italy, nor to keepe their owne Countres and houses, valeffe they had subdued the Gaules. Thus they fent an Embailie into Spaine to Afarubal, who concluded a treaty of A treaty mode peace : By the which among other things it was agreed, that the Romans and Carthaginians should not passe the River of Ebro with an Army, and Contaginiane that they might ouer runne the rest of Spaine. Presently after the conclusion of this treaty, they prepared for Warre in Italy against the Gaules : the which wee have thought good to relate summarily. A to the end that as wee have proposed the preparation for the other. Histories may be more manifest. Wee will looke backe vnto the time when as the Gaules seazed first upon Italy. For in my Opinion the History will not onely be pleasant, and worthy of memory, but most necessary to understand with what people afterwards, and in what Countries Hannibal trufting himselfe, durft affaile the Roman Empire. And first wee will sprake of their Province, what scituation. and what proportion it hath to the rest of Italy. For by this meanes they may the better understand the things which concerne the knowledge of the History, in declaring first the property of places and B Countries.

All Italy is of a triangular forme. That fide which lookes towards Adeleration the Eift, is confined by the Ionian Sea, and the Adriatique Guife: of Italy. and that which tends towards the South and West, is included by the Seas of Italy and Sicily- These two sides in your together make the point of the Triangle : Where in front lies the Promontory, which the people of the Countrey call Cocynibe, and harh its afpedto the South, deuiding the Ionian Sea from the Sicilian. The third fide, which tends to the Pole Artique, and to the firme land, is limited by the continuation of the Alps, the which beginning at Marfeilles, and in those Countries which are about the Sardinian Sea, continue vato the shore of the Adriatique Sea, leaving some little space betwir: both. Within on this fide which wee means to bee bounded by the stars and is as it were the Bafis or foundation of the Triangle, there are from the Southerne Countrey, tending towards the North, Plaines which make the end of Italy, and are the greatest and the most fertill in all Europe : whole figure is likewise Triangular.

The Appenin Hill, and the Alps isyning together make a point of the Triangle, neere vnto the Sardinian Sea, and aboue Marfeilles. That fide which lookes to the North is made by the Alpes, whereof The execut is two thousand, two hundred Furlongs. That fide which hathits aspect to the South, is bounded by the Appenia Hill, the which hath three thousand and three score Furlongs in length. The shore of the Adriatique Sea holds the fashion of the foundation of the whole figure, whereof the greatnesse (which begins at the Towne of Senegaille, vato the Gulfe of the same Sea) hath two thousand fine hundred Furlongs in compaffe.

By this meanes the Circuite of the whole Plaine containeth tenne thousand Furlongs in compasse. It is not in my power to describe

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The fertillity of Ital . About three pence.

describe the great fertillity of the Country, so much it abounds in all forts of Fruites, that many timesa Bushell of Wheate, after the meafure of Sicily , hath beene fold in our times for two Soulz, and foure Dencers: That of Barley for foureteene Deneers, and a Veffell of wine for asmuch. Moreouer it is not credible the aboundance of Mill and Panique, which they call Indian Oatmeale. There is also a great aboundance of Akornes, which come from the Forrests which are in divers parts of that Region: Confidering that the Italians breed an infinite number of Swine, to Sacrifice, and for their we and necessary prouision of an Army; the which the Fertillity of this Country doth A

fupply aboundantly.

It is easie to conceine that the aboundance of other particular things necessary for the vie of Man, is great: Considering that when as Guests come vnto their Innes, they never make a particular price for the things they take, as they do in o her Countries, but onely what every Man is to pay for his share. When as the Guests had beene honestly intrea-Apice hard to ted, and have had what loeuer was necessary for their refection, they neuer payd aboue halfe an Affaire, which is worth three-halfe pence, they seldome exceed this price. Moreover it is very well peopled the Men are active, goodly, and strong for the Waite, the which is more B casie to be knowne by their Actions, than by that which can be spoken. The Gaules whom they call Transalpins inhabite the Mountainous places on either fide the Alpes towards the Rhone and the North. And on the fide of the plaines dwell the Turinois, and the Agoniens, and many other Barbarous Nations, which are of the fime Race with the Transalpins, and differ only in their Habitation: The other are called Transalpins because they dwell beyond the Mountaines. As for the top of the Mountaines, it is fo firre from being inhabited, as they do not find so much as the tract of a man, both by reason of the difficulty and vneaffineffe, as for that it is alwayes couered with Snow, and

The Turinois and Agoniens.

The Genouous.

But the Genouoù dwell aboue Marseilles, where as the Appenin Hill begins to ioyne with the Alpes Moreover they hold all that Coast which lookes to the Champion Country, and to the Sea of Isaly : So as along the Sea they hold all vnto the Towne of Pifa, which is the fielt City of Italy, towards the West, and towards the firme Land to Aret 70. Next to the Genousis come the Italians, and of eyther fide of the Appenine Hill lye the Fmbrians. Then the Appenin Hill being distantabout three score and three miles from the Adriatique Sea, leauing the Plaine, bends to the right hand, and in croffing Isaly, extends it felfe to the Sea of Sicily. The Country which is betwirt it and the Adriatique Sca, exten Is vnto Senegaille.

The Poe.

The River of Poe, which the Poets call Eridanus, and which beginnes at the Foote of the Mountaines, where as they make in a manner a point of the Triangle (as we have fayd) takes his course to the plaine towards the South, and from thence bending towards the East, it enters by two mouthes into the Adriatique Sea. It is the greatest of all the rivers of Italy. For all the waters which descend from the Alpes

and the Appenius, fall into the Poe. It is farre greater in Summer than in Winter, by reason of the abundance of Snow which melts. It is nauigable from a place which the people of the Countrey call Volane, Volane, two hundred and fifty miles towards the Alpes. Its spring is but a fmall Riuolet; but after it deuides it selfe in two; and enters into the Adriatique Sea by two Armes, which they of the Countrey call Padona and Volane. The last is the fafest Port of all those of the Adriatique Sea.

They which dwell spon the Poe, have sometimes called it Bodeneus. Bodeneus. A Finally, the Grecians fpake many things of this Poe, as that Phaeson gouerning the Horfes of his Fathers Chariott, fell into it a and How that the Heliades powre forth teares continually, the which are preferued by a Tree : and that the people of the Countrey fince that day began to weare blacke Robes in figure of mourning, and have alwayes vied it fince; with many other things, whereof I will now to leave to speake, for that in my Opinion they doe not conduce to the preparation of our Worke. Hereafter notwithstanding we will treate of them, when any necessary occasion shall be offred : being most certaine that Timens did not understand those things which did concerne this R Region.

The Tyrreins have formerly held all the Champion Countrey, which is confined by the Appenine hill, and the Adriatique Sea, at what time alfo they enjoyed the Countrey called Phlegrein, which is about Capona and Nota : at what timealfo they purchased a greate esteeme of vertue. Wherefore Historiographers must not attribute the power of the Tyrreins to the Region which they now inhabite. The Ganles frequented much with them, by reason of their neighbour-hood : who moued with the beauty and fertility of the Countrey, vpon a small occasion made Warre against them, and hauing chased them away, settled C themselves there. The Countrey betwirt the Poe and the Alpes, is inhabited by the Layes, then by the Vercellains. Neere vato whom are the Milanois in great numbers, and vpon the banks of Poe lye the Cenomans. In regard of those places which are recere vnto the Adriatique Sea, they are inhabited by people, which are aunciently descended from Paphlagonia, whom they call Venetiens, who differ no- The Venetiens thing from the Gaules in their manner of liuing and habite, but onely come from Pophlagonie. in their tongues : Of whom the tragicall Poets write many strange foo. leries. Moreouer, that which lies betwixt the Appenin Hill and the Poe, is at its entry inhabited by the Ananes, by the Boloniens, by the D Eganes, and then by the Senogallois: These are they who (borderers to all the rest) have inhabited necre vnto the Adriatique Sea.

Behold the principall Nations of all the Gaules which dwelt in Ita. ly, living in Villages without any inclosure, having no furniture for The Gaules their houses, but lay vpon the bare. They lived of flesh, and made living. no protession but of Warre and Tillage, leading a timple life without Arts or Sciences. Their wealth was in Gold and Cattell, for that they were thingseaste to transport where they pleased, when necessity pressed them. They did all striue to purchase Friends, for they much

effected a man that was honoured by many. In the beginning they not onely held this Countrey, but they also drew vnto them a great part of their Neighbours, being terrified with their fury.

Rome taken by the Gaules.

Soone after making Warre against the Romanes, they defeated them with their Allies, and put them shamefully to flight. Within three dayes after they tooke Rome except the Capitoll, and afterwards returned to their houses, having concluded a Peace with them, and restored their Citty: For that they were forced to returne, by reason of the inualions which the Veneziens made into their Country. From thence. foorth they began to make Warre among a themselves: For they which A dwelt at the Foote of the Mountaines, seeing the others to increase daily in power, made Warre often against them: In the meane time. the Romanes recovering their Forces, prevailed over the Latins.

turne against the Rymans.

Thirty yeares after the taking of Rome, the Gaules returned with a The Caulesre- great Army to Alba: But for that the Romanes were surprized, and had no leifure to Leuy an Army, nor to require fuccours from their Allies, they made no reliftance against them. And when as they returned twelve yeares after, the Romanes being prefently advertised of their comming, and drawing together the succours of their Allies, marcht with great courage to incounter them with an Army, defiring a nothing more than Battell, by the meanes whereof they should soone decide who should have the Empire. The Gaules amazed at their Refolution, and withall there falling a mutiny amongst them, they made their Retreate little leffe than a flight, and to continued thirteene yeares without making Warre. But when they faw the Romans power increase daily, they beganne

to treate of Peace, the which they obtayned, and continued thirty yeares without Warre. The Transalpins renewed the Warre against them. Wherefore fearing to be affailed on two fides, they intreated them, that for almuch as they were of one Nation they would not be C their enemies. Moreover they fent them rich presents, intreating them to turne the Warre against the Romans, and that they would affife them with all their meanes: Whereunto being eafily perswaded, they marcht all with one confent against the Romans by Tuscany (for a great number of the Tuscans held for them) and having made a great spoile, they retired out of the Romane Provinces to their owne Houses withour by the Gaules losse. Where as there fell out a great debate voon the deuision of this great booty, fo as they not onely loft a great part of their booty, but also the best part of their Empire: the which doth vsually happen to the Gaules, by reason of their gormondize and drunkennesse. Foure D Diversyldories yeares after loyning with the Samnites they affailed the Romanes . of whom they made a great flaughter, in the Region of the Camertins. Some few dayes after they affailed them againe, and had a Battell neere vnto the Country of the Sentinates, where they gaue them a great defeate, and forced the rest to recover their Houses.

of the Gaules against the Komans.

Pillage made

Ten yeares after they made a great affembly of men of Warre, and descending into Tuscany they besieged Arezo. The Romanes comming to succour the Arezins, fought neers voto the Towne, and lost the battell,

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Battell with the Confull Lucius: In whose place they did choose Marem Curio, who presently sent an Embassie into Gaule, to retire the prifoners; who at his comming was flaine by them, contrary to the Law of Nations.

. The Romanes incenfed at fo wicked an Act, made a new Leuy of men, and resoluted to enter the Gaules Countrey. But they had not A descate and done any great matter, when as the Senegallow went to incounter rune of the them; whom the Romanes charged, and flew the greatest part, and Senogallon by those few which remained were chased out of the Country. They re- the commun. couered the whole Country, and re-peopled the Towne againe, calling A it Senogallia, as it had beene formerly, when it was first inhabited by

the Ganles. This Towne (as we have layd) is scituated vpon the A- The sciention driaticke shore, where as the points of Italy do end. When the Bolo- or Senogalis. nians faw the Senogallois chased by the Romanes from their Countrey, they rayled an Army to make Warre against them, calling all the Tufcans to their ayde, fearing least the Romanes should doe the like vnto

Presently after they fought, where most of the Tuscans were fluine, The Bolonians and a few of the Bolomans laued themselues by slight. Yet they fain- deteated by the ted nor for this defeate but the years following themselves. ted not for this defeate, but the yeare following drew together all the B Forces they could make, and all the Youth that could beare Armes, and

marchtagainst the Romanes, where they were deseated and slaine, so as they were in a manner vtterly ruined. Wherefore their pride abated, they made an agreement with them by Embassadours. These things hapned, three yeares after the descent of Pyrrhus into Italy, and fine Adescatof the yeares after the Gaules had beene descated in Delphos. Behold how Gaules in Delphos. in that time Fortune (as a mortall plague among the Gaules) perfecuted photo-

them in all places. But the Romanes made a double profit by the battels which we have formerly related: For being accustomed to fight with the Gaules, who had beene held very fierce and fearefull, they became C good Souldiers against Pyrrhus. Thus by little and little they abated

the pride of the Gaules, fo as afterwards they were much more affured, first to fight with Pyrrbus for Italy, and afterwards against the Cartha.

ginians for the Soucraignty of Sicily.

The Gaules weakned by the meanes of the former Battels, lived in peace forty fine yeares, without any breach of the accord made with the Romanes. But after that the old men, (who had vndergone the dangers, and felt so many losses) were dead, the Youth who were of a harsh and bad disposition, and had not felt the miseries of former D times, grew infolent. These (as it is willingly the nature of men) began presently to vndertake the Warre, and to bee enemies to the Romanes, whatsoeuer should succeed, and moreover to send to crave succours from the Transalpins. It is true, that in the beginning the Princes did mannage the affaires without the confent of the people: So as it hapned, that when as the Transalpins were come to Rimeni, the common peo. ple of Bolonia, being ignorant of this enterprize, and fearing this Gallus Ilaine. dessent, mutined against their Commanaders, and put to death Eins and Gallus their Kings; then they fought with the Transalpins. The

Romanes

Romanes likewise amazed at this descent of the Transalpins, drew their Men to field: but when they were advertised of the other descate of the Gaules, they tetyred to their Houses.

Fine yeares after, Marcus Lepidus being Confull, Caius Flaminius made a Law for the people, by the which that Region of Gaule, which they call the Marquisate of Ancona, vnto Rimeni, from whence the Senogallois had beene chased, should be deuided amongst the Bomane Souldiers. For which cause there suddainly grew a new Warre: For Warre betwixe most part of the Gaules, especially the Bolonians, who were neighbours vnto the Romanes, were much incensed therewith, thinking that the Romanes did not fight for principallity or Glory, but for pillage and their ruine. Wherefore the Millannois and Bolonians consenting together, fent suddainly to the other Gaules, which dwell beyond the Mountaines along the River of Rhone, whom they call Gessates, for that they fight for pay, (for so the word imports) offering to their Kings Congolitan and Anergelte a great summe of present money. They acquaint them with the great felicity of the Romanes; and what a benefit it would be if they could vanquish them.

By this meanes they moone them to make War against the Romans; the which was easie to perswade, considering the former Reason. They R promise them also to make them Companions in this Warre, reducing to their memory the proweffe of their Predecesfors, who had not only descated the Romanes in battell, but after the Victory had taken the moneths with Citty of Rome with wonderfull celerity: Where they had taken great spoiles, and after they had beene masters thereof seaten moneths, they restored them the Empire willingly, and returned into their Countrey fafe with all their booty. In propounding these things brauely vote them, they incouraged these Kings and the Gaules, so as there was neuer descent made out of that Country, of a greater Army, nor more

valliant men, nor better furnished.

Amazement of the Gaules.

were feauen

in Rome.

to renew the

the Romans and

When the newes thereof came to Rome, the Citty was fo amazed. the Romans for as they presently made a new Leuy of men, and began to make provifion of Victualis, leading their Army sometimes unto their Frontiers, as if the Gaules had beene there prefent; who notwithstanding were not vet come out of their Country. These things were very beneficiall to the Carthaginians, to augment their Empire in Spaine. But the Remanes confidering that these affaires were more pressing, for that these people were too neere enemies, they were forced to lay afide the affaires of Spaine, untill they had pacified Italy. And therefore in renewing the accord with Afdrubal, Lieurenant Generall for the Cartha- 13 ginians, they wholly attended the Warre against the Gaules, studying only how they might resist their fury.

A descent of

When as the Gessates had drawne a great number of men together the Transalpins neere vnto the Rhone, they passed the Mountaines, and entred the plaine neere vnto the Poe: Where as the other Gaules eight yeares after the yeilding of that Region, and in like manner the Millannois and Bolonians, ioyned prefently with a great multitude. But the Venesians and Cenomans pacified by an Embassic from the Bomanes, preferred

their friendship before the Alliance of the Gaules. Wherefore the Kings for feare of them, left a part of their Army in Millannois to guard the Gountrey, and marcht with the rest into Tuscany, being aguard the Gountrey, and marent with the rest into Tujcany, being a-bout fifty thousand Foote, and twenty thousand Cars and Horse. The number of the Gautes When as the Romans had newes that the Gaules had past the Alpes, Army. they fent Lucius Emilius the Confull with an Army to Rimeni, that being there before the Enemy, hee should stay their passage. They also caused one of the Pretors to marchinto Tuscany, for the other Consul Caius Attilius, had in the beginning of his Consulship past in-A to Sardinia with an Army at Sea.

The City of Rome was heavy, and much troubled, and did not attend this great attempt of the Gaules without great feare. They then remembred their former defeates, and feared this Nation, as the ruine of the City of Rame. And therefore they had long before prepared a great Army: they dayly made new leuics of men, and The diligence they aduentifed their Allies to bee ready and in Almes. Moreouer, of the Romany. they enjoyned them to fend vato the Senate the Rolles of the Bands of their Youth, desiring to know the number of Souldiers of all the Italian Army. They likewise made provision of Corne and B Armes, and of all other things necessary, in greater abundance than

they had done in former times.

The other people of Italy were no leffe diligent, they were fo much amazed at the descent of the Gaules: soas they did not thinke to fight for the Romans, nor for their Empire, but every man for his owne fatety, for his City, and for his Countrey : Wherefore all the owne safety, for the City, and the Romans in this Warre. I will here The preparatifet downe the preparations the Romans made for Warre, and what on which the number of men they had in those times, to the end you may plainely Romans made; see how great they ware, and what forces they had when as Hamis for Ware. see how great they were, and what forces they had when as Hanni-C bal prefumed to affaile them, and with what Troopes making Warre against the Romane power, hee brought the Citty into so great danger. First, the Consuls went to field with foure Romane Legions, 20800 whereof eyther confisted of fine thousand two hundred Foete, and two thousand Horse. They had moreourr by reason of this arming of the Gaules, railed other Troopes. The Tuscans and Sabins had Thenumber drawne together three score and ten thousand Foote, and about source which were

As soone as the newes came that the Gaules past the Alpes of Bo. lonia, these were sent into Tuscany, under the command of the Prouost D of the Citty. After these the Pmbrians and Sarsenates inhabiting Mount Appenin, were affembled to the number of twenty thousand men. The Venetians also, and Cenomans were about twenty thousand, all 2000 which were appointed to keepe the Appenin Hils, and to fall vpon the Bolonois when occasion should bee offered. Behold the Troopes which at the first they sent against the Gaules. There was moreouer another Army within Rome to guard the Citty, and to attend the pleasure of the Senate vpon all occasions; whereof there were twenty thouland foot, Quero poor same Romans, and fifteene hundred Horse, and of their Allies thirty thonsand firef. Romans

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Foote, and two thousand Horse. Moreover they had the Roll of the Army of the Latins, which confilted of four loore thousand Foote, and five thousand Horse: and of the Samutes of three score and ten thoufand men, and seuen thousand Horse. Of the Lapiges and Melapiens fifty thouland Foote, and fixeteene thouland Horse, of Marles, Marruciens. Ferrentins and Vestins, twenty thouland Foote, and foure thousand Horse. Of the Lucains thirty thousand Foote, and three thousand Horse. There were moreover at that time two Legions in Sicily, and about Tarentum for the guard of the Countrey; whereof either was of foure thousand two hundred Foote, and two hundred Horse. Moreouer, the multitude of the Romans and Campanois, was about two hundred and fifty thousand Foote, and three and twenty thousand Horse. By this meanes the number of the Troopes which were subject to the Senate and people of Rome, exceeded an hundred and fifty thousand Foote, and about fixe thousand Horse. But the whole force of Italy was generally of seauen hundred thousand Foote, and three score and tenne thousand Horse. Against the which Hannibal having but twenty thousand men, durst enter into Isaly. But this shall bee for another time.

Tufcany ruined

The Gaules finally passing the Appenin Hils, entred into Tuscany R by the Gaules. without any refishance, putting all to fire and sword: Finally, they marcht speedily to Rome. Being come neere vnto a Towne which they call Clust, within three dayes icurney of Rome, they had newes that the Roman Army (which as wee have fay d, had beene fent to guard Tulcany) was drawne together and followed them. Wherefore they presently turned head furiously vpen them. And when they were come neere vnto the otherat the Sun-fetting, then they campt, leaving fome little space betwirt them. Night being come, the Gaules made fires in their Campes after their vivall manner, and left their Hoffe-men there, giving them charge to part at the breake of day, and when they should be discoursed by the Enemies to goe on their course. In the meane time making thew of a flight, they part with all their Foote. and march directly to Fefula, of purpole to drawe on their Horse-men. and to breake the Enemy which followed them.

The pollicy of the Gaules.

The Romans leeing the Gaules Horle men part at the breake of day with great noile, thinking it was for feare, hasted after them indifferently, and drew neere vnto them. Who being loyned, the combate in A vicery of the beginning was furious, for that the Gaules did charge them on all the Gaules a- fides according to their resolution. Finally, the Romans lost fixe thousand men, for that the Gaules were more in number and of greater D courage. All the rest of the Army sled, whereof a great part retired to a little Hill, strong by scituation and nature. The Gaules began to besiege them: But for that they were tired with watching the Night before, and with the toyle of the day, they returned to take their refection, leaving a strength of Horse-men to keepe the Hill, with a resolution to give an affault with all their forces, if they did not yeeld within three dayes. At that time Lucius Emilius the Confull, who (as wee haue fayd) was at Rimini with an Army, having aduertisement

advertisiment that the Gaules had past Tuscany, and marche to Rome with all their forces, he vsed all diligence to come and succour his companions. When he had past the Appenin Hill, and was lodged necte vnto the Enemy, they which had retired to the Hill, knowing the Confuls comming, which they cafily discouered by the fires in the Night, they presently tooke courage, and sent some of their men vnarmed unto him by the Forrest, to let him understand how things

The Confull seeing that all delayes in so great a danger of his com-A panions were prejudiciall, he gaue order to the Tribunes of the Souldiers, to march at the breake of day with all the foote: And in the meane time he takes his way towards the Hill with all the Horse-men. The Commaunders of the Gaules doubting of the Confuls comming by the fires in the Night, assembled to adusse what they had to doc. Then King Aneroese was of opinion, that it was a folly to lose time with the The addice of Enemy, and to bring their conquest in danger, before they had put so Anerospe, great a spoile in safety (they had in truth an infinite number of Prisoners, and abundance of all other things) and therefore they must first returne into their Countrey, and there leave all the baggage, and then B returne into Italy if they thinke it fit : to the end the Souldiers might The retreate fight with their Enemies without any incumbrance. The Gaules liked of the Gaules.

of this counsell, and the next day drew forth their Enfignes before the breake of day, returning into Gaule along the Sca-fliore, laden with all forts of pillage.

When as Lucius Emilius had retired those which had fled to the The pursuite Hill, he pursued the Gaules with his Army. Yet he did not hold it of Eminus. fic to pretent battell to fo great a multitude, but rather resolued to attend some opportunity, either of time or place, where hee might amaze the Enemy, or make them abandon the booty in some fort. At the same time Caius Attilius the other Consull, who was lately arrived at Fifa from Sardinia, landed with his whole Army, and marched directly to Rome by the Sea-shore before the Gaules. They were not farre from Telamona a Towne of Tulcany, when as some of their scouts fell by furprize into the Romans hands, who discouered vnto the Con-

full that the Gaules were not farre off , and that Lucius Emilius pursued them. These things being understood, Caius Astilius Won. Cains Antline, dering at this fortune, and hoping partly of the Victory, for that Fortune seemed to haue deliuered the Enemy betwirt their two Campes, he gaue the Legions to the Tribunes of the Souldiers, and gaue them D charge to march against the Enemy, as much as the opportunity of place

would give them leave.

Lib. 2.

In the meane time seeing a little Hill vpon the way, very commodious for their Warre, to the which the Ganles seemed to tend, hee tooke the Horse-men, and resolved to get it before them, and to vndergoe the danger, hoping that if the Romans had the Victory by this meanes, they would attribute the honour vnto him. The Gaules ignorant in the beginning of the Consuls comming, and doubting by the things which they faw, that Lucius imilius had past before night with his hori-

men, to gaine the Countrey which was aduantagious for the Warre, they presently sent all their Horse, and some of their most active men to recover this Hill. But when they were advertised by the Priloners that Assilius held it, they presently caused their Foot-men to march, and order their battell in the Reare, as in the Front, for that they faw Emilius followed them in the taile, and that the other attended them in front, as they had learned by the Prisoners, and by the things which had happened. They which were with Emilius, were not yet confident, although it were a common beuite that the Army of Sardinia was arrived at Pifa. But they were affured when as they faw the com- A bat at the Hill : for the Enemies were very neere, and there fore the Emilian Horse rejoyced much, and tooke a way by the side of the neerest Hill to goe and succour those which defended it.

The order of the Gauler hattell

Emilius in the meane time marcht after the Gaules in the same order hee had beene accustomed. When the Gaules taw themselues thus involved by the Enemies, they put vpon the Reare the G faces and Milannois against Emilius who followed them, and voon the Front the Piementois, and thole which inhabite along the Poe, appointing the Bolonians and the Cais with all the baggage apart without the two Battalions, and all the pillage vpon a little Hill, with some Horse-men B to guardir. When they had thus ordained their Battell with two fronts, it seemed not onely terrible to b"hold, but also of a wonderfull efficacy for the combar. The Bolonians and Millannois, made choice of fuch as had Breeches, and were most at easein their appara rell. But the Gestates for the great courage and wonderfull defire of glory which they had, ftript themselves, and put themselves before the Battalion naked, on ly with their Armes, having a conceit that by this meanes they should be more active and disposed to fight : For the Bushes (which were thicke there) would stay them by their Clothes. and hinder their fighting.

Caius Attilius flaine.

First, the Combate which was at the Hill, was in the fight of both A mies, whereas the Horse men charged one another, and sought va. liantly. There Cains Astilius was flaine, fighting too rashly, whose Head was presently carried to the Kings of the Gaules. Yet the Romane cauallery fainted not, but were the more insended to fight; fo as in the end they not onely desended the Hill, but deseated all the Gaules The butellof Horse-men. In the meane time the Foot men approach, and the comthe Poot-men- bate began, the which was not onely horrible and wonderfull to behold for those that were present, but likewise for those which shall heare it spoken of. First corsidering that the battell was of three Ar. D. mies, euery man may imagine, that the fight was not onely new and fearefull to the affistants, but also their manner of fighting. Moreover, who will doubt but the Gaules had the worst, being charged as well in the Reare as in the Front ? Or it may be the better, for that they fought altogether against the two Armies, and that the two sides repulled their Enemies, so as at the same instant they desended one another: And that moreover they could not passe on, nor hope for flight backe. ward? There is no doubt but a Battell with two Fronts hath the be-

nefit, that the Souldiers have no meanes to flye. In regard of the Romanes, they had hope of Victory, for that they faw their Enemies inclosed, as it were deliuered into their hands : On the other fide they feared the fury and order of their Army, the found of Trumpets and Clairons was terrible, with the which all the Troope made a great cry and shoute, so as there was an incredible noise. They could not bear the Trumpets and Souldiers, and moreover, the neighbour places feemed to ecchoe forth their cries.

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It was a terrible thing to see the forlorne hope march naked. Beleeue A me, these great naked bodies, with their motions under their Bucklers were maruelous and fearefull. The beauty and riches of their Apparrell gaue also a great luster. For the whole Army shined with chaines of Gold, and Silkes wouen with purple. The which the Romanes obferuing, they were partly amazed, and partly encouraged with the hope of spoile. Finally, the taile of the Army which was armed, was not gauld by the Koman Archers, who doe viually march before the Battalion. But the forlorne hope which fought naked before their Troopes. were contrary to all hope much annoyed: For they could not couer their great naked bodies with their French Bucklers : And therefore The defeate of B the Arrowesfell easily vpon them. Finally, when they saw themselves the toriorne thus beaten, and could not bee reuenged of the Archers by reason of Gaules. the distance, and for the multitude of Arrowes which slew from all parts, they cast themselves like desperate mad men, some vpon their Enemies, where they were flaine : others retired vpon their owne Troopes, who being all bloody, daunted the courage of the rest, and

put them in disorder.

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By this meanes the fierceneffe of the Geffates, which made the forlornehope was abated. Then the Milannois, the Bolonians, and the Turinois maintained the burthen of the battell : where they did not fight a fatre off with their Arrowes and Darts as formerly, but hand to hand with their Speeres and Swords: and the Combate was as furious as ever any was, for euery man performed his duty. It is true, that their Tar. The Armes gets and Swords were not equall. For the Gaules Swords were heavy which the and blunt, and their Targets weake: The Romanes couered themfelues with stronger Targets, and carried short Swords and sharpe, And therefore the Gaules were still defeated in what manner so euer they fought, whether in troope, or man to man : Yet they flood firme in A defeate of battell , vntill that the Romane Cauellery came downe from the Hill in the Gauler Argreat fury : Then they were broken and flaine here and there. The my. D Foot-men died in the place where they had their Stations appointed: But the Horse-men fled. The Gaules lost in this battell forty thousand men; there were onely taken ten thouland with King Congollirane. H. Thetaking of neroeste, which was the other King of the Gaules, fled with some few King Cong. Uj. which followed him to a neighbour-place, who fome dayes after flew The death of themselues.

After this defeate, Lucius Emilius the Consull, sent the Enemies spoyles to Rome, and restored the booty to those to whom it did belong. From thence he went thorough the Genousis Countrey into that of Bot

lonia

Lib. 2.

The Army of

The Bolonians lonia, making great spoyles: And having in a short time inrich't his Army with all forts of booty, he brought it backe to Rome, with the Armes, chaines and bracelets of gold, wherewith hee did adorne the Capitoll: being a kind of ornament of gold, which the Gaules are accustomed to carry about their wrifts and neckes: the rest of the spoyles and all the prisoners, went before him in triumph. Behold those great attempts of the Gaules, which the Romans not onely feared, but all Italy in like manner came to nothing.

The Romans hoping now to chase the Gaules out of Italy, sent Quin- A tus Fulnius and Titus Maulius late made Consuls, with a great Army into Gaule. Who at their entry forced the Bolonians to submit themyeild to the Ro. felues to their obedience. But they could not proceede in the warre. but were forced to retire by reason of the continuall Raine and the

Afterwards Publius Furio, and Caius Flaminius being created Confuls, came againe into Gaule with an Army: and after they had received the Ananes into friendship, which are not farre from Marselles, they marched directly into the Country of Milan with their Legions, where as the River Ada ioynes vnto the Poe. The Milannois had made a great leuie to repulse their enemyes. By whom when the Romans had recei- n ued great losse, not onely at the passage of the River, but also in fortifying their Campe, they parted thence, and tooke their way to the Country of the Cenomans . where after they had joyned their Army to theirs, for they were their Allies, they made a new descent into the Milanness by the higher Country, which lookes toward the Alpes, ruining all where they paft.

The Princes of Milan hearing the resolution of the Romans to bee immutable, resolued to vidergee the hazard and to fight with them. Wherefore after they had drawing an Army together, and taken the Enfignes of gold which they call vomoucable out of Minerva's Temple, & made provision of all other things necessary, they marche against them with great assurance, planting their Campe right against them, to the number of fifty thousand Men. It is true, the Romans hading themselves not frong enough, were of aduice to call the Gaules to their side, with whom they were in league. But for that they feared their revolt, & they were to fight with men of the same Nation, they held it dangerous to trust in such men in so great a danger, and especially to put their safeties in their handsat fuch a time and in fuch an action : Finally, being neere the River, they call the Cenomans, and cause them to passe. When all were past they brake the Bridge, depriuing them at one instant of the meanes n toloyne with their Enemies, and leaving their Men no hope of fafety but

When this was done they put their men in order, and offer battell to the Milanneis. It feemes the Romanes had ordered this battell discreetly by the aduertisement of the Tribunes, for the meanes to fight in troope, or man to man: For when as their men were in battell they tooke the Pikes from the Triary, and gaue them to fuch as were in the Front, giving them charge to entertaine the fury of the Gaules, vntill their first heate of fighting were spent : Which being done, leaving their Pikes, they should five to their Swords; ordayning it in this manner, for that they had scene by the former Warres, that the Gaules had a furious poynt, and afterwards their hearts were faint and effeminate, and that moreouer their Swords as we have fayd, were only fit to give one blow; but ouer their Swords as we have 13yd, were only fit to give one blow 3. Dut They realinesse afterwards their length grew crooked, and the edge turned by reason of the Giulto of the breadth: So as if they did not suffer them to set the poynt to the Swords. ground, and to make them straight againe with their Feete, the second blow wrought no effect.

The History of POLYBIVS.

The Romanes following the Commaund of the Tribanes, charge their enemics with great blowes vpon the brest with their Pikes. The Gaules on the other fide imploy all their fury to cut them. Then the Romanes abandoning their Pikes, fought hand to hand, breaking by this meanes the fury of the Gaules : And taking from them all meanes to steppe backe, which these people are accustomed to vie in their Charge, for that their Swords are blunt and unprofitable, by reason of their length, but only to give one blow a farre off. But the Romans by meanes of their short Swords, wherewith they did not strike like vnto them, but thrust often through the bodies and throates of the B Gaules, fo as they flew a great number.

Behold how the prouidence of the Tribanes prevailed much; without doubt the Confull had not made choise of a place fit to fight: Confidering that in ordering the battell vpon the River fide, hee had taken from the Romanes the meanes to march, which is vivall vnto them. Wherefore if during the Combate they had beene forced to retyre, the Romaner they had all fallen into the River by the errour of the Confull. Yet against the they had a goodly Victory by their owne forces, and retyred to Rome Millannois.

with a great multitude of Prisoners and spoyle.

The yeare following the Gaules weakned with to many battels loft, C fent an Embassie to the Romanes for a Peace, making them goodly promiles. But Marcus Claudius , and Caius Cornelius chofen Confuls, vscdall diligence to draw their Army into their Country, to the end the Sonate should not yelld vnto it. Wherefore the Gaules having no more hope of peace, being as it were in despaire, rayled a new Army, The Gestates dwell on this and intertayned thirty thousand Gessates, who, as we have sayd, dwell adother thine, on this fide the Rhine, having them all ready and in Armes attending the descent of the Romanes. When as the Consuls were entred the Millanneis Country in the Spring, they belieged the Towne of A. corras, which lyes betwirt the Poe and the Alpes. And although it deerra befie D were not in the power of the Millannois to succour the besieged, for that the Romanes held the passages : Yet their full intent being to raisethesiege, they cause a part of their Army to passe the Poes to whom they give charge to beliege Classidium, a Towne belonging to Classidium bee the Allies of the Romanes, hoping by this meanes the Confuls should fieged. be forced to rayfe their fiege. But prefently when they had the newes, Marcus Claudius makes hast with the Horse-men, and the most addius of the foote, to succour the besieged. When the Gaules were advertiled of the Confuls comming, they presently rayled the siege, and

A defeate of the Ganles by

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went resolutely to encounter the Romanes offering them battell. At the first the Gaules had the better, for that the Romani Horse, men were furprized by theirs. But being afterwards environed by the Romane Cauallety, they were broken and defeated. Many were drowned ha. uing cast themselves into the River, slying the Enemy: The greatest part were flaine, and the rest taken Prisoners.

But when they which were befieged in Acerras, had notice of the defeate of their men neere unto Classidium, they retired to Millan, the Capitall Citty of the Countrey. Then Cornelius having gotten A the Towne of Acerras well furnished with Corne and all other Municia on , hee pursued the Gaules , and planted his Campe neere vnto Millan. And for that the Azilanness came not out to fight, he drew backe his Army, spoyling the Countrey. Then the Milannois pursuing them, began to charge them in the Reare, and make a great flughter: whereof some fled, vntill that Cornelius turning head against the Enemy with the Legions, encouraged the whole Army to fight. Who willingly obeying the Confuls commaundment, fell with great fury vpon the Gaules, who having lately beene so often beaten, made no long refistance, but presently turned head, and recouered the Alpes. Cornelius purfued them, spoyling the whole Countrey, and from R thence hee marcht to Millan, which he tooke by force, and brought

it under the Romans obedience. After all these defeats, the Princes of the Gaules seeing there was no more hope in their affaires, submitted themselves to the will of the Romans. Thus ended the Warre of the Gaules, having never vnto this day heard speake nor read of a greater, be it for the obstinacy of cou. rage, or the resolution of Souldiers, or the cruelty of battels, or the great flaughter of men, or the greatnesse of Armics : Although the counsell, the enterprize, and the daily aduice were enprofitables. For that the Gaules manage their affaires by rage and fury, not by reafon. Of whom we might have confidered in how short a time they have beene chasted out of their naturall Countrey by the Romans, in leaving them a small portion within the Alpes, were have thought it good to relate summarily their first attempts, the successe of affaires. and finally their last ruines: For that I hold it fitting for a History . to make fuch accidents knowne to those of future times; to the end that our men for want of knowing them, may not eafily feare the rash descents which Barbarians doe often make : and that they rather try their fortune, than to omit any thing that is necessary, nor to subject themfelues vnto them : Certainly such people are easily and without difficulty broken and defeated, if they refift their first fury. I imagine that they which have written the Gelts of the Persiansagainst the Grecians, and of the Gaules against the Delphiens, have done a great favour to the Grecians to fight for the liberty of the Countrey. There is no doubt but a man will not be amazed for riches, forces, or the multitude of men, if he fights for the defence of his Countrey, if hee hath before his eyes the actions of those times, and consider how many thousands of men, what forces and what Armies, the virtue of Souldiers with va-

lour and reason hath vanquished, broken and deseated. The Grecians have not onely beene retrified by the Gaules in former times; but The Greciani also many times in our age: which is the thing which hath mooned mee most to relate their actions summarily, beginning with the Originall. But to returne where we left, after that Afdruball Generall of the Carthaginians had continued eight yeeres in Spaine, hee was in the end traiterously slaine in the Night in his lodging by a Gaule, by reafon of some prinate hatred : Hee was not onely excellent and expett dfdrubalflaine in the Art of Warre, but was so eloquent to moue the hearts of A men, as hee much augmented the Carthaginians Empire. Then they gaue the charge of the Army which was in Spaine to Hannibal, being then a young Man, for that hee had a good beginning, and a wonderfull great courage for his age. Who at his comming made declaration that hee would bee an Enemy to the Romans, the which fell out soone after. From that time the Romans and the Carthaginians grew icalous of one another. To fpeake the truth, the Carthaginians laboured secretly to surprize them for that they had chased them out of Sicily. On the other side the Romans knowing their intent, gaue no greate credit vnto them : fo as it might eafily B bee conceined the Warre would soone breake out. At the same time the Achaiens with Phillip King of Macedon, and their Allies, made Warre against the Etoliens, which they called the Warre of

As wee have related the Warre which the Romans made against the Carthaginians in Sicily and in Affricke, and the things which followed, and being now come according to the order of our preparation, to the beginning of the Warre betwirt the Allies, and to the second of the Carthaginians, which they call the Warre of Hannibal, feeing wee haue resolved to begin our course with those C times, it is reasonable wee should come to the Gests and Exploits of the Grecians: to the end that making by this meanes a preparation of all parts, wee may begin the History which wee haue resolued on, when as wee shall come to the same end of all

As therefore wee have not vadertaken to write the actions onely of one Nationor another, as other Historiographers have done, as of the Grecians or Persians, but of all the parts of the world together, which are come to our knowledge, (for that this present time hath beene of great vie, whereof we will speake more amply in another place) it shall be fitting to make a summary mention of the most knowne Nations and Countries of the whole World, before the beginning of our worke.

In regard of the actions of the Asians and Egyptians, it shall bee fufficient to deliner those of our time a confidering that many have written the deeds of times past, whereof no man is ignorant: Neither is there any thing innouated, which is not according to the Commentaries of Historiographers. In regard of the people of Achaia, and the house of Macedon, it is fitting to search out the rimes patt M fummarily:

All Morea reduced into a league.

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furnmarily: As for that which concernes the Macedonians, the proofe will bec easie : And as for the Achaiens, there hath beene made (as wee have formerly fayd) an augmentation and wonderfull accordin our time. For when as many, laboured formerly to reduce Morea to one accord, and could not effect it, confidering that all men aime more at their private profit, than the liberty of the Countrey, there hath beene at this day made to great a change, as they have not onely coneracted friendship, and a frict league, but moreover they wie the same Lawes, the fame weight, the fame measure, the fame money, and more, the fame Princes, the fame Counsell, and the fame Iudges: A So as there is no defect in Morea for the making of a Burgeste, but that they dwelt not all in one Towne: All the rest was alike and the fame thing.

The Name of the Acheins well entertay-

It shall not bee therefore valitting to show how the Name of the Ashaiens hath first reigned in Morea. You must understand that they which were first so called, had no better Countrey, nor more Townes, nor more Wealth, nor more virtue. Without doubt the Areadians and Lacedemonians doe farre exceed the other people of Morea, both in number of men and Townes: Neither is there any Nation in Greece which passeth them in prowesse and virtue. What is B the caule then that these men whom wee have named, and the other people of Morea, have willingly suffred not onely the Comminalty of the Achaiens, but also to take the Name? It were a folly to say that it was by chance. Wherefore it were better to feeke the cause without the which wer cannot finish those things which are done with reason, nor those which seems to bee done without it. For my part I conceive it was the equality, and the common liberty which was kept amongst them all, as a cortaine president of a true Common-wealth : For there is no Citty in all Greece, where there are found better Lawes. Behold the cause which hath caused the C greatest part of Mores willingly to follow this Common-wealth Some therough reason and perswasien, others forced by little and little with the time, and yet they have presently pacified their discontents. And for that they did not from the beginning leave more to one then to another, but would hancall things equality all men, it prefently brought the Acheins to this great Authority, vling two meanes of great efficacy, that is, Equality and Clemency : Behold the saule which wee must imagine, for the which all Aerea being of one will and accord, attained to this profestity and peace wherein wee fee it at this day.

It is true, that this manner of living, and meanes of government of D a Common-wealth was long observed by the Acheins: the Which is probable by the testimony of many witnesses: Yet wee will pro. duce but one or two at this time. You must voderstand that at what The Pythigori, time a Company of the Pythigorians were burnt for a secret conspiraans burnt in cy in the Region of Italy, which they then called great Greece: It happened that the Countrey and the Townes were much afflicted with murhers and fedition, by a ftrange alteration of Common-weales: whose

Princes

Princes were wickedly flaine. And therefore Embaffadours came from all parts to pacifie their debates. Who leauing all the rest, they referr'd themselues in all their quarrels to that which the Acheins should decree. Soone after they resolued to vse their Lawes, and to frame their Common-wealth like vnto theirs. Without doubt the Crotoniates . Sybarites, and Caulonites, after they had ended their quarrels in a friendly manner, edified a Temple in publique to Inpiter Omarie. where they might affemble the people, and give them iustructions. Moreover having accepted the Institutions and Lawes of the Acheins. A they would onely line in them, and erect their Common-wealth. But the tyranny of Denis of Syracufa and the Gaules, who at that time spoiled the Countrey, hindered them from bringing their enterprize to an The Lacedonicend. Moreouer, after the defeate of the Lacedemonians beyond all hope, nimi and The before Luttres, and that they of Thebes had already troubled the Em. bains. pire of Greece, there was a great mutiny and a strange combustion throughout all Greece, namely, betwixt the Lacedemonians and the Thebains: For that the Lacedemonians conceived they had beene vanquished, and the others did not thinke they had gotten the Victory.

Notwithstanding either of them by a common consent made choice of the Acheins among all the Grecians, to whose judgement they submitted themselues touching their quarrels, not having so much regard to their forces or power (for in truth it was the least of all the Prouinces of Greece) as to the faith and inflice of the people, which at that time was held great in the opinion of the World. It is true, they had then but bare virtue, having done nothing worthy of fame or estimation. Wherefore their comminalty did not increase much for that they had not any Lord which was worthy to gouerne them, for that they had beene alwaies kept under by the Empire of the Lacedemonians or Macedonians.

But after by succession of time they had found Gouernours worthy of their estate, they presently purchased honour and glory. They reconciled all Morea, which was an excellent worke : whereof no man doubts but Arate the Sicronien had beene the Authour and contriuer: the which Philopomene the Megalopolitein finished, and afterwards confirmed : and that Licerta was the third which amplified and augmenred it, and subsequently all his Companions. Hereaster wee will endeauour as much as the Subject shall require, to relate their deeds, the manner and the time : Yet wee will make a summary mention of the actions of Arate at this time, and hereafter, for that hee hath comprehended all things in his Commentaries according vnto truth plainely and amply. But as for others our discourse shall be something more di-

ligent and more copious.

It is true, that in my opinion, the declaration would bee more easie, and the History more plaine to those that desire to know it, if wee take it from the time, when as the Acheins, who had beene disperfed into divers Citties by the Princes of Macedon, drew themselues againe together as it were in one body, and afterwards they augmented in such fort, as they came to this great amplitude whereof

M 2

wee haue hitherto spoken in particular, and which continues voto

twixt the Dy. menforins and

Tifamenes.

Sygus.

The alliance of tweluc Cit-

Theteginning of the league.

Ifeas King.

They of Patras and the Dymensorins made a league together, in the hundred and foure and twentieth Olympiade, at fuch time as Ptolo. my the Sonne of Lagus, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolomy Cerauthem of Patrae nien dyed, without doubt they all dyed during this Olimpiade. Behold in what estate the Acheins were in former times: They began to be gouerned by Kings, at luch time as Tylamenes the Sonne of Herestes chafed from Lacedemonia, after the descent of Heractites, held the Countrey which is about Acheia. After whom Kings gouerned continually by succession vntill the time of Sygus. After whom the Regall power began to be tedious, for that the Children of Sygus did not gouerne the Prouince legally, but by Tyranny. Wherefore they chaled away their Kings, and governed in common: wherein they lived diuerfly according to the diversity of the times, vntill the dayes of Alexander and Phillip, yet frining with all their meanes to gouerne their Common-weales in a Comminalty which contayned twelve Townes. who are yet in being, except Olena and Elin which an Earthquake swal. lowed vp before the Battell of Leuttres. Behold the Citties, Patras, Dymes, Phare, Tritee, Leanty, Egire, Pellene, Bure, Cerannie, Cary- B nie. Olene and Elix. But in the time of Alexander, and before the Olimpiade which we

have mentioned, they grew into fo great differtion, namely for the Kings of Macedon, that the Townes thus deuided, held it would bec a great good vnto them to make Warre one against another. So as some drew vnto them the forces of Demetrius and Casander, and foone after those of Antigonus: The others were imployed by the Kings. whereof there were many at that time in Greece. But in the hundred and foure and twentieth olimpiade, as wee haue fayd, they began againe to be reconciled, at such time as Pyrrhus King of Epirus past into Italy. C

First , they of Pasras, Dymes, Tritee, and Phare, were reconciled, when as there was no title of common alliance betwirt them. yeeres after they of Egire chased away their Garrison, and ioyned to the rest: whom the Burrens followed killing their King , and soone after the Cerauniens.

When as I/eas (who at that time was King of the Cerauniens) saw that they of Egire had chased away their Garrison, and they of Bure had flaine their King, teeing himselfe in a manner involved with Warre, hee relinquish the principallity, leaving the administration of the Common-weale to the Acheins, after the Couenants concluded D with them to laue his life. But why have wee brought these things from sofarre? To the end first that the World may know by what meanes, and at what time, and who were the first among the Acheins, which rectified this comminalty againe, the which at this day wee fee flourish: And that knowing their order, every man may easily beleeve not onely our History, but also our actions. Beleeue mee, they have alwayes observed one course concerning the government of their Common-wealth, and one reason by the which keeping continually an

equallity among them, and defeating those who of themselues, or by their Kings laboured to take their Country, they have in the end prenailed in all their interprises, as well by their owne forces as by the helpe of their Allies.

Finally those things which have beene fince done in this Province. ought to be attributed to the Acheins, who being companions to the Romane, in many great affaires, have not attributed any thing vnto themselues of that which was done, having no other thought but of liberty, and the common accord of Morea. But we shall see it more

plainly by their actions.

All these Citties which we have named, did administer the Common-wealth from the beginning flue and twenty yeares with the Acheins, making choyse of one Queftor and two Captaines. Afterwards they refolued to have but one, who should have the charge of their principall affaires. But Gerynee was the first which had this honour. When his foure yeares were expired, Arate the sicyonien was chosen at the age of twenty yeares. Who presently by his singular Virtue, and great courage, freed the Country from Tyrants, and reftored the Common-wealth of the Acheins, to the which from the be-B ginning he bare a great affection. Some time after having governed eight yeares, he was chosen againe: And then he beganne to trinke of The Fore of the meanes by the which he might take the Fort of Cerinthe, which Coninthe taken Antigonus then held. The which after he had effected, he freed all by draite Morea from great feare: And when as the Corinthians were freed from Tyranny, he loyned them to the Acheins. Some few dayes after he did the like to the Megareins.

These things hapned the yeare before the battell of the Carthaginians, by the which they were forced to abandon S cily, and to pay tribute vnto the Romanes. When as Arate hadin a fhorteime fi nifte d all his interprises, he spent the remainder of his life in the gouernment of the Common weale, studying by all meanes how to chase the Macedenians out of Morea, to ruine the Kings, and to preserve the common liberty of the Country. And therefore he refifted the attempts and practifes of Antigonus Conate, whilest he lived, and the covetoufnesse of the Etoliens, who with Autigenus grew fo audicious and ouer-weening, as they were not assamed to divide betwirt them by a common confent the Townes of Acheia. But after the death of Antigonus, and that the Acheins and Etoliens had made a league, when as Demetrius made Warreagainst them, the diffentions and discords were D somewhat pacified, and they contracted a common and mutuall friendthip betwixt them.

But after the Death of Demetrius, who Reigned onely ten yeares, and at such time when as the Romans p fled first into Sclauonia, the A. cheins made themselues wonderful great: For all the Kings which Reigned in Morea fell into de paire, aswell for the death of Demetrius who was their Commau: der and Emperour, as for that they faw Arate frine with all his power, to deprine them of their Cownes, propounding to such as shall doe it willingly great honours and dignities, terrify-

M 3

Lyfidas. A riftomacus. Xenon. Cleamines.

the Etoliensa-

ing and vling threates to fuch as should be obstinate and wilfull. Finally he did admonish them all to leave their Crownes, and restoring the Country to liberty, they should imbrace the League of the Acheins. Wherefore Lysidas the Megalopolitaine, who during the life of Demetrine, had wifely fore-seene future things, presently layes downe his Crowne. Aristomacus King of the Argines, Xenon of the Hermionians, and Cleomines of the Phliasiens, renounced their Royall Principallities, and iouned themselves to the League of the Acheins. But for that their Forces were by this meanes growne wonderfull great, the Etoliens as men ambitious by nature, enuied them, and hoping to gainst the A- beable to breake the League of the Townes which were allied, as they had done in the beginning, they promifed to Alexander to share with him those of the Acarnaniens, and to Antigonus those of the Acheins, By this meanes they gayned under colour of the same hope Antigonus Antigones Tu. then Governour in Macedony, and left by Philip Tutor to his Sonne; tour to this ips they also made Cleomines King of the Lacedemonians. When as they faw that Antigonus had the government of Macedony, who was a Souldier and an enemy to the Acheins, for the loffe of the Fort of Corinthe, they were of opinion, that if the Lacedemontans were companions in this Warre, in affailing the Acheins on all fide they should R casily descate them. The which vindoubtedly had happed, if Arate a man of great Virtue and Courage, (which they did not confider) had not taken upon him the defence of the others.

They began a most wicked War with all their Forces wherein they were not only frustrated in their expectance, but they made Arate more fout and Resolute, being then Commaunder of the Acheins and the whole Nation, by his pollicy and diligent prouidence in all things, as we shall see by that which followes. For when like a man well aduised, he had confidered that the Etoliens were ashamed to declare Warre against the Acheins, for the benefits they had lately received from them during the Warre of Demetrins, and that for this cause they had solicited the Lacedemonians to attempt it : And that they were transported with enuy against the good Fortune of the Acheens, so as they were nothing incented against Cleamines, who had taken from them by flealth Tegea, Mantinea, and Orthomene, very strong Townes of Etolia, but contrary wife they confirmed them willingly vnto him; and that moreover they fought all occasions of Warre, onely for a defire they had to Reigne, the Acheins having never offended them, fuffring the King to violate his Faith vnto them, and that by fraud he had raken from them such rich Townes, to the end that the forces of Clee- Th menes (increased by this meanes) might with more case deseate the Comminalty of the Acheins.

Arate then(as I have fayd) and the other Captaines considering these things, resoluted not to declare any Warre, but onely to resisk the attempts of the Lacedemonians with all their power. Behold the first Resolution of the Captaines. But soone stier when as they saw that Cleamenes built a Citty without feare, which afterwards was called Athenes, in the Country of the Megalopolitains, and that he declared Lib. 2. The History of POLYBIVS.

himselfe an open enemy to the acheins, they make an assembly, where it was resoluted to make open War against the Lacedemonians, and not by Dissimulation.

This Warre called Cleominique beganne thus at that time. In the The Cleonewhich the Acheins beganne first to refist the Lacedemonians with their owne Forces, without the helpe of any other, both for that they held it a greater honour to defend their Countrey and Townes themselus then with affistance of others: And they likewise indeauoured to entertayne their friendship by all meanes with Ptolomy, fearing least hee should be discontented, if they should require succours from any others then from him. But when the Warre was begunne, and that Cleomeses in ruining the Common-weale, had turned a just Empire into a Tyranny, gouerning the Warre with Policy and Courage: Arate A good confi. fore-ceing future things a farte off, as a man who understood the deration of Counsell and presumption of the Etoliens, was of opinion that they drate, must breake their attempts. And considering that Antigonus was a man of great experience in the Arte of Warre, and more found of his Fairh then any other: Knowing that Kings by nature have neither friend The nature of nor Poe, measuring Friendship and Hatted according to their profit, he king, B resolued to addresse himselse vnto him , and to let him visibly see the cuent of the Warre, and finally to make a League with him. He had many reasons why he should not do it openly : For if Cleomenes and the Etoliens had beene aductifed, they would have made greater prepara, tions for the Warre, and most of the Acheins would have left him, being amazed at fuch an alteration, for that they would have thought, the ir Commaunder would have fled to the enemy for refuge like a man in despaire. Wherefore to auoyde these inconveniences, he not onely kept thefe things fecret, but he spake and did many things contrary to his thought, by the which he shewed the contrary of that which hea C practiled.

Sceing then the Megalopolisains to bee more prest with Warre then any other, beeing neighbours to the Lacedemonians, and having no hope to obtayne fucceurs from the Acheins, being fubiedt to the same Warre, and being moreover in League and friendship with the Macedenians, for that they had done great pleafures to Philip the Sonne of Amyntai, there was no doubt but as foone as Cleomenes should begin the Warre against them, they would require succours from Antigonau and the Macedonians. Finally he declared his fecret to Nicophanes and Nicophanes. Cercides Megalopolitains. They had beene friends to his Father, and Cercides. D seemed sit men to mannage this businesse. By their meanes shee incites the Megalopolitaines, to lend an Embassie to the Acheins, to intredic them to demaund fuccours from Antigonus. The Megalopolitains fend Nicophanes and Cereides to the Acheins , with Commission after their A good invenconfent to go to Antigonus, the which the Acheins did eafily allow. This Embaffie went to King Antigonus, and let him understand their Charge and in regard of the Affaires which concerns their Country, they delivered only those things which were most necessary in few words: Butthey made a long Discourse of the whole in generall, as Affate

Amenes.

had instructed them. They layd before him the attempts which the Etoliens and Cleomenes might make, confessing that this Warre for the present was of great consequence for the Acheins. But if the others prevailed in their interprize. it would be much more dangerous for him. They make no doubt, but the Acheins being affailed at one infant by thefetwo forces, they would be easily ruined : So there is leffe doubt . that if Cleomenes and the Etoliens have the Victory, that they will not bee satisfied therewith: For you must understand that Mores, no nor all Greece cannot glut the covetoufnesse of the Esoliens. In regard of the ambition of Cleomenes, although hee feemes for the present not to affect any thing but the principallity of Mores, yet if he preuaile, he will neuer cease untill he hath Conquered all Greece: Whereunto he can neuer attaine before he hath ruined the principallity of Macedon.

By these reasons and such like, they mooue the King to thinke carefully of things to come, and to consider what may seeme fittest for his affaires, whether to Allie himselfe to the Acheins and Besciens, and to make Warre against Cleamenes touching the Empire of Greese, or leauing the party of so many people, to have it soone after against the Etoliens , Beeciens , Acheins , and Lacedemonians in Theffaly, for the prin- R cipallity of Macedony. But if the Etoliens be ashamed, to steme to breake the accord made with the Acheins, during the Warre of Demetrine, and flould ftill make shew to perfist in friendship, as they did yet, the Acheins would be too ftrong to defend themselves against Chomenes. And therefore if Fortune fauours them, they shall not neede any mans fuccour. But if contrary wife it should bee rather for the Etoliens, they intreated the King that he would be pleafed to give them fuccours, and that (not losing the opportunity of the time,) her would preferue Morea, before it should be viterly ruined.

They sayd moreover that he had no reason to care at that time for Faith and Recompences, and that Arate would finde the meanes in the greatest heate of affaires, to give him satisfaction, and that hee would aducttife him of the time when he should neede succours. When as Antigonas had heard the Embassie, hee did wonderfully commend the prudence of Arate, and made answere that hee was ready to vidergoe the danger. Moreover he wrote letters to the Megalopolitains, by the which he fent them word that hee was ready to give them fuccours, fo as it were with the confent of the Acheius.

This done Nicophanes and Cercides returned to their Countrey: Whereafter they had delivered their Letters, they made report of the Kings good affection. The Megalopolitains joyfull of this newes, fent an Embassie againe to the Acheins, intreating them to contract with Antigonus, and that they might relye in him for all his businesses. Arate hearing all this by Nicophanes, and the good affection the King bare vnto the Acheins, and to himselfe, was wonderfully joyfull, both for that he was not frustrated of his hope, but for as much as Ansigenus, (contrary to the hope of the Etoliens,) did not feeme to Aye his friendshippe. Hee did not finde that reasonable which the

Megalopolisains aimed at, that the Acheins should submit themselues under Untigones in all this Warter For he was not of aduice to require The fore-fight fuccours of any man but in extreame necessity; and if that hapned, he of Aran, would not have it done at his request alone, but by all the Acheins. In trueth he feared that if Antigonus, having the victory by the defeate of Cleamenes and the Lacedemonians, should in the end make any enterprize against the Comminalty of the Acheins, they should not lay the blame vpon him, as if he had indifcreetly given the advice for the drawing of the King into their Countrey, who was offended for the A taking of the Fort of Corinthe.

When the Embassadours of the Megalopolitains came into the Councell, and had made relation of Antigonus his Letters, and of the Kings loue and affection, and had made a remonstrance vnto the Acheurs for a peace with Antigonus, and that it seemed the whole assembly found it good, Arate commended the Kings affection, and the good defire of the whole affembly. Yet he let them understand by many reasons that they should indeauour to keepe their Townes and Countrey with their owne forces, but if they could not effect it, then they could not doe any thing more commendable and more profitable. But if Fortune were contrary vnto them, that they must first doe all that could be possible : And if there wereno more hope, then they should require fuccours from their friends. The whole affembly allowed eafily of his Councell; and it was refolued, that for the prefent they should or-

daine no new thing, and that the Acheins should mannage this war alone, But when as (during these negotiations) Ptolomy had furnished Cleomeacs with men, and other things necessary for the Warre, desiring by this meanes to make him an enemy to Antigonni, for that hee had greater hope to bee able to Conquer the Realmel of Macedon by the meanes of the Lacedemonians, then of the Achtins, and that the C Acheins were first Defeated by Chomenes by a surprize neere vnto Lyeea, and that afterwards they made a great loffe necre vnto the Town of Megalopolis, and that finally the third time, they were so beaten, Defeated, and flaine, neere vnto the Towne of Dymie in a place which they call Hecatombee, as they were in a manner quite ruined : Then Divers defeate Arate feeing himselfe invironed with so many miseries, knew it was of the Achiene. no time to Dreame, and that hee was forced (as hee had formerly resolued) to demaund succour from King Antigenus. For the effecting whereof hee sent his Sonne in Embassie to consirme the Articles of the agreement. Yet hee was in doubt and much troubled, for n that hee did not hope Antigonus would succour him, if they did not deliner him for his fecurity the Fort of Corinche, which they called Acrocorinthe with the Towne : Neyther did hee fee any meanes to deliuer it to the Macedonians without the consent of the Corinthians. And therefore hee deferred the Councell to aduife of the meanes of fafery. In the meane time C'eomenes glorious of his good Fortune, ouer-ran the whole Prouince, taking Townes aswell by perfwafion as by terrour. When by this meanes he had taken Capbie, Pellene, Phones, Argos, Phlie, Cleone, Epidanre, Hermion, and Trigene, and in

yeelded to An

the end Corinibe, hee feated his Campe neere vinto the Tene bif the Sicyoniens, and by this meanes freed the Acheins of that the whereof wee have spoken. For when as Arate had the newes, that the Oprimthians had chaled away the Garrison of the Acheins, and Ent an Embassie to Cleamenes to deliuer him the Citty, having found a good occasion, hee yeelds vato Antigenus the Fort which the Acheins held. By this meanes hee repaired the wrong which hee had done vnto the King, and it scrued him for a pledge, and as it were a Fore and retreate for the future Warre.

But when as Cleomenes understood the league which the Acheius had made with Antigonia, and that the Fort had beene freely delinered voto him, hee prefently railed his Siege, and feated his Campe neere vnto 1st bmus, and rampred diligently with Pallisadoes and Dit. ches, the place which lies betwint the Fortresse and the Mountaines. which they of the Countrey call onies a as if hee had a hope to make himselfe Lord of all Morea: Antigonus who had his Army ready. expected onely the opportunity of the time. But when hee law by those things which had happened, according to the advertisement of Arate, that the time approached of Cleamenes voyage into Theffaly, hee causeth his Army to march towards Isthmus by Beocia, having B aduertised the Acheins of his affaires : For the Etoliens being disconted at his descent, sent him word, that hee should not passe within the streights of Thermophiles, and if hee vindertooke it, they would take Armes to hinder his passage. Thus Antigonus and Cleomenes lodged their Armies before one another. The one to enter into Mores. and the other to keepe his Frontier. And although the Acheins had Revolte of 4. received great loffes, yet they fainted not. But being suddanly adripote of Arges ucrtifed of the revolte of Ariftote of Argos against Cleomenes they relieued him under the conduct of Timexene, and tooke the Towne of Arges swhich was of great consequence vnto them : For by this meanes the fury of Cleamenes was much abated, and the Souldiers hearts broken, as appeared plainely : For although that Gleomenes Army was much stronger by reason of the opportunity of places, and abundance of victuals, having also good and resolute Souldiers, yet there was lo great and suddaine an alteration after the taking of Argos, that Cleomenes leaving all, made a retreate, fauouring of a flight: So much hee feared that hee should bee inclosed by his cruell

Acrecorinthe taken by Antigonus.

Enemics.

From thence hee marche directly to Argos, where hee made great attempts to carry it by affault. But for that the Acheins refifted like D braue men on the one fide, and the Argues on the other, for feare of the fault committed, hee was deceived in his hope: And in paffing by Mantinia, he led his Army to Sparta. When as Antigonius was entred into Morea, hee tooke Acrocorinshe. Then hee made hafte to goe to Argos, where he much commended the Argines, and fettled an order for the affaires of the City. From thence he returned againe into Arcadia with his Army, and chaled away the Garrisons out of those Forts which Cleamenes had built, the which he restored to the Megalopolitains pasLib. 2. The History of POLYBIVS.

fing by the Region Egitane. Then he went to Egia, where he called an affembly of the Acheins : and made a great discourse of the present affaires, and shewed them in few words the times to come. Finally, being created chiefe of the whole league, he past the Winter in the Countries of the Corinthians and Sicyoniens with his Army. Then in the Spring he went to the field, to whom the Acheins loyned, and being come within three dayes to the Towne of Tegee, hee besieged it. The Tegetains seeing the Macedonians very busic in making of Trenches, regreyeeled Mines, and all other preparations to take the Towne, they yeelded, be vnes antigones. A ing void of all hope: Whereas after he had fetled a good order, Antigonus marcht suddainly to Laconice. By this meanes approaching neere vnto Cleomenes, who kept vpon the Frontiers, hee had some small encounters with the Enemy. In the meane time they were aduertifed by their Spies, that there were fuccours come from Orchomeneto Cleomenes. Wherefore Antigonus turned head to Orchamene, and takes Orchamene ta-

it without resistance. From thence he besieged Mantinea, which was ken with other also presently yeelded. Then hee led the Legions to Herea lownes, and Telphule, the which in like manner were yeelded in a short time. After this in the beginning of Winter, hee fent the Macedonians to their houses, and retired with the mercenaries to Egia, there to consult of the present affaires. At that times Cleomenes advertised that Antigonus had dismist his

A my, and that he stayed at Egia, which is about three dayes iourney from Megalopolis, a vast Towne, and ill peop'ed : especially for that the greatest part had beene flaine in former battels, as we have faid, neere voto Lices, and Laedices : and that moreover at that time it was not carefully kept, by reason of the presence of Antigonus, he had a hope to surprize it. Wherefore hee marcht suddainly, being guided by some Messense, who being chased and banisht from their Countrey, had C reured to Megalopolis : and brought them by Night into the City. But day being come, he was in danger to be defcared with his whole Army, confidering the great relistance the Megalopolitains made , the which happened vnto him three Moneths before, when he affilled a Citty feated in Colea. It is true, that in the end he had the Victory, as well by reafon of the multitude of his men, as for that he had formerly gotten the places of aduantage.

After he had taken and spoiled the Citty, and chased away the Me- Megalopolio galopolitains, hee razed it veterly, to the end they should have no razed. more hope to re-edificit. In my opinion hee did it tending to that D which the Lionenses, the Megalopolitains, and the Stimphaliens with other bordering people, conceine, that Traytours, or those which loue reuoltes, are neuer in safety. Without doubt the wickednesse of one man blemisht all the virtue of the Clitoriens : This was Thearce whom with reason the Clitoriens denyed to bee borne in their Thearce, Countrey, faying, hee was of Orchomene, and the Sonne of fome stranger. Moreouer, for that there are some which preferre Philarehus before all others that have written this History, although that many times he speakes and judges of things contrary to Arace, I have thought it

good, nay rather necessary, not to conceale this: To the end they may discerne truth from falshood, and the rather for that we have fol. lowed Arate. Hee hath spoken many things throughout the whole History as Affection hath transported him, which are not needfull to debate at this present, holding those things to be delivered by vs. which hapned at fuch time as we Write, that is to fay, during the Cleomenique Warre: For that they would be more then sufficient to discouer the errours and faults of this Author.

First when he labours to set foorth the cruelty of Antigonia, and of the Macedonians, and moreover that of Arate and the Acheins, he fayd A that as soone as he had Conquered the Mantiniens, they caused them to suffer great outrages and cruelties, and that the Citty which was one of the noblest and most auncient of Arcadia, fell into so great mifery and ruine, as it mooued all Greece to weepe and lament. And when as afterwards he feekes to make the cruelty feeme greater, and to mooue the Readers hearts, he relates a burning of Women, their haire fcattered vp and downe, their Paps naked, the teares and lamentations made by men and women, who dragg'd after them their little Children and their Parents broken with age. This hee doth often throughout his whole History, to let euery man see the agrauating of B their miseries. Leaning then this basenesse and effeminacy of his heart. let vs seeke the things which are most proper and profitable for the History.

The duty of a Historiogra-

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What is required in a Tragedy.

A Historiographer ought not to mooue the affections of men, nor feeke occasions fit for it, neyther let him pursue the miseries of men(the which belongs to the makers of Tragedies) but let him deliver truly the favings and doings of men, although they be not great. Without doubt a History and a Tragedy, tend not to one and the same end, but rather are quite contrary. For they must labour in a Tragedy to draw by coniecture the hearts of the Auditors to Hope, Feare, Care, Pleafure, and such like affections. But in a History hee must imploy his whole indequour to relate truly the fayings and doings of men. Wherefore things that are likely and coniecturall, are necessary in the one, to abuse the Assistants, and those which are true in this being Written for the profit of the Readers.

You must vnderstand likewise that this Historiographer many times doth not yeild the cause in his History, nor the reason of things, without the which they cannot eafily mooue any to pitty, or indignation in humane affaires. But what is he that will not finde it strange to fee a Cittizen whipt: yet if any one be so by reason of his offence, wee finde it reasonable. And if any one strikes a free man to punish and amend him, shall wee not hold him an honest man and praise worthy? Murther in a Cittizen is likewise forbidden, and seuerely punisht: But if any one kils a Thiefe or an Adulterer, is hee not held for innocent? And if any one kils a Traytor to his Country, or a Tyrant, shall he not be commended by all the World, held deare and honoured ? VVce must therefore looke to the end in all things, and to the intention of the man, not to that which is acted, but to the causes and Discourses,

with confideration of the differences. The Mantiniens leaving field the Common-weale of the Acheins, gaue themselves and their Countrey willingly to the Etoliens, and soone after to Cleomenes. In the The revolte of meane time, whilest they lived under the Lacedemonians, the Acheins tooke them againe under the Conduct of arate, foure yeeres before the Descent of Antigoniu: where they were so far from being punished for the offence committed, as this casie and suddaine re vnion of two people into one Common-wealth, feemed incredible to the whole

For as soone as Arate was entred, he forbad his men to touch their good: Calling the Burgesses afterwards together, wishing them not to care, and that they should inioy their goods, and be affured to line in peace, as long as they were vnder the Acheins Common-weale. The Mantiniens who seemed to be without hope, were wonderfully reioyced at the words of Arate: VVherefore they presently changed viage of Arate their opinion, receiving those into their Houses, to whom formerly to the Manie they had beene deadly enemies, with whom they did communicate nients, their Goods and VVealth. Finally, they omitted nothing of that which feemed necessary for the fetling of a firme friendshippe; and in B truth it was not without cause. I doe not know if euer any fell into the hands of more gracious enemies, or being falne into fo great inconueniences, haue relieued and railed themselues with so little losse: the which proceeded from the humanity of Arate and the Acheins. Afterwards feeing a farre off the feditions which were renewed amongst them, and the practize of the Etoliens and Lacedemonians, they fend an Embassie to the Acheins, to deliver their Town into their protection and to receive a Garrison. VVho presently levied three hundred men, and sent them to Mantinea, these three hundred men of the Acheins nation, leaving their Countrey and all their estates, they remained at C Mantines to preserve their liberty. They had moreover two hundred Souldiers that were strangers.

Soone after there grew a sedition among the Mantiniens; wherfore they called the Lacedemenians, delivering them the Towne; and to Thegreatville the end their wickednesse might be full and compleat, they murthered tedby the Man , all the Acheins; a crime which was most execrable. For seeing they injune. would leave the party and friendship of the Acheins, they should at the least haue sent backe the Garrison safe into their Country. It is & Custome which enemies observe daily by a Common Law. But to the end they might with more ease shewe their affection to Cleomenes and D the Lacedemovians, there proceeded to this great cruelty and basenesse, who in breaking the Law of Nations would not spare their Friends. Seeing then they have practifed fuch great cruelty towards those, who having lately taken their Towne, intreated them like men without offence, and now defended and kept their Towne, of what paines shall wee judge them worthy ? VVhat punishment may wee ordayne for so foule an outrige? Shall they be fold with their wines and Children? But by the Law of Armes they may doe it to those, which have not

committed fuch crimes nor fuch cruelties. They were therefore wor-

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thy of a greater punishment, and a more grieuous example. Wherefore if they have suffered no more but that which Philarchus mentioned, we must beleeve that the Grecians were not mooued to pitty, but rather commended the judgement of the Acheins; who had refolued that fo great a cruelty (the like whereof had neuer beene spoken of) should be grienously punished.

The Mantiniens fold.

Seeing then the Mantiniens at that time had no other harme, but the losse of their goods, and were sold by their enemies, who will not hold this Historiographer to be a lyer, and moreouer to have A Written incredible things: And to the end he might (hew his ignorance, he hath not observed that the Acheins at the same time did not the like vnto the Tegeates, whom they tooke in battell: For if the cruelty of the Acheins had beene the cause thereof, there is no doubt but the Tegestes had suffered in like manner. But seeing that this Rigour fell onely vppon the Mantiniens, it is apparent that the cause of their choller was divers. Moreover, this same Historiographer tells vs, that Aristomacus the Argine, of anoble Family, and of an auncient Tyrannicall Race, was Tyrant of Arges, who being taken by Antigonus and the Acheins, and brought to Cenchrea, hee suffered the most vninst Death that euer man indured.

Arificmseus.

He makes him moreouer (as it is his custome) to cast out lamentable cries, the night that he was strangled: And that the neighbours terrified partly with the cruelty, and partly desirous to know what it was, fome of them wonderfully incenfed ranne thither. He also sets downe other effeminate things, which we will leave for the present, beeing content with that which we have here related. For my part I conceiue that if Aristomacus had done no other thing against the Acheins . but to turne the Common-weale into ruine, and the liberty of the Country into Tyranny, that he hath worthily deserved very great punishment. Although that this gentle Historiographer desirous to attribute great glory vnto him, and to begge pitty from the Auditors, by a comme. C moration of the paines which he indured, he doth not once fay, that he was a Tyrant, but that hee was descended of a Tyrannicall Race. What could he say worse, or more pernitious? For the very name is the field where all cruelty is fowne, and which imbraceth all the out. rages and villanies of men. And admit that Aristomacus had indured great torments, as Philarchus sayth, yet he was not sufficiently punished for that which he committed in one day: for when as Arate entred into Arges with a Troupe of Acheins, without Discouery, labouring to restore the Argines to their liberty, hee was in the end forced to D leave the Towne, for that hee found not any man would take Armes, for the feare they had of this Tyrant.

Wherefore Aristomacus taking his occasion (for that they had con-The cruelty of fented to the comming of the Acheins) put to Death fourescore Cittizens in the presence of his familiars. Beleeue me it will bee tedious to relate the cruelty which he committed in his life time: He held it of his Predecessors by right of inheritance. And therefore wee must not thinke they have done him wrong, if they have made him ferue for an example

example with torisents: For it would have been much more voworthy, that so wicked a man after the murther of so many, and after many thefts and spoyles, should have died vnpunished like an Indocent. Neither can they charge Antigonus nor Arate of druelty, to haue put a Tyrant to death in Prison, whom they had taken in open Warre, and whom they might with reason and honour haue taken during a peace, and have put him to a cruell death. But of what punishment will not you hold him worthy, who besides all these things brake his accord with the Acheins. A little before hee had relinquisht the A tyranny, being destitute of all hope and succours after the death of Demesques. At what time the dabeins did not onely faue him , but entertaine him fo courteoufly and graciously, as they remitted all the wrongs which hee had done during his Reigne, and gaue him great aduancements in their Common-wealth. Finally, they made him Chiefe of the Acheins. But this wicked man amongst all others, forgetting that great humanity and clemency, began presently to plot how hee might make a league with Cleemenes, retiring himselfe in that greatoft neede foone after to the Enemy : whereby the Acheins were in great danger. Who forme few dayes after was taken in Warre, was henot B worthy to dye in the Night in the Prilorat Cenebrea, as Philarebus faith, but hee should rather have beene carried throughout all Meres, historiacus and after that hee had suffered infinite torments, to have dyederuelly. Ariffordate. Yet hee was onely frrangled in Prifon, although hee had committed all forts of Villany

Morcouer, the same Historiographer holds a long discourse of the miseries of the Mantiniens, as it beethought it werethe duty of an Historiographer onely to relate cruell and vniust actions. In regard of the virtue and magnanimity of the Megalopolitains, which they shewed at that time, he makes no mention, as if the duty of an Histo-C ry were rather to remember the wickednesse and vices of men, than things well and commendably done: Whereas the Readers of Histories shall reape more profit by deeds which are worthy to bee imbraeed and followed, than those which are vniust, and to bee auoided. Moreouer hee purfues his Discourse, how that Gleomenes tooke the Citty, and that hee fent Letters to Mefena to the Megalopolitains, adulting them to returne into their Countrey which was whole, and to be of his party : And how the Megalopelitains could not endure they should finish the reading of the Letters, and could hardly forbeare from doing outrage to the messenger, with many other petty triviall things, D to shew the magnificence and modelty of cleomenes towards his Enc. mies. But he forbeares to tell that which followed, and which was very proper to the History, which is the praise and memory of things well done. But who hindred him ! If we hold them honeft men who in words and will maintaine a Warre for their Allies, and if wee doe not onely praise with admiration, but also give thankes with Presents, to those that endure the spoile of their Countrey with are and sieges, what commendations shall we give then to the Megalopolitains? what The great 5. affection shall wee beare vnto them? Shall it not be great and ample? deny of the Pirst, Megalopolitains

First, they left the Province to Chemenes, and abandoned their owne Countrey, rather than to breake their Faith with the Acheins. Finally, although that contrary to hope, and the opinion of all the world, they might have returned into their Country with safety, yet they defired rather to be banished. for saking their houses. Sepulchers, Temples and goods, and finally, all their effaces, than to be taxed to have broken their Faith with their Allies. Was there ever any thing done that was more rare and excellent? Whereunto then should an Historiographer make his Auditours more attentiue ? With what examples A could hee better exhort men to keepe their Faith, and to follow things well done, ... But Philarchus makes no mention hereof, and is in my opinion blind when as braue exploits which are worthy of memory offer themselves.

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Hee faith moreover, that the Lacedemonians made a spoile within The third part Megalopolis of three Millions, and fixe hundred thousand Crownes, of the booty is whereof Cleomenes according to the custome had twelve hundred thousand. But who will not maruaile at the beastlinesse and ignorance of this man, touching the Riches and power of Greece: the which are things which an Historiographer ought to know. Truely, I dare boldly affirme, that they could not gather together this Summe in all B Mores, out of the money of all their moueables, excepting their perfons: I meane not in the time when it was impouerished by the oppressions of the Kings of Macedony, and by the divers Warres which they had amongst themselves, but at such time when as all the Townes were firmely united together, and when as Fortune feeined to finile on them. But to flew that what wee fay, proceeds not from ouer! weening or want of reason, it appeares thus. Who knowes not that when the Acheins ioyned to the Thebeins, made Warre against the Lacede. monians, and that they were to raise an Army of ten thousand men. and another at Sea of an hundred Triremes, and that they had calculated the charge, it not onely emptied their publicke Cofers, but al- C fo their houses and the whole Prouince : and that finally, they could hardly draw together three Millions; and fixe hundred thousand Crownes, whereof there wanted an hundred and fifty thousand.

You must not hold that strange which I now affirme of Morea. There is not any man that dare assure, that the spoile of Megalopolis at that time, did amount to aboue ninescore thousand Crownes: and that the people, as well Burgeffes as Slaues retired to Messina. Whereof behold a great argument: For when the Mantineans were not leffe firong, nor of meaner estate than the Areadians, as this Historiogram pher fayth, were enuironed by a fiege, so as when they yeelded, no man could steale away, nor carry away any thing. Yet the whole spoile, reckoning it at the vttermost, accompting the bodies, was esteemed but ninescore thousand Crownes. Moreover, who will not wonder at that which hee faith afterwards, that an Embassie from Ptolomy came ten dayes before this battell, to let Cleomenes understand that he was not resolued to contribute any longer to the charges of this Warre, and that hee aduised him to agree with Antigonus ? The which Cleame-

The pillage of to ninefeore thouland Crownes.

nes hearing, he resolued to hazard the battell, before his Souldiers should heare the newes, lest they should mutine, when they should be out of hope of their pay. But if it were true, that he had lately gotten three Millions, and fixe hundred thousand Crownes in Megalopolis, what neede hath he of Psolomyes contribution, feeing that ninescore thousand Crownes were more then sufficient to defeare An. tigonur forces? Is it not a great weakenesse in him to say, that Cleamanes did expect pay for his Souldiers from Prolomy, and withall, that he had taken fo great a booty of money in Megalopolis? My Discourse A should be long if I should pursue the vices wherewith this good Histo. riographer doth generally abound that this shall suffice for this

L1b. 2.

After the taking of Megalopolis, at such time as Antigonus win- An Atray leuitred in the Citty of Argos, Cleamenes drew his Army together, as edby cleamen foone as the opportunity of the time would give him leave. And ha- net. uing preached vnto his men, he entred into the Countrey of Argos. Many blamed him for this attempt, as being too bold and rash, in regard of the scituation of the Countrey, which is difficult and strong by Nature. Others which were of a better ludgement, held it wifely done. For when as he faw that Antigonus had left the greatest part of his Army in the Countrey, and had with him but a small handfull of Mercenary Souldiers, he had a conceit, that hee might easily enter the Province without danger: And if he put all voto fire and Sword, euen voto the Walles of the Citty, the Argines through necessity would charge Antigonus, who thorough his basenesse must endure such outrages. Finally, if hee be forced to come to fight, moued with the cries of the people, who shall hinder him to haue the Victory, seeing he hath a greater Troupe of men; If he doth not abandon the Citty as it is fitting, hee can C carry backe his men without danger into his Countrey, after that he hath ouer-runne the Champion: Leauing a great amazement and terrour to his Enemies, and affuring the hearts of his owne Souldiers. The which succeeded according to his proiect. Antigonal For when the people saw the whole Province thus spoyled, they planted. began to blame Antigonas: who notwithstanding discharging the Duty of a wife and discreet Captaine, would not goe to field. Cleomenes in the meane time ouer-ran their whole Countrey without feare. By this meanes he returned fafely into his Countrey, after that hee had at pleasure ruined the Prouince, and lest agreat amaze-D ment amongst the Argines, and made his owne men more hardy for

Bur when the Spring came, the Macedonians and the Acheins returning from wintering, went to field : Antigonus marcht to Laturning from wintering, went to held: Antigonus marcht to La-conice with his Army, confifting of ten thousand Macedonians, The number of Nations three thousand Archers, three hundred Horse, a thousand Bow. which were in men, and likewise as many of the Gaules : Moreouer, three thou- ontigonal Arfand Foote which were Mercinaries, with three hundred Horse, and about a thousand Megalopolitains armed after the manner of

the Macedonians, whereof Cerciffes had the leading. As for the Allies. hee had two thousand Foote of Baniere, and two hundred Horse: a thousand Foote of the Epirotes, and fifty Horse: and as many of the Acarnanians: and besides all these, a thousand and fixe hundred Sclanonians, whereof Demetrius of Phare was Captaine. Thus the whole Army confifted of twenty eight thousand Foote, and & twelue hundred Horse. Cleomenes being advertised by his Spies of the Enemies descent, hee placed forces upon the passages, by the which they might enter into his Countrey, fortifying them with Trenches and Trees cut downe: And hee himselfe went with his Ar-A my to a passage which they call Sellasia, thinking as it happened, that the Enemy would take that way. His Army was about twenty thousand men. There were two Mountaines in this passage, whereof the one is called Eus by the people of the Countrey, and the o. ther Olympus. There is a way betwixt both which runs along a Riuer vnto Sparta. When as Cleamenes had lodged himselfe in these two Mountaines, and had carefully fortified them with Trenches and Pallisadoes, hee put the Souldiers which were drawne together with the Allies into Eua. whereof his Cozen Euclide had the Commaund, and stayed himselfe in that of Olympus with the Lace- B demonians and Mercenaries. Moreouer, hee placed his Horse-men in the Plaine, with some of the Mercenaries, vpon the two Bankes of the River.

When as Antigonia was come into those places, and finding the scituation of them, and the wonderfull industry of Cleamenes to dispose of his Army, hee was not resolved to fight at that time. And therefore hee camped neere vnto him, vpon the banke of the Rîuer of Gorgile: whereas staying some dayes, hee turned about the Countrey and the Enemies Campe and fought to draw them to battell by skir-Bankes of Gor. mishes. But when hee found nothing without defence, for that the Prouidence of Cleomenes had carefully rampired all places, hee gauc ouer his enterprize: But in the end they resolved by a common confent, to make an end of their Warre by a battell. Behold how Fortune had drawne together two great Captaines, equall in virtue. The order of Counsell and Wisedome. Thus Antigonias opposed in Front to Antigonus Bat those which held the Mountaine of Ena, the Macedonians with their Targets, and the Sclanonians: and hee put the Leginaries in diuers bands to fuccour the one and the other : to whom hee gaue for Commaunder, Alexander, the Sonne of Ameta, and Demetrius of Phare.

After these marcht the Acarnanians and they of Candy: Finally, he placed two thousand Acheins for a supply, to succour them at need. Then he set his Horse-men neere vnto the River-side in Front of the Enemies Horse, whereof Alexander had the charge with two thousand Foote-men. As for Antigonus, hee lodged neere vnto Mount Olympus with the bands of Aduenturers, and the Macedonians: where hee resolued to fight with Cleamenes. VVhen hee had put the Mercenaries into battell, hee caused the Battalion of the Macedonians

Macadonians to march. The place which was straight, would not fuffer them to doe otherwife. They had given charge to the Selano. mians to begin the battell, as soone as they should fee a white cloth, which should be aduanced neere vnto Mount Olimpus, at the soote whereof they lodged at Night, under the River of Gorgile. The Megilopolitains also with the Horse men were to enter the combate, as soone as they should see a purple Robe, advanced in the Aire from the

The houre of the battell was now come, the Sclauonians had alrea-A dy discouered Antigonus signe. They encourage their Companions according to the opportunity of the time, making no doubt but they had the victory in their hands. Then they endeauoured with wonderfull resolution to gaine the Mountaine. But the Foote-men which were lightly armed, whom Cleomenes as wee have fayd, left in the Plaine with the Hotse-men, seeing that the Bands of the Acheins had not the courage to second them, charg'd them vpon the Reare, so as they were in great danger : For on the right hand, and in Front Euclide had the better with his men : and the Mercenaries on the left hand, fighting obstinately, made agreat spoile vpon the Reare. By

B this meanes they were suddainly environed with two Troopes of Enemies. When Philopomenethe Megalopolitaine saw this disorder, hee fuddainly gaue good advice to the Captaines. But for that hee was a young man, and had neuer had charge they gaue no eare vnto him. Wherefore addressing himselfe to those of his Nation, Companions fayth hee, the Victory is ours if you will follow mee. And in charging the Enemies Horse, they affailed them with great courage. Wherefore the Aduenturers strangers, who sought in the Reare of those which affail'd the Mountaine, hearing a great noise, and feeing the Combate of the Horse-men, retired to aide and succour C them, whereunto they had beene at the first ordained.

The order of the Enemies being by this meanes broken, the Sclauonians and Macedonians with others whom Antigonus had appointed, fell vpon them with great violence and fury. So as afterwards all the World was of opinion, that the industry and courage The courage of Philopomene had defeated Enclide at that time. And therefore of Philopomene they say, that when as Antigonus demaunded of Alexander why hee is the couse of had sent the Horse-men against the Enemy, before hee had seene the figne, and that hee had answered, it was not hee, but a young Megalopolitaine which had done it without his privity, heethen re-D plied, that this young man had performed the duty of a good Cap.

taine, and Alexander that of a young foole. But they which kept the toppe of the Mountaine with Eucelide, shewed their basenesse, seeing the Enemies ascend : for they should not have attended vntill they had gain'd the top with safety: But relying vpon the aduantage of the place, they should have encountred them, and charged them from aboue : and if necessity had required, they might have retired safely on the right hand, to charge the Enemy againe. In doing this they had cafily broken, defeated

O 2

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Eus.

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Buclide.

Antigonus

and put the Macedonians to flight. But they did the contrary, as if they had the Victory certaine in their hands; for without mooning from the place which the Cleomenes had appointed them, they staied expecting the enemy, with hope of a greater defeate: For that they should be repulsed and beaten from the highest place of the Mountaine. But they soone suffered the pennance of their basenesse. For after that the Macedonians had recovered the Mountaine, without any refistance, and were come into the Plaine, they fell upon their enemies, fighting hand to hand with fo great fury, as they prefently draue them backe into the hollow Caues and inacceffible places.

philopomene.

In the meane time the Combate was cruell among the Horfe-men, where it was worth the fight, to behold with what heate, force, and courage the Acheins fought, confidering they all fought for the liberty of the Countrey. But among all others they made great effeeme of Philopomene for when his Horse was over thrown with a Pertuisane he fainted not, fighting long on foote with great courage. Finally in the end hee died valliantly, being that thorough the thinne-bones with an Arrow. On the other fide the Kings had begunne the fight at Mount Olympus with the mercenaries and fuch as were lightly armed. They were about five thousand men, who fought sometimes man to B man, and fometimes they tried the Fortune of the whole Troupe. There the Victory was long in suspence, finally they parted equally from the battell.

But when as Cleomees was advertised that Emlide had abandoned the Mountaine, and that the Allies had turned head, and that the Horsemen were in great despaire, and that all trembled for feare, hee resolued to goe out of his Fort, and to put his whole Army in Front vpon one side of the Campe; and therefore hee caused them to sound a Retreate. By this meanes when those that were lightly armed were drawne together, the two Armies charged with their Pikes and Iaue- C lings. The Combate was cruell, and the charge performed with fo great courage on either fide, as the Victory was long doubtfull, and the judgement difficult who descrued the greatest honour: For that fornetimes the Lacedemonians retired, and agains they made the Macezonians giue backe.

The victory of Anrigonus a. gank chome-

Finally, when as the Lacedemonians were vanquished and put to Aight, they were flaine heere and there like sheepe. Cleomenes saued himselfe in Sparta without any wound, beeing accompanied by some of the Horse-men. From thence hee retired the night following to Sythia, where he imbarqued in certaine shippes which lay long ready D for the necessities of the Countrey, and failed with his friends to i. Lacedemonta- lexandria, When as Antigonus was entred into Lacedemon finding no heaby Antigor refistance, hee intreated the Lacedemonians graciously and courteously in all things; but especially in suffering them to live and governe their Common-weale after the Lawes of the Country. When he had staied certaine daies there, he returned into Macedony with his Army, hauing newes of the descent of the Sclauonians, and of the spoile they made. Behold how Fortune disposeth of great affaires as she pleaseth.

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There is no doubt but if Cleomenes had deferred the battell a little, or staicd in Sparta after his defeate, keeping them in hope, in the end he had prevailed in his affaires after the retreate of Antigonus. Antigonus Sparta or Lacome from themselve Tagger to whom her left the Co. came from thence to Tegee; to whom hee left their Common-weale intire. Three dayes after he arrived at Argos, at such time as the people were gathered together to celebrate the Nemean games; who prefently went foorth to meete him. All the Citty had their eyes fixt vppon him and beheld him, all the World commended him; all the affembly of Greece, and euery Citty in perticular did him Honour, not onely Humane but Divine.

From thence he made hast to go into Masedon, where as he found A the sclauonians spoiling the Country; to whom hee gaue battell, and gor the Victory after a long combate. But hee cried to much during The Victory of Anigonus athe fight, as within few dayes after hee died of a fluxe of blood; fo as gamit the Sela, the Greceans loft the great hope they had conceived, not fo much for Monium. his skill in Warre, as for his vertue and royall perfections. He left the Realme of Macedony to Philip the sonne of Demetrius. But if you demaund of me why I have helde folong a Discourse of this present Warre, you must know I have done it of purpose. For as this time concurres with that whereof wee meane to speake, I have held it fit R and necessary, to let the World understand, according to my first resolution, what the estate of the Macedonians and Grecians were at that The Death of

time. At that time Riolomy died of sicknesse; to whom succeeded many great Prolomy Philopater. The like did Seleucus the fonne of Seleucus, who Princes. was furnamed Callinice; and in like manner Pogon; to whom his brother Antiochus succeeded in the Realme of Syria.

D

The like in a manner hapned to those which helde the Kingdomes of Alexander after his death, as Selencus, Prolomy, and Lyfimacus; for those died in the hundreth foure and twenteth Olympiade, as wee have formerly related; and these in the hundreth thirty nine. Seeing wee haue exposed the preparation of all our History, and sufficiently decla-C red at what time and how, and for what causes the Romanes after the conquest of all Italy affailed forraigne Realmes, and what the estate then was of Greece, Macedony, and the Carthaginians. I have thought it fit to make an end of this Booke, with a Commemoration of these actions, and this alteration of Kingdomes: Seeing that according to our intention we are come vnto the times when as the Grecians made the VVarre of the Allies; the Romanes against Hannibal; and to that when as the Kings of the lower Asia, fought for the Empire of Syria.

The end of the Second Booke of Polybius.

THE



THE THIRD BOOKE of the History of POLYBIVS.



Ee have shewed sufficiently in the First Booke. how that wee haue taken for the beginning and foundation of the Romane actions, the V Varre betwixt the Allies, that of Hannibal, and that of Syria: Wee have in like manner fer downe A the causes, for the which wee have beene forced (in reducing the beginnings farther off.) to write the History of the Second Booke. Now we will indeauour to make you understand the

Warres themselues, and the causes why they were vndertaken, and dispersed in so many places, having let you vnderstand, in as sew words as possible we may, the attempts of the people of Rome. Seeing that which wee have vndertaken to write is but a Worke, and as it were a specacle; (that is to say,) how, when, and wherefore all the Countries of the VVorld have beene reduced under the obedience of the Romans, B and that this hath a notorious beginning, a prefixed time, and the end certaine. VVce haue thought it good to deliuer summarily the accidents which hapned from the beginning vnto the end of these VVarres: Immagining that they which defire to fee our Worke, will more eafily come to the knowledge of the whole History, Beleeue me that our understanding conceives many things necessary for a perticular History, by the knowledge of the generall; for the understanding whereof, the experience of perticular actions is of no small importance; and if they

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be both ioyned together, fo as it may bee but one description, they will be wonderfull profitable to the Reader. But as for the contents of our Worke, wee haue sufficiently spoken thereof in the two firft Bookes. And as for the perticular actions which haufe hapned, they haue taken their beginning in the Warres which we have Related; and there end at the death of the Kings of Macedon. So as from the beginning vnto the end there were fifty yeares; during the which there were as great and admirable things performed, as euer were in fo shore

To speake whereof, wee will beginnero write from the hundreth and fortieth Olympiade, and will observe this order. First wee will A shew the causes for the which this VVarre, which they call of Hannibal, beganne betwixt the Romanes and Carchaginlans: So as entring into Italy, they reduced the Romans to fo great an extreamity, asthey fuddainly grew in hope to be Lords, not only of the rest of Italy, but also of the Citty of Rome. And afterwards we will continue our narration, vpon what occasion Philip King of Macedon, after that he had mide VV arre with the Etoliens and pacified Greece, entred into hope with the Carthaginians. And as for Antiochus, Ptolomy, and Philopater, they in the end had Warre together for the lower Syria, after a long diffention. Moreouer the Rhodiens and Praficus making VVarre against them of Constantinopte, forced them to abandon Pontus. And there ending our Discourte, we will beginne to speake of the manner of liuing of the Romanes, of their Lawes and of their Common-weales By the which as proper to them, they have attained vnto fuch great The Countries power, as they have not only made subject to their obedience, staly, conquered by Sycile, and the Gaules, and likewife Spaine in a fhort time; but in the end they have vndertaken the Empire of the whole World, after they had vanquished the Carthaginians by Armes. Then passing on we will shew, how the Kingdome of Hieron of Saragosse was defeated and ruined. The like we will do of divers troubles which were in Agypt. C Moreouer how after the death of King Ptolomy, Antiochus, and Philip, being agreed touching the diulion of the Realme left vnto the Sonne, which Antiochus, began the Warre. Philip against Egyps and Samos, and Ansiechus a- chur and phigainst Syria and Phenicea. And when as we have summarily set downe the affaires of Spaine,

Lybia, and Sycile, we will presently turne our Discourse to Greece, as

fet downe the Romanes V Varre against him, how and by whom it had

things, we will come to the indignation of the Etoliens, who proclai-

med V Varre against the Romanes, and drew Antiochus out of Asia.

And when we have delivered the causes, and related Antiochus naui-

gation into Europe, we will arft shew how he fled out of Greece; and

the affaires shall change. For after that we have related the VVats at Sea, which Assalue and the Rhodiens made against Philip: and having Assalue. D beene mannaged, and what successe it had, obseruing the order of

being vanquished by Armes, how he abandoned vato the Romanes, all the Councries which lie on this fide Mount Taurus. Thirdly, we will Mount Taurus shew with what power the Romans conquered the Empire of Asia, after

they had wholy defeated the Gaules, who wandred vp and downe

Eumenides. Ariazate. Morea.

and how they freed the whole Countrey on this fide Mount Tantu from the feare of the Barbarian sund the infolency of the Gaules. And when we have related the mif-fortune of the Etoliens and Cophalins in their Warres, we will make mention of those of Eumenides, of Prasia, and of the Gaules, the like we will do of that of Ariarate against Pharnace. From thence dispatching the accords of them of Morea, and the increase of the Rhodies Common-wealth, we will make an end of our . worke, fetting downe in the end the Voyages which Antiochus firna- A med Epiphanes, made into Egypt. And in like manner the Warres of Perfixmenth the ruine of the Kingdome of the Macedonians. These sre things whereby we may cafily understand how the Romanes in a short submitted the whole Earth under their obedience, assailing them in perticular. And if it were lawfull to discerne vertue from vice, by the good The Conquest or bad successe of affaires, or from the praise or dishonour of men, we of the Romanes must of necessity make an end here, and turne our Relation to things which in the beginning we propounded to fet down ; for this hath continued fifty three yeares: during the which the Roman Empire hath gotten fo great an increase, as the whole World might well know, that they must do what their people commaunded. But for that such things, R cannot be rightly judged by the good Fortune of affaires, confidering that many times those that seeme to be well done, are the cause of great inconveniencies, if they be not done in time: And contrary-wife they which are fallen into some disaster, many times turne their mis-fortunes to good, if they know how to have patience. We have thought it fitting to adde to that which we have Written, what the nature of the Victors were, what meanes they held in the gouernment of their Empire, and how the rest of the Townes, Regions, and Countries yeilded willingly vnto them ? And moreouer what course of life, and what Lawes they held with all the World, aswell in particular as generally with all their Common-wealths.

By this meanes they which live at this day, shall plainy see whither it be good to flie, or voluntarily to submit to the Empire of Rome; and they which shall come after may judge whither the actions of the Remanes be commendable and worthy of memory, or altogether blameable. Behold, wherein the profit of our History will confist, aswell for the present as the future time. They which mannage a Warre, and they which undertake to judge of it, do not propound the Victory for the last end, nor wholy to subice himselfe. Beleeue me, a wise man doth not make Warre with his neighbours, to see the defeat and ruine: Neither doth any man faile in diuers Seas, onely to make Voyages: nor purfues many Sciences and Disciplines, in regard onely of them. Without doubt we pursue these things, for that which followes, seemes pleasant, profitable, or decent, and therefore wee may with reason fay, that the end of our Worke hath beene to know the condition of all things, after the Conquest of the World made by the Romanes, vntill they fell againe into new combustions.

Of which troubles I have refolued to write, making as it were, a new beginning:

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beginning: For that there hath beene great and memorable things, haufing not onely beene present at the greatest part, but also a com Polybius hath for and affiftant.

This trouble grew, when as the Romans made Warre against the other things Celtiberians, and the Carthaginians against Massinifa, King of Ly. which he hath bia : and what time Attains and Prufias were at Warre in Afis. And then Ariarate King of Capadocia expell'd his Realme by Roferne, by the meanes of Demetrius, was soone after restored by him. But Demetrius the Sonne of Selencus, loft his Realme and life by the con Demetrius loft A spiracy of other Kings, after hee had held Syria twelve yeeres. And his Re line and lite by con the Romans restored the Grecians to their Citties, whom they had spiraty, charged to bee the Authours of the Persian Warre, after they had accepted the excuse of their innocency. Soone after they made Warre against the Carthaginians, for the causes which wee will specific, so as they resolued first to transport them, and afterwards wholly to ruine them.

And for that the Macedonians abandoned the part of the Romans, and the Lacedemonians the Common weale of the Acheins, there followed the viter ruine and destruction of all Greece. This B shall serue for the Preamble of our Worke. I have neede of the fauour of Fortune, to the end that by the meanes of life I may finish this my resolution, although I hold it for certaine, that if a long life should faile mee, yet there would bee alwayes some one found among fo great a multitude of wife and learned men, that The define and would finish our Worke, and endeuour to bring vnto per affection of the Author your fection that, which suddaine Death might hinder and preuent the end of his

As wee have related at large the deeds which feeme most memorable, defining that our whole worke might bee knowne to the C Reader, as well in generall as perticular, it is now time vnto the declaration of our designe. The greatest part of those which have written the deeds of Hannibal, desiring to shew the cause of the Warre which kindled betwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians, fay, that the fiege of Sagonte was the first : and the second, that contrary to the accord made with the Romans, they had past the Ri-

For my part, I am of opinion that these were the beginnings, but not the causes; for there is a great difference betwixt the causes and beginning of things: vnleffe fome will fay, that the Voyage of Alex- The brighning D ander the great into Asia, hath beene the cause of the Warre which of a workeand the made against the saute and he made against the Persians : Or that the descent which Antiochus ier. made at Demetriade, hath beene the cause of that which was begun against the Romans : the which is neither true nor likely.

mans, before the comming of Antiochus hath beene the causes of the

But what man is so much blinded with ignorance, that will affirme and maintaine, that the preparations which were made partly by Alexander, and partly by Phillip in his life time, for the Warre of Persia : Or by the Etoliens, ro make Warre against the Ro-

Warre: Thesearethe opinions of men, who doe not obserue how much the beginnings and the cause differ : and that the causes in all things are the first, and the beginning are the end of causes. I am of opinion that the beginnings are called the first workes of things which are resolued and concluded, and that the causes are those which preceed the decree and resolution, and makes vs so to judge: as are the thoughts, the aduices, the discourses of reason and such other

This will be apparent for that which followes: For it will be casie for any man to fee for what cause the Warre of Persia was made, and A whence the beginning came. The first was the returne of the Greci-Whence the beginning came. The litt was the receipts whence the beginning came. The litt was the receipts whence the beginning came. The litt was the receipts whence the beginning came. rous Nations: where not any one durst make head against him in so

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The second hath beene the Voyage of Agesilans King of Lacedemonia into Asia by Sea. Where having found nothing answerable to his forces, nor that presented it selfe, hee was forced to returne into Greece, for the troubles which were kindled there : as if he had triumphed ouer the Barbareans. For which causes Phillip King of Macedon, having experience of the basenesse and sloth of the Per- B fians and relying vpon the readinesse of the Macedonians in matters of War: being likewise drawne with the hope of great gaine, he prepared Warre against them with all his forces, as soone as he found himselfe assured of the amity and friendship of the Grecians : taking his occasion, that the Persians had vsed great cruelty against

And therefore wee must say, that the causes of this Warre are those which wee have first related, and the occasions are those whereof we now speake : and the beginning was Alexanders Voiage by Sea into Afia: And in that which was made against the Romans vnder the conduct of Antiochia, the wrath and indignation of the E-Warre again toliens was the cause. You must vnderstand that for the opinion which they had conceived, that the Romans made no accompt of them as long as the Warre of Phillip continued, they not onely called Antischus vnto their Succours, but also resolued to put all in hazard, so great their spleene and sury was for that which

It is true, the liberty of Greece was the occasion, vnder hope whereof they laboured by all meanes to draw the neighbour Citties to their Enterprize: But the beginning of the Warre was the Voy- D age to Sea of Antiochus to Demetriade. Wee haue beene tedious in this Discourse, not to blame any one of the auncient Historiographers, but for the profit of those which have a desire to learne. For as Philitians cannot cure their Patients, if they have not knowledge of the causes of the Diseases wherewith they are troubled : So they which treate of Histories, are altogether unprofitable, if the reafon of the place, of the time, with the causes and occasions bee not

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There is therefore nothing more necessary, nor more to be defired, than to know the causes of all things that happen: For opportunity doth many times rectifie great affaires, and it is easie to preuent their beginnings.

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It is true that Fabius a Roman Historiographer faith, that the cru- Fabius, elty and inhumanity of Hannibal towards the Sagontins, and the ambition and insatiable desire of Rule in Astrubal, haue beenethe causes of the Warre betwixt the Romans and Hannibal. Generall of the Carthaginians. Then hee fayth that he had much augmented the A Carthaginians Empire in Spaine, and that being returned to Carthage. hee fought to tirannize the Common-wealth, and to ouerthrow their Lawes. The which the chiefe men discovering, they opposed themschues against Asarubal. Wherefore leaving Affricke in a rage, hee returned presently into Spaine, and afterwards mannaged the affaires according to his owne fancy, and without the authority of the Senate of Carthage. Moreouer, he faith, that Hannibal who from his youth had beene at the Warre vnder him, was of the same enterprize and therefore after he was Lord of Spaine, hee followed the courses of Aftrubal. So as this Warre which was made against the Romans, B was begun by him in spight of the Carthaginians, and that there was not any man in Carthage which loued the Common wealth, but

did much blame the deeds of Hannibal against the Sagontins. Moreouer, hee fayth, that after the taking of Sagont, there was an Embaffie sent from Rome to Carthage, demaunding Hannibalto bee punished for the breach of the accord, and if they would not yeeld vnto it, they should declare Watre against the Carthaginians,

But if a man should demaund of Fabius what could succeed berter, nor more reasonable, and expedient for the Carthaginians, than to deliver vpon the Romans request the authour of the offence, and C him that had committed the fault, to punish him : Seeing that as hee fayth, they had difliket the actions of Hannibal : and by this meanes might reuenge by another the common Enemy of the Countrey, and maintaine the estate of their Citty in peace, chasing away the authour of the warre, confidering that this might bee well effected by a bare resolution? What can he answere? Nothing without doubt. Contrariwise they were so farre from doing it, as they maintained the The Werre Warre seuenteene yeeres continuall against the Romans : Neither did they conse untill destinate of all home they conse untill destinate of all home they provided they conserve they be they b they cease untill destitute of all hope, they not onely hazarded their yeares. Countrey, but also their lives.

Finally, to what end doe wee viethis discourse of Fabius or of his writings ! It is not to cry him downe : For his lying writings are apparent to those which reade them. It is onely to aduertise those which giue the credit, not somuch to regard the title of the Authour, as the truth of things : For there are men which doe not beare fo much respect to the writings, as to him that made them, and which thinke that for as much as Fabius lived in those times, and had beene of the Senate, that hee could not but speake truth. It is true, and I am of opinion, that we must give beleefe and credit vnto him in

many things, but yet wee may not believe all: for wee must consider things as they are, and how they agree.

Finally, to retuine to our Discourse, we must not thinke that the first The first cause of the Warre, which the Komans had with the Carthaginians, was betwirt the Ro- the indignation of Amilear, sirnamed Barca, Father to Hannibal. mans and the And we must viderstand that he was not vanquished by the Romans, ducarehaginians. ring the Warre of Sicily; (for he preferred the Army which was a-The fore fight bout Erix with great Iudgement) but when he faw the Carthaeinians of Amiliar, Fa- had loft the battell at Sea, hee thought good to yeeld vnto the time, and made a peace with the Romans, yet hee left not his indignation, A so as he expected continually an opportunity to be reuenged of them. And if the Carthaginians had not found themselves troubled with the mntiny of their Souldiers, hee would prefently have renewed the

VVarre with all his power: and therefore being hindred by an intestine mischiefe, he deserr'd it to another time. The Romans confidering the danger wherein the Carthaginians were

by the mutiny of their Souldiers, threatned them with V Varre. To present the which, the Carthaginians made an accord as we have specified in the former Booke, without which no man can vnderstand Sardinia aban- that which wee have now fayd, nor that which followes. Finally, they B quit them Sardinia, as vnfurnished both of counsell and aide: For that the Romans would not otherwise desist from their Enterprize, and they payed them beside the Summe already accorded, seven hundred thouland Grownes: which was the second and the greatest cause of the VVarre which afterwards began.

The fecond Caule.

doned by the

Carthaginians.

VVhen as all the people of Carthage were entred into the like indignation with Hannibal, and that Amilear faw the mutiny of the Souldiers supprest, and the affaires of the Countrey pacified, he began to make VVarre in Spaine, feeking to make vie of it, as a preparative to leade them against the Romans. Behold that which we must imagine for the third cause, that is to say, the good fortune which the Car- C thaginians had: For that their hearts grew great, and therefore they undertooke this VV arre more boldly. There is proofe sufficient, that Amilear was the principall cause of the second Punique VV arre, althoughthe were dead ten yeeres before: but it shall suffice for the prefent to relate that which followeth t At what time that Hannibal was vanquished by the Romans, he retired to Antiochus leaving Affricke, the Romans advertised of the Etoliens attempt, sent an Embassic to Antiochus to know his will, and to discouer by this meanes his preparation for Warre. But having vnderstood that he held the party of the Etoliens, and that he was refolued to make Warre against the Remans, they frequented daily with Hannibal, feeking by their continuall familiarity, to draw him into suspition and dislike; wherein they were not deceived: For Antiechnsthinking he had beene gain'd by the Romans, suspected him long. But it happened on a time when as the King called him to his Councell, whereas he had good liberty to speake. And then after many discourses, in the end as it were by indignation, hee began to vie these termes. VVhen as my Father

The third Caufe.

Remane.

Amilear was to passe into Spaine with an Army I was about the Age of nine yeares: and when as he facrificed to Iupiter, I was neere vnto

Bur when as the Sacrifices were ended, my father caused the rest to specific die retire backe; and having called me alone, he demanded kindly of me, tioches. and as it were with imbracings, if I would go the Voyage. The which when I had not onely accepted, but moreouer intreated him like a childe; then taking my right hand, and laying it vpon the Altar, hee would that touching the things factificed, I should sweare that present-A ly when I came to age, I should be an enemy to the Romanes. And therefore Sir, as long as you shall be their enemy, you may relie confidently in me, and have no sufficion of Hannibas: but when you shall that when see

be reconciled, or that you shall contract friendshippe with them, then came to age, expect no other accuser, and have a care to keepe your selfe from me, he would be an as from an enemy to the people of Parts for I doll to a little of the people of Parts for I doll to a little of the people of Parts for I doll to a little of the people of Parts for I doll to a little of the people of Parts for I doll to a little of the people of Parts for I doll to a little of the people of Parts for I doll to a little of the people of Parts for I doll to a little of the people of Parts for I doll to a little of the people of t as from an enemy to the people of Rome; for I shall be alwayes oppo-Romanes.

Antiochus hearing this kind of Speech, and that Hannibal spake truly and with affection, in regard of his griefe, he prefently abandoned all suspicion. Behold then a manifest testimony of the harred and bad as a suspicion of a milest towards he have the harred and bad in Law to Hame B affection of Amilear towards the Romanes; for hee left Afarnbal his nibal. sonne in Law, and his sonne Hannibal for their enemies, such as there could be none greater. It is true, that Death tooke an order that Afdrubal could not shewe the hatred he bare them. But Hannibal had time at will, fo as prenailing in his interprize, he hath sufficiently made knowne the hatred which he held from his Father, And therefore they Agoodconfiwhich haue the Gouernment of a Common-weale must carefully con-necessaryior al fider this, and ruminate in their vnderstanding to know the humours of Gouernours. those, with whom they make any accord or friendship; whither it be for the necessity of the time, or to give over the Warres, to the ende C they may alwaies defend themselues from those which seeke an oppor-

tunity to do cuill, and to make vie of those whom they know to bee their Subjects or true friends, when necessity shall require. These causes which we have specified, are those of the second Punique Warre, and the beginning of that which we will now relate.

The Carthaginians hardly induring the loffe of Sycile, which Thecause of the Romanes had taken from them. It is true that as we have faid, Sar. the Carriage and harred. dinia which they had surprized by Treason during the mutiny of Affricke, and this summe of money which they had caused them to pay, did much increase their hatred. And therfore it was likely that as soone D as they should grow great in Spaine, they would transport the VVarre into Italy. But after the death of Afdrubal, who after the death of Amilear was Generall of the Carthaginians, they defired to know the will of the Souldiers, before they would place a new Commaunder. Neuer Com-And when as the newes came from the Campe, that Hannibal had bin any thing worchosen Captaine by a generall consent, they presently assembled, and this which was confirmed with one accord by the election of the men of VVar. Han. not pleafing to mibal haning received all power and confilering the souldiers. mibal having received all power, and confidering that to linger was of no worth, he marcht with his army to the skirts of the Olsades to ruine

Lib. 3.

hauing mannaged his affaires to his owne liking. Being fuddainly arrived

there, he cals them and gives them audience, and power to deliner

their charge. The Embassadours at the first signifies voto him, that he

Carttia taken

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them. And therefore he belieged Carteia, the chiefe Towne of that Countrey, and tooke it by affault after some dayes resistance. So as the other Townes being terrified veelded of themselves to the Cartha-

After this Victory the Army retired to winter at Carthagena with great booty: whereas Hannibal vling great bounty, deuided it amongst the Souldiers: So as hee gained their hearts wonderfully, leaving them in great hope for the future. In the Spring hee led his Army a-Countries con- gainft the Vacceens, and prefently conquered Ermandique : Afterquered by Han- wards hee tooke Arbacale by force, not without great danger, having A held it long befreged: For that it had beene well defended by the greatnesse of the Citty, and the multitude and courage of the Inhabitants.

After this, hee fuddainly fell by chance into a maruellous danger, by The Tolerains. a charge which the Tolerains-have him, at his returne from the Vacseems with a great booty: For it is a people which exceeds all the rest of this Pronince in courage and multitudes of men, with the which also there iovned the Fugitiues of Ermandique. Whereunto the banished men of the Oleades had perswaded them. Without doubt the Carthaginians had beene vanquished and defeated, if they had offered Battell; but Hannibal gaue order to the contrary, and friking Sile to B enemy, he planted himselfe vppon the Banke of the River of Tagus: giving charge vnto his Horse men, that when they should see the Enemies ever into the Water, they should charge the Battalion of foote. He lodg'd forty Elephants along the Bankes.

The river of

By this meanes all things succeeded happily, for that he had the riuer and the Elephants as it were, for Combattants: For the Barbarians thinking that the Carthaginians were retired for feare, they cast themselves confusedly into the River with great cries. Wherefore a great number of them were defeated voon the Bankes of the River by the Elephants which flood there, and flew them at their landing. Some C ry vppon the were also staine in the River by the Horse men, for that the Horsemen being at ease and without Armour, could better helpe themselves, and annoy the enemies, who durft not relye vpon the Ford. They which were in the Reare, and might easily recouer the Banke, retired, vntill in the end the Carthaginians cast themselves into the river with all their bands and companies, and put them to flight. The Toletains army, with the Olcades and Vacceens, confifted of a hundred thousand men. After which defeate, there were not any found beyond the river of Ebro, that durst resist the Carthaginians, except the Sagontins. It is true that Hannibal would not fall voon them, least hee should offer an D occasion of Warre to the Romanes, before hee had seized uppon that which his Father Amilear had aduised him to do.

hundredthou fand men.

Hamibals victo-

In the meane time the Sagontins sent often to Rome, aswell for the An Embaffie care of their owne private affaires, as also fore-seeing future things. from the Re- and likewise to adverrise them of the good Fortune of the Carthagintans in Spaine. Finally the Romanes having thereupon many and divers aduertisements, they sent an Embassie into Spaine, to discouer the course of Hannibals actions: But he was retired to Winter at Carthagena,

should demaund nothing from the Sagontins, being allied vinto the Ry manes : And morcouer that he should not passe the river of Ebro; for that it had beene so concluded by the Treaty made with Afdruball. The which being heard by Hannibal, like a young man and greedy of War, and who casily did what he would with the Senate of Carthage, by the meanes of the heads of his faction, together with the hatred he Hamiltonian-A bare against the Romanes, he answered the Embassadours as a friend to increase and the Sagonins, blaming the people of Rame, who when they had late man I mouth ly received Letters from the Sagontins, for a mutiny which was growne amongst them, to the end they might send some Embassie to pacifie it, they had wickedly put to death some of the principall of the Citty: Whereof he threatens them to take reuenge, faying that the Carths. ginians had a Custome not to disdaine outrages: On the other side, he fent vnto Carthage, to aductife them of that which they were to do, confidering that the Sagontins relying vppon the Alliance with the Romanes, had done great outrages to many Townes subject to the Car. Finally as one full of inconstancy and rage, and inflamed with a defire to make Warre, he propounded no other valuable reason, pursuing

only certaine fripolous and importinent causes. The which is incident to those, who transported by their passion forget their duty. But had it not beene much better to fay thus? That the Carthaginians do right. fully demaund of the Romanes, that they restore vnto them Sardinia, and the filuer, which for fo many yeares they had vniustly drawne from them, during their great affaires, and if they did it not, they will proclaime Warre against them. Where as contrariwise it seemes C now, in leaving the true cause, and supposing a falle one of the Sagontins, they would make it not only without occasion, but also with great outrage. And although the Embassadours vaderstood well, that vppon necessity they must enter into Warre; yet they went vate Carthage, where they vied the like speech.

It is true the Romanes meant to Transport ir into Spain and not into Italy, and to have Sagent for a Fort. Wherefore in the interim, they laboured first to pacific the Wars of Sclauenia, as if they intended to make a Warre that was long and tedious and farre from Haly. It hapned at that time, that when as Demetries King of the Solasonians for Demetries King D gat the many fauours which the Romanes had done him; for that hee faw them prest on the one side with the feate of the Gaules and on the ther by the Carthaginians, and that all his hope was in the King of Macedon : for that hee had bin a pertaker of that Warte, which Antigonus made against Cleimenes, ruining the Townes of the Selauonians which were subiccteo the admanes, forcing the Citty, and exceeding the bounds limited in the Treaty. The like hee did to most parts of the Iland of Cyclades : So as he ruined all like a Tempest, beeing accompanied with fifty strong Vessels. Whereof the nomables

being advertised, seeing at that time the Principallity of Macedon to Triumph , they laboured with all their present meanes to pacifie the affaires of Sclauonia, hoping it would prooue easie: And that soone after, they should punish the basenesses of the Scianonians, and the ingratitude of Demetrial. But matters past otherwise then they expected. For whilest they imploy their time therein, Hannibal takes Sagent much sooner then they conceived. So as the Warre grew hor. not in Spaine, but against the Citty of Rome, and thoroughout all Italy. Yet the Romanes pursuing their enterprize, fent Lucius Emilius into Sclauonia, the first yeare of the hundred and fifteeth Olympiade, with A a very great Army to keep that Province in peace, and from future municipality and

of Sagont.

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Hannibal patting from Carebagena with his whole Army, goes to Sagont, a Towne scituated beyond the River of Ebro, at the foote of The setuation the Mountaine, which devides Spaine from the Celiberiens, about a mile distantifrom the Sea. The people of this Countrey exceede all the rest of Spaine in abundance of stuites, and in multitudes of men, and they are the most Warlike. Hannibal entring into these limits with his Army, and having ruined all the Countrey, he beliedged it with all manner of Engines, conceiuing that the taking thereof B would prooue wonderfull commodious for his present Affaires. The differentian First he considered that he should deprive the Romanes of all hope to make Warre in Spaine : and that moreover he should strike a great terrour into the rest; and that by this meanes the Townes of Spaine reduced already under his obedience, would keepe "their faith the berter : Besides it was likely, that they which desired to live still in their liberty, would foone yelld: And that thirdly he immagined, that he might then confidently purfue the Remainder, leaving no enemy be-

> He hoped more-over to gather much Treasure for the intertaine. C ment of his War; and that he should gaine the hearts of the Souldiers for the booty that every one should get at the sacke of the Towne: and that finally he should purchase the love of the Cittizens remayning in Carthage, with presents that he will send them of the spoiles. Beeing mooned with these reasons, he wholy attends the siege of this Towne. and inflames the hearts of the Souldiers ; fpurring them on fometimes with rage against the Enemy, sometimes with hope of Recompence. and fometimes he ferues them for an example, afwell in making the Engines, and approaching them to the Wals, as in going fometimes to those places which were most dangerous. Finally, hee performed D all things for extraordinary well as if hee had beene but a fimple Souldier. Bailer . post got

Sagons forced by Hamibal.

And when he had toyl'd his Body and minde herein for the space of eight moneths, in the end he forced sugant. Whereas after he had made a great booty of gold and filter, and taken many men, he kept the money for the charges of the War, as he had formerly refolued, deuiding the Prisoners among the Souldiers, according vnto their squerall dignities, and set the rest of the spoile visto Carthage.

After these things, hee was not deceived in his hope, so as things succeeded according to his defire: for his Souldiers were much more feady to vindergoe all dangers : and the Carshaginians much more ready to please him. Moreouer, this booty of money was a great meanes for the enterprize he had in hand.

During these actions, Demetrius King of the Sclauonians, discouering the enterprize and preparation of the Romans, hee presently tifed Dimale. caused the Towne of Dimale to bee carefully furnished with men and victuals : and as for the other Townes of Sclauonia, hee chafed A away those that were of a contrary faction, suffering none but such as held his party. Then hee made choice of fixe thousand old Souldiers out of his Army, and put himselse into Phare. In the meane The annual diers out of his Army, and put nimetre into Phare. In the incare time the Confull Emilius arrives safely in Sclauonia with his Army: of Emilius into Sciauonia. where being advertised that the Enemies were confident and resolute, for that they were in hope, that the descent of the Romans should not preuaile against them, relying much in the scituation and municion of Dimale, hee thought good before all things, to doe his vetermost endeauour to take it : thinking (as it afterwards happened) that this being taken, all the rest amazed with seare, B would easily yeeld vnto the Romans. And after that hee had made some speeches vnto the Souldiers, hee planted his Engines of Bartery against the Towne, and besieged it : which being forced on the seauenth day, did so much amaze the Enemies, as presently Embassies came from all the rest of Sclanonia, yeelding vnto the

The which being received into Friendship, and having treated The Towner with enery one according to their condition, hee causeth his Army of Sciannia and march directly to Phase whereas the Pine of the Science to the to march directly to Phare, whereas the King of the Sclauonians Romane obedie made his abode. But for that hee found this Towne strong by science. C tuation, and mann'd with the choise of the Army, and moreouer, well furnified with Victuals, and all kinds of munition, hee feared the fiege would bee long and difficult. Finally, being long in supence, The warlike he takes this counfell. Hee vieth all diligence and labour to gaine the policy or Emle Iland in the Night, and doth lodge a great part of his Army in the lus. thickest of the Forrest : as for himselse, at the breake of day, hee gaines the neerest Port vino the Towne with twenty hipps. The Sclauenians feeing the Enemies hipps, and making no accompt of their number, they goe forth with a great Fleete to hinder the landing of the komans, where they charg'd them, and for a time D the Combate was very furious, there comming still Succours vnto them from the Towne by files, fo as in the end all the Oitty was

Then the Romans who had layne all night in Ambulh in the Forreft, hearing the noise, rabine with all speed by couered places, and gaining a little Hill which was ftrong by nature, within the Towne and Port, they tooke from their Enemies all meanes of returne, The which the Sclauonians well perceiuling, they leave their first enterprize to repulse the Enemy; and drawing together in one troupe,

on the Sciano. of the Iland.

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Demetrius the Night following faued himselfe contrary to the opinion of all the World, by meanes of certaine Vessels which hee had appointed in three places for his fafety, the case so happening : and retired to Phillip King of Macedon, with whom hee spent the Remainder of his dayes. Hee was a man of great courage and ouerweening, but of little judgement in Martiall affaires. And therefore hee ended according to the life which hee had formerly led : For when as at Phillips desire hee had begunne to besiege the Towne of the Messemans, hee was most shamefully staine by the Enemy, B for his great and ouerweening boldnesse. But wee will speake of these things more particularly, when wee shall come vnto that time. When as Emilius had so suddainly gotten Phare, hee razed the Towne to the ground. And having within few dayes reduced The Towns of the rest of the Towns of Sclauonia to the Romane obedience, and decided all the affaires of the Prouince as hee had resolued, hee returnes to Rome in the beginning of Autumne : where hee was received with wonderfull great glory, triumph, and good esteeme of all men, to have done not onely like a wise and discreete man, but like a resolute.

Pharerazed.

Demetrius & man of great

courage and

little judge-

But when in the meane time newes came to Rome of the razing of Sagons, fome haue written, that the Lords of the Romane Councell were not of opinion to make Warre, and they alledge causes and reasons which held them in suspence. But what can bee spoken more vnreasonably e How is it likely, that they which the yeere before had signified Warre vino, the Carshaginians, if they entred the Sagontins Countrey, should now growe doubtfull, whether after the taking of Sagone, they should make Warre, or not ? But is there any thing leffe worthy of credit, to fay, that the Sesate on the one fide was wonderfully heavy and afflicted, as if all D had beene veterly loft : On the other fide that the Fathers brought all their Children to the Senare, fo as they were aboue twelve yeeres of age, and that being partakers of the Councell, they neuer reuealed, or made knowne the secrets to any ? Without doubt these things are neither true nor likely, vnlesse the Romans have that gift of nature, to bee wife from their Cradles.

We have discoursed sufficiently of these writings which are of Cherea and Solilm: neither have they so much shew of a History, as of old wives

Tales: and are like vnto those which they vsually tell in Barbers shops. The Romans then after the newes of the taking of Sagent, and the murther of their Allies, fent presently an Embassie to Carthage, to ler them understand two things, whereof the one seemed to bee of consequence, for ignomy and losse of the Carthaginions, and the other had a shew to draw their Empire in hazard. For they demannded, that they should either deliuer Hannibal to bee punished for the breach of the publique Faith, or elfe they should hold themfelues affured of Warre. When as the Embassadours were come to Roman Embassa

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A Carthage, and that the Senate had given them audience, they deli- fadouts fentes uered their Commission : which was not without the indignation of Carthage. of the Carthaginians : who made choice of Hanne to debate' their Hanne's antweet Right, who at the first made no accompt of Afdrubals treatie, as to the Romaine having neuer beene made with the Romans : and if it were fo, the Emballadours. Carthaginians were not bound vnto it, for that Afdrabal had exceeded his Commission, and had done it without the authority of the Senate or people of Carthage. Whereunto hee alleadged in the like case, that the Romans had beene of opinion, that the accord made in Sicily by the Confull Luctatius should bee broken, for B that it had beene made without the authority of the people of

Finally, hee infifted still vponthis accord whiles his Speech continued, and reade it often, laying, that there was no mention made of Ebre, and that the Allies of the one and of the other were onely referued: and that moreouer, it did nothing concerne the Sagonius, for that at the time of the accord they were not allied vnto the Romans. The Embassadours repuls'd with great words this contention concerning the right of the accorde, as a thing which concernes the honour of the people of Rome : faying that the quarrels might C bee decided, if the Sagontins were in there entire. But now that Sagons is razed, and that the faith and accords are wickedly broken, they should either deliuer the Authour of the Crime to the Romans, to the end that all the World might know, that Sacons hath not beene ouerthrowne and ruined with the confent of the Carthaginians : Or if they will not, but confesse that the Towne hath beene destroyed with their consent, that they should prepare to Warre. Thus ended their discourse, which they held more amply and in generall.

I have held it most necessary not to passe ouer this particular in si-D lence, to the end the truth may not bee hidden to those which deale in publique affaires, or which have cause to consider exactly of these things : Or else have a desire to know whether they erre, being deceived by the ignorance and fortiffinesse of Historiographers, for want of knowledge of the treaties which from the first Punique Warre, vnto our times have beene made betwirt the Remans and the Carthaginians. The fift then was made betwirt these two Nations, immediately after that the name of King was chaled out of Rome, Lucius, Iunius, Brutus, and Mareus

Impiter Capitoli.

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The Romane tongue chan-ged.

The first acthe Romans and the Carthagia #i471.

Valerius being Consuls, under whom also a Temple was dedicated to The Temple of Impiter Capitolinus, eight and twenty yeeres before the first voyage of Xerxes into Greece: the which wee have interpreted with the greatest diligence wee could possibly. Beleeue me, the Romane tongue hath beene fo changed fince that time vnto our dayes, as they which are the best instructed in Antiquities . vnderstand not much of it, but with great difficulty.

This accord containes in a manner thus much: The people of Rome. and the Carebaginians shall live in Amity and Friendship: The like shall their Allies doc. The Romans and their Allies shall not faile beyond A the Promontory of Beauty, vnlesse they be forced by storme, or the violence of their Enemies. If any one takes Port for these causes, hee I conceine that shall not buy, nor take any thing, but what necessity shall require for Sathis promontory is that which crifices and for Ships. And that within the fift day they shall set faile they call the for their retreate. They which shall arrive there for the trade of Mer-Promontory of chandize, shall be free, except the duties which belong vnto the Re-Affriche, where gifter, and to the Citty, who shall give a Certificate of all that which as nowine Cit- shalbe sold in their presence, in Affricke or Sardinia. If any Romane ty clipea stands. arrives in Sicily, where the Carthaginians are Lords, they shall doe him no wrong. The Carthaginians shall doe no outrage to the Arde. B ates, Anciates, Arrentins, Circins, Tarraconnois, not the other Latins which are subject to the Romans. And if there bee any other Citty which is not subject, it is not comprehended. If the Carthaginians take any one, they shall restore it entire to the Romans, neither shall they build any Fort in Italy. And if they be entred into the Province as Enemies, they shall not stay a whole night. Behold in a manner what the first Treatie contayned. You must vnderstand that the Promonto-The Premon-ry of Beauty, is right against Carthage, having its aspect to the North. Beyond the which towards the South, the Carthaginians would not suffer the Romans to saile with any ships of Warre.

The reason was as it seemes, for feare they should come and discouer the places which are about the Banks of Barbary, which the Carthaginians call the Merchants Countrey, by reason of the fertility thereof. And therefore if any one driven by a storme, or prest by the enemy, cast himselfe vpon that Quarter, it was not lawfull for him to take any thing but what was necessary to repaire his ships, or to sacrifice : Being likewise forced to weigh Anchor, and set faile the fift day. As for Carthage and the other Countries of Affricke, which are on this fide the Promontory, and as for Sardinia and Sicily, whereas the Carthagia mians were Lords, it was lawfull to fayle thirher for trafficke : For D the effecting whereof the Carthaginians had sworne to observe and keepe it.

But it seemes that in this treaty, that the Carthaginians make mention of Affricke and Sardinia, as of their owne Provinces, holding other termes of sicily, which adde the Countrey wherein they are obeyed. The Romans also doe the like for the Countrey of the Latins: and as for the rest of Italy, they make not any mention, for that it was not yet subied vnto them. Afterwards there was another treaty made, where-

in the Carthaginians comprehended the Tyrriens and Bifarthins: There was also added to the Cape of Bedney, Mastia, and Tarferen: Without the which it was not lawfull for the Romanes to pretend any Countrey, nor to purchase or build any new Citty. Behold the Contents : The Romanes and their Allies, the Carehaginians, Tyrriens, and Bifarthins, The fecond and their Allies, shall live in friendship. The Romanes not their AL lies shall not faile beyond the Promontory of Beauty, not, of Mastia, or Tarfeion, to rob and spoile, nor to Trafficke, nor to build any Towne. If the Carabaginians take any Towne in leady, which is not A subject to the Romanes, they shall have spoile, and restore the Towne unto the Romanes. If they have taken any of the free people, which were Allied to the Remanes, they shall not bring them vnto any Port which belongs vnto the Romanes. And if they bring any one thither, and he be knowne to the Remanes, they shall be fer at liberty. The like shall be done voto the Romanes in those Townes which are subject to

If a Roman refreshes himselfe with Water and Victuals, the Caribaginians shall do him no wrong, with whom they have concluded a peace and friendship, and if they do it, the outrage shall be held publicke. And as for Sardinia and Affricke, the Romanes nor their Allies may not Trafficke nor have any Towne, or buy any thing but what is necessary, for Sacrifice or the repairing of their shippes. And if any ship be cast upon that Coast by Tempest, they shall fer Saile within the fifth day. In regard of Sicily, the Romanes may Trafficke where the Carthaginians are obeyed: The like they may do at Carthage, and vie the same rights which the Carthaginians observe. The which in the like case the Carthaginians may doe at Rome. In this Treaty it seemes that the Carthaginians shew that Sardinia and Affricke were wholy theirs, and that they would deprive the Romanes of the right of Por-C tage. But as for sicily of that part onely which they hold.

It was also Articulated, that the Carthaginians should not make Warre against the Ardiatins, the Antiates, the Circins, Tarraconneis, the Contacts nor against the other Latine Citties which lie vpon the Sea, and com. the Carthagint prehends the Latine Region. As for the rest of Isaly, there was no mention made. Since there was a third Accord made, at such time as Pyrrhus King of the Epirates past into Italy, before the beginning of The third the Punique Warre. Wherein were comprehended the same Articles, Accord. adding moreouer, that if they agreed with Pyrrhus, they should give fuccour one vnto another in the Country that was affailed: And if ey-D ther of them had need of affiltance, the Carthaginians (hould furnish Ships aswell for the passage, as for the Combate, either of them paying their Souldiers. The Carthaginians should succour the Romans by Sea, and no man should be forced to Land his men. But as I hauevn. derstood, the oath of the first Treaties was made in this manner.

The Carthaginians sware by the gods of their Countrey : And the The manner of Romanes by the Stone, according to their auncient Custome, calling Swearing of thereunto the powers of Mars the Warlike. Behold the manner which the Romanes & Carrosginians they observed to sweare by the Stone. The Herald of Armes, after in their streams

philinus a Hi .

storiographer.

the Treaty of Peace was concluded betwint the two Nations having the Stone in his hands, vied thefe Words. I pray vnto the gods that all things may come successfefully voto me, if this Accord and Oath which I take, be done justly and without fraud. But it I do or thinke otherwise that I may die alone, as this Stone shall fall out of my hand, all the rest being found and safe in their owne Country, their Lawes. Houses, Temples, and Sepulchers, and without speaking any Word

more, he let the Stone fall out of his hand.

As thele things are true, and are at this day to be seene, grauen in Tables of Braffe, in the Temple of Inpiter Capitolinus, where they are A carefully kept by the Ediles. Who will not wonder at the Historiographer Philine, not for that he knew it not (for without doubt many auncient Romanes and Carthaginians, I say of our time, and which have beene very curious of fuch things, do not know it :) But for that he hat? dared to write things quite contrary; faying that in these Accords was contained that the Romanes should quit all Sycily, and the Carthaginians all Isaly? Whereforethe Romans had broken their faith and promise, at their first Voiage into Syeily. And yet this is not

found Written.

Philinus hath written this Discourse in the second of his Books, the B which relating lightly in the first Booke, we have reserved to this place. to the end we may debate it in perticular : holding it necessary, least fome one might stray from the Truth, following the errour of Philinus. It will not be happily without reason, if some one will hold the Vovage of the Remans into Sycily worthy of blame, for that they had receiued the Mamertins into friendship, and presently sent forces after in their extreame necessity, considering that a little before they had spoiled Mellina and Rhegium with great cruelty, beeing two of the richeft Townes in Sycily. But this were to judge like an ignorant man, that in passing into Sycily they had broken their faith and promise. Af- C ter that the Warre of Sycily was ended there was another Accord made. whereof this is the Tenor. That the Carthaginians should not onely Anotheraccord voide out of Sycily, but out of all the Islands which are betwint it and made betwirt the Romans and Italy. And the Allies of the one and the other should have no Rule in neither of their Countries; nor should make any Forts, nor draw foorth any Souldiers, nor make Alliance with either of their Allies: and that the Carehaginians should pay thirteene hundred and twenty thousand Crownes withinten yeares. Whereof fixe hundred thousand should be presently paied, and that moreover they should deliver all the Romane Prisoners without ransome.

the carthaginians.

Afdrubal.

Another ac-

Besides all this the Romanes declaring Warre unto them, when they were much troubled and, afflicted in Affricke, they forced them to make a new Treaty : Where it was fayd, that the Carthaginians should leaue Sardinia, and pay (besides the summe agreed vpon,) scauen hundred thousand Crownes. After all these Treaties, the last was made in Spaine with Aldrubal, where the Garthaginians were forbidden to paffe anotherace or the River of Ebre or Iberus in Armes. Behold all the Treaties which the people of Rome and Carthage made, from the first Punique Warre

vnto the second, which the Carthaginians mannaged under the Conduct of Hamibal. But it is doubtleffe, that as wee haue shewed that the Romanes did not breake their faith when they past into Sycila, as doth plainly appeare : So afterwards they declared Warre against the Carthaginians without reason: when as they made the Treaty for Sardinia : for truely there can be no reason found therein. Contrariwise we see plainely that besides all the agreements, the Caribaginians left Sardinia, and payed a greater fumme of mony, being forced by the malice of the time. And as for that, wherewith the Romanes thelter A themselues, that they were forced thereunto, for that they had outraged their Merchants at Sea: This had beene formerly decided, when as the Carthaginians delivered the Prisoners without Ransome. These are things whereof we have spoken, when in the precedent Booke we haue related that which was to be faid in perticular. Let vs now come to the causes of the second Punique War, and let vs see which of the

two Nations is to be blamed.

Lib. 3.

The Caribaginians objected those causes which we have related. In The causes pro regard of the Remanes they brought none for the prefent, for the in- pounded by dignation they had for the razing of Sagont. Yet behold those which the Warre, B they and others do viually object. First there is no comparison betwire the Treaty which a sarabal made and that of Luctaiim, akhough the Carthaginians will have it fo. For it was fayd in that of Luttaine, that it should hold good if the people of Romeconsent voto it. And as for that of Aldrubal, there was no fuch condition : Where it was exprefly fayd, that the Carthaginians should not passe beyond Ebro. And ir was fayd in the other, that the Allies of either part should line in peace: Vnder which termes were not only comprehended those which then were not Allied: For it would have beene Articulated, that the one nor the other should make any new Alliance; or that they which C should newly enter, should not be comprehended, whereof there is nothing Written. For with that whereof formerly they had given order that none of those which should enter newly into Alliance, should be wronged : Who will believe that eyther of these powerful Nations would reftraine himselfe from receiping those he should think good into Alliance, or to defend those that were received? In frueth I conceine that in making their Treaty, their chiefe intent was, that their Allies (hould live in fafety, and that it hould not be lawful for them to receive the Allies of the one and the other into alliance : and it was prowided that the new alliances might not draw Souldiers out of the others Provinces, nor beare any rule there; and that they should all Line in

Matters flanding in thefe Termes, it is manifest that the Sagontine The Sagontine were allied vnto the Romanes long before Hannibal: The which is to Allied long probable as the Carthaginians cannot deny it. For the Sagentins for a time with the mutiny which grew in their Towne, fent not vnto the Carthaginians formers. although they were their Neighbours, and held the greatest part of Spaine; but retired to the Romanes, by whose meanes the sedicion was pacified and supprest. If they say that the razing of Sagons hachbeene

the cause of this Warre, they must likewise confesse that the Carthagimians had no reason to make Warre against the Romanes, aswell by the Treaty made with Luctatius, wherein it was contained that they should do no outrage vnto the Allies, as by that which was made by Aldrubal. by the which the Carthaginians were restrained from passing the River of Ebre in Armes. Likewise if they will say, that the Carthaginians had taken this Warre to heart, for Sardinia which had beene taken from them, and for the summe of money which they had paved: I make no doubt that they were not to bee blamed, if attending the opportunity of the time they fought to reuenge: Yet I con- A ceiue there wilbe some, who not duly considering heercof, will imagine it idle and to no purpose, that I examine these reasons so dil-

The opinion of History.

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For my part I am of opinion, that if a man be so well furnished with all things necessary, as he needes not any affiftance, yet the knowledge of things past wilbe pleasing vnto him, and it may be necessiary. If likewiscany one dare not relie vpon this, aswell in private affaires as publicke, confidering he is a man: and that he knowes well that this present felicity may be lost, considering that the Fortune of men is fraile and without continuance: Then I say that the know. B ledge of things past is not onely pleasant but necessary. But how may a man finde aide and succours to defend himselfe, being wronged in his owne Countrey : Or draw all the VV orld vnto his owne opinion, making a new enterprize. Or affure the hearts of his men when Fortune fauours him, if hee haue not a true particular knowledge of the deedes of his Ancestors . Beleeue me by this meanes he shalbe ready and instructed in present affaires to be able to say, and doe things, whereby all enterprizes shalbe discouered, and the Truth understood. For things that are done and past, are good instructions for those that shal succeed and come after, shewing vs the C meanes, aduise, and policies, whereby wee may purchase grace, helpe, and comfort : Or contrariwife, procure harred, malice, or indignation, and so moone to Inflice and reason. All which are of great Consequence vnto a man, aswell for his private affaires, as for the publicke.

which give themselves to read Histories; should not so much respect the Actions, as their Consequence and that which goes before. For if you take from a History which mentions but the deeds, how, nor wherefore it hapned, and what the end was, that which shall re- D maine will have no instructions, and will be but a kinde of Contention a Although happily it may seeme at the first fight something pleafant, but for the future they shall reape no profite. It is true, some will fay that it is no easie thing to recouer such a History, and that they cannot well finde it for the greatnesse and number of Bookes. Beleeue me, they doe not vnderstand how much more casse it is to haue, and to read forty Bookes made with good order, whereas the deedes and actions of Italy, Sycily, and Affricke, from the voiage

And therefore I am of aduice, that Historiographers and they

of Pyrrhus into Italy, vnto the taking of Carthage are comprized : And as for those of the other parts of the World, from the flight of Clev. menes vnto the Warre which the Romans had against the Acheins, neere vnto the 18thmus: Then to make provision, or to reade so many Bookes of fo many particular Histories: For as they exceede ours in greatnesse and number, so it is a difficult thing to comprehend any thing certaine. First, that all write not of the same things, and omit those which have beene done at the same time : the which if they were conferr'd together, would the better discouer the truth.

A Finally, they cannot attaine to that which is necessary to the History, which are the things which precede the actions, and concerne the causes. For our part, wee will consider the Warre of Antiochus, as having taken its occasion from that of Phillip, and that of Phillip from the Punique Warre, and the Punique from that of Sicily : Whereas all the accidents which have happened in the meane time, and may bee referred to one beginning, are diligently observed. All which things may be easily vnderstood by him that hath written a generall History : the which is impossible by them which speake of particular Warres, as of the Persique or Phillippique: vnlesse perchance B lome one holds opinion to be able to understand a whole Warre by the knowledge of one Battell : which is impossible. And therefore our History ought to be more efteemed, than that of particular Warres, for that it is more excellent to have learned some thing perfectly, than to haue onely heard of ir.

But to returne from whence wee Arayed, when the Roman Embassadours saw that the Carthaginians disguised matters, they spake no more. But the most ancient among themetaking up the skirt of his The Roman Roabe, and shewing it to the Senate, behold faith hee, wherein I Embassadours bring you Warre or Peace: take which you please. Whereunto the fignihe Warre or Peace take which you please. C Chiefe of the Carthaginians answered, deliuer which you will. And thaginians. when he had spoken, he deliuered them Warre, many of the Senate cryed out, that they accepted it. Vpon this discourse the Embassadours and Senate retired. Hannibal wintering at Carthage, had given

were any that defired to fee their Kinsfolkes and Friends: To the Which Hamps end that having endured so much toile, they might fortifie their bo- bal gaue for dies and mindes, to endure new labour. Moreouer, he instructs his the detente of brother Afdrubal by what meanes (if hee were forced to part Spaine, out of the Province) he should defend and gouerne Spaine against all D the attempts of the Romans. Then hee fends a great Garrison into Affricke of men which he drew out of Spaine : for hee had caused Souldiers to come out of Affricke into Spaine, making cunningly this division of his men to the end that the Affricans being there, and the Spaniards in Affricke, they should grow better by mutuall obligations.

They which past into Affricke, were Therfites, Masteanes, Orites, Spamiards and oleades: having appointed the number of them to be twelve hundred Horse, and thirteene thousand eight hundred & fifty Foot; and

leaue to his Souldiers to returne into their Countrey, if happily there

polybins hath Bookes.

L1b. 2.

The equipage of Warre as wellfor Sea as Spaine by Han.

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The number of Hannibals Ar. my ina Lanle ot Copper Seene by Poly.

befides these eight hundred and fifty Slingers of Matorque and Minorque, called Balleares, with their Iland, by reason of the vie of the Sling. He commaunds they should lodge the greatest part in Affricke, and that the rest should remaine at Carebage for its strength. He doth also leavy foure thousand Foote, the choice of the youth within the heart of Spaine : the which hee causeth to march to Carthage, not so much to fortifie it, as to serue for Hostages. Hee also lest in Spaine to his Brother Astrubal fifty Quinqueremes, two Quadriremes, fiue Triremes, and among the Quinqueremes thirty two armed and turnished, with the fine Triremes. Hee also left him about A foure hundred and fifty Libyphensees, which is a mixt Nation of dubal his Bro. Phenicians and Affricans : and three hundred liergerois: Eighteene hundred Numidians and Moores, bordering vpon the great Sea : Eleauen thousand eight hundred and fifty Foote, Affricans: Three hundred Genenois: Five hundred men of Maiorque and M. norque: and one and twenty Elephants. No man onght to wonder at our diligence in this description, If I so observe it in the affaires of Hannibal in Spaine, that even they which practifed it, could hardly observe: Nor blame vs for that after the manner of lyars, we relate I know not what perty trivial things, the more easily to give credit vnto our writing. For B when I had seene at Lanymum a Table of Copper, which Hannibal had left there, when as he ouer ran Isaly, wherein this number was contained, I thought fit to giue credit vnto it; and therefore wee haue followed it heere.

When as Hannibal had provided for Affricke and Spaine, hee respected the returne of such as hee had sent to move the Gaules, by whose Country he was to passe his Army. You must vnderstand that he had fent men to winne them by Presents, and to view the passages of the Mountaine, for that he was advertised that this Region was very fertile, and very well peopled with resolute men, and good Souldiers, C against the Gaules, expecting that his Warre should be onely in Itaby, if hee might passe his Army safely by the streights of the Alpes with their helpe. After the returne of his men, and that he was aduertised of the expectance and de fire of the Gaules, and that the palsages of the Hills were rough and painefull, not altogether inacces. fible, he drew his Army together in the Spring. It is true, that the newes which at the same time hee received, of that which happened at Carthage, inflamed his choller the more against the Romans, hauing thereby a confident hope of the fidelity and affection of his Na- D tion. When as all the Army was drawnetogether, Hannibal made an Oration, not to any one part, but publickely to all the Souldiers, by diuers meanes perswading them to imbrace the Warre against the Romans: and how that hee and the other Captaines of Carshage had bene demanded of them for to be put to death, for the taking of Sagone. Hee acquaints them likewise of the fertility of the Province whither they made their voyage, making great esteeme and respect of the

and mortall Enemies to the Romans, for the Warre which they made The Oration which Hanniba made to his Souldiers. Friendshippe and alliance of the Ganles. After which speech, seeing

them all resolute, and that they demaunded nothing but to parte, he commended their good will and proweffe. And after he had told them the day when they should truffe up their baggage, he dismiss them. In the meane time, when he had made all necessary preparations for his Voyage, hee dislodg'd suddainly, when the day of parting was Horseand Foot come, with fourescore and ten thousand Foote, and twelve thou- which werein fand Horse, and past the River of Ebro.

ny at his parties within few dayes, hee brought under his obedience the Herge- ting from ting from tins the Barquiins, the Erinofins, and Andolifiens : the like they spaine. A did to all other Townes vnto the Pyrence Mountaines, razing some. And as hee performed this fooner than any man could conceive. fohe did it not without many cruell battels, and great losse of men. He set-Ied Hanne Gouernour of this Countrey, and made him likewise Lord of the Bargusins: for that hee did not greatly trust those people, for the Alliance they had with the Romans : and hee gaue him ten thousand The number of Foote, and a thousand Horse for the guard of their Countrey, leaving men which with him all their baggage which march't with him. Hee sent backe Hannibat less to the Hannibat less to the less than t the like number of Spaniards to their houses, partly for that hee vnder- the quard of flood they were grieued with the length of the Iourney, and the diffi- Spaine, B cult passages of the Mountaines : and partly to give hope vnto others, to returne sometimes into their Countrey: and that they which he left in their houses, should march more willingly into Hally, if he needed suc- Hamibal Ace cours. He march't then with the rest of his Army, which amoun my of 50, thous ted vnto the number of fifty thouland Foote, and nine thouland fand roote and

And passing the Pyrence Mountaines, he drew neere vnto the mouth of the River of Rhone, not so well accompanied with great numbers as good men, who had beene alwayes victorious. But to the end this may not feeme too obscure by the ignorance of places, wee have C thought it fit to shew in few words, from whence Hannibal parted, and what great Countries hee past, and into what parts of Italy he entred. It is true, wee haue not fet downe the names of the places, as many His storiographers doe, thinking that all will the better bee vinderstood, if they have the knowledge thereof: For my part, I am of opinion, that the relation of the names of places, whereof we have knowledge, are of great profit, for the more casie vnderstanding, and more certaine memory of things. But where the places are voknowne, their names are like vnto that manner of voice, which besides the hearing. fignifies nothing. By this meanes it happens, that feeing our vnder-D standing doth not comprehend any thing by the name, and the which knowne, cannot breed any great profit, that the relation is altogether fruitlesse. And therefore wee must finde meanes, by the which speaking of places that are vnknowne, we may make the truth to be understood by the Readers with all our power.

The first and principall knowledge, common to all men, is the Diuision of this World wherein wee are contained, by the which wee know (even Ideots) the East, West, South and North. The second is by the which attributing to every one of these parts the parties of the

the World in three parts,

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World, wee come in some fort to the knowledge of places which we haue neuer seene. But as the round Circle of the Earth consists of many parts, whereof some are inhabitable, and others in scituation op-The division of polite to ours, inhabited by the Antipodes : Wee must for the present speake onely of the scituation of the Countrey which wee inhabite. And for that it is divided into three parts, and hath three names, whereof they call the one Alia, the other Affricke, and the third Europe. It is a division which the Rivers of Tanais and Nile make, ioyning to the streights of Hercules Pillars. Asia is scatted betwirt Nile and Ta. mais, taking its extent towards the East and South. In regard of Af- A fricke, it is scated betwirt the Nile and the Pillars of Hercules, taking its extent under the South, and towards the Hinernall west vnto the Equinoxiall, and to the streights of Gibeltar. Finally, these two parts seeme to hold more the Countrey vnder the South, from the East following our Sea then towards the West.

And as for Europe, it is limited drawing towards the North, and continuing from the East vnto the West: whose greatest extent lies towards the North, betwixt the River of Tanais and Narbonna, which is not farre from the Countrey of Marcelles towards the West, and the mouthes of the River of Rhone, which lose themselves in the Sardini- B an Sea. The Gamles hold all that Countrey, from Narbonna vnto the Perince Mountaines, the which extend themselues from our Sea vnto the Ocean, and as for the rest of Europe from the Perinee Mountaines vnto the West, I meane vnto the Pillars of Hercules, it is enuironed on the one fide by our Sea, and on the other by the maine Ocean. The Countrey about which our Sea doth flowe, vnto the Pillars of Hercules, is called Spaine. And as for that which hath its aspect to the Ocean, it hath not yet any knowne name that hath come to our knowledge: although it bee fully inhabited by Barbarous people, of whom we will speake particularly when we come to their Ranke. For as the Region which is neere vnto Ethiopia, whereas Asia and Affricke ioynes, is at this day vnknowne, whether it be firme land continued towards the South, or inclosed by the Sea: So likewise the Countrey is at this day vnknowne, which betwixt Tanais and Narbonna drawes towards the North: fo as they dreame which speake or write any

It was necessary to make this digression, to the end that the deeds which we are to relate, might not be altogether obscure to those which know not the places, and that they might come the knowledge of the truth as much as is possible, by the Regions of Heauen and Earth. For D we have beene alwaies accustomed to turne our face continually to that which they teach vs by reason and example: The vnderstanding must alwayes have regard to those Countries which are interposed in the re-What the Car- lation. Leaving then our discourse, let vs returne to the continuance of our speech The Carthaeinians at that time held all the Affricaine shore, whereas our Sea flowes, from the Philonien Altars, neere vnto the Bankes of Barbary, vnto the Pillars of Hercules (this containes about fixteene thousand Furlongs) and in passing that little Sea which is

betwixt Affricke and Europe they had Conquered all Spaine, voto the Perince mountaines, which divide that Province from Gaule. From the which vnto streights of Gebeltar, where stand the Pillars of Herenles, there is about eight thousand Furlongs: And from the fireight vnto the new Towne, which some call Carshage, from whence Hanni. bal parted to go into Italy, three thousand furlongs: And from Car. thage to Ebro, two thousand fixe hundred furlongs: From thence to the Empories, fixteene hundred : And from thence to the mouth of the River of Rhone sixeteene hundred surlongs. Behold the measure of A those places which the Romanis haue made with great diligence. From the passage of the Rhone, following the Bankes towards the Spring, vato the paffage of the Alpes into lealy, thirteene hundred furlongs; and the paffage of the Mountayne is held to be twelve hundred. After which they come into the Champion Countrey which is about Poc. And therefore Hannibal was to march nine thousand furlongs, from Carthage vnto the entry of Italy. And if we will observe the way, he had already past the one halfe: But if we will consider the difficulty of the Country, he had the most troublesome taske to performe. Hunnibal endeauoured by all meanes to passe the Perinee Mountaines, not B without some feare of the Gaules ; least knowing the pussages , they should interrupt his voyage into Italy.

In the meane time newes came to Rome of that which had beene spoken and done at Carebage, by the Embassadours, and that Hannibal had past the River of Ebro with his Army, much sooner then they expected, making halt to go into Vialy; for the which the great men of Rome were not a little amazed : Conceining that hee would moone the Nation of the Gaules against them, being alwayes defitous of Warre, the Provinces Wherefore after the Election of the Confuls, the divided the Pros toche Confull. ninces : Whereof Spaine wis for Publius Cornelius, and Affricke with C Sycily for Tytus Sempronius: To whom they appointed fixe Legions for that yeare, and as many Allies as they should thinke good; and as great

an Army at Sea as they could make,

Whileft they Louised men at Rome, and that she Army at Sea and Munitions were preparing, and all the necessary Equipage for the Sea they laboured to people their Colleges, which they had larely in Gante neere varo the Poe. There were Citties newly built, and Otteizens enioyned to be there within thirty dayes, to either Citty fixe thoufand men: whereof the one which was on this fide the Foe, was called The building Plaifance, and the other on the further fide Cremona. The Boloviens and Cremonal D diffontented herewith, and remembring the auncient quartels, abandoned the Roman party, being advertised of the Descent of the Cont. The remoted thaginings, leaving the Hofteges which they had given in the former the Boloniens. Warre, whereof we have made mention in the lat Booke And ta-

king Armes fuddainly, they folicited the Milannois to do the like, making a tumultuous hurly-burly in the Countrey affigned to the Come. making a tumultuous faurly-nutry on the Countrey amount to the course mies, fo as all the people terrified fled to Andena, with the three bythe Gants, Deputies which were come to divide the Land : Whom the Bolonities pursued, and besieged the Towne. The siege continuing some time,

they made a flew to parley of Peace: And when as the Princes of the Gaules had caused some Embassadours to come voto them, they staied them contrary to the Law of Nations, refusing to send them backe, if

their Hostages were not delivered.

A Surprize made by the Boloniens vpon the Romans.

the Roman

Armics.

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When the newes of this accident was come vnto them, Lucius Manlim the Pretor, who was then prefent with an Army, inflamed with Rage, makes haft to fuccour the Besieged, whereof the Boloniens being advertised, they layd an Ambush in the Forrest neere the way, and furprizing their enemies at their comming, they slew a great number of the Romans: The rest with great difficulty recourring the fields, sa- A ued themselves: Where although the Souldiers assured themselves for a time, yet finding that the Belowiens pursued them in the Reare, they Aed to recouer the Towne of Cannet. When the newes came vnto Rome, the Romans fearing that their Army would be indangered by a long siege, they appointed Attillius the Pretor to succour the Besieged with the Troupes prepared for the new Leuy of the Confull, enjoy-The parting of ming him moreouer to make a Leuy of others: Behold the estate wherein the affaires of the Gaules flood vntill the comming of Hannibal. In the meane time the Confulls having made ready all their necessary Equipage, parted from Rome: whereof Publius Cornelius bent his course to B Spaine, with threescore vessels of warre, and Sempronius into Affricke with a hundred and three score Quiqueremes, taking the Warre so to heart, as he made so great a preparation at Lylibeum, that it seemed he should presently beliege Carthage.

As for Cornelius, he tooke his way by the Country of Tuscany and the Genemon; and arrived on the fifth day at Marcelles, and entred with his Army at the first mouth of Rhone, for it passeth into the Sea by many mouthes. And although he were aduertifed that Hannibal past the Parence mountaines, yet he made his accompt that hee had a long way to go, as well for the difficulty of the Country, as for the multi. C tude of the Gaules, those parts being very well peopled. But Hannihal made halt daily to passe the Rhone with his Army, necre vnto the shore of the Sardinian Sea, with incredible diligence, after that he had pacified the Gaules partly with gifts, and partly by feare. The which the Confull hearing, and beleeving but in part this fuddaine arrivalledefiring likewise to know the truth, he Lands, to refresh his Men wearied with a torment at Sea. Then he acquaints the Tribunes with the places, by the which they muck go to encounter the Enemy, and sends three hundred choise Horse before, vnder the Conduct of Propencials, and some succours of the Gaules, to discouer the Enemies (1) enterprize.

Hannibal being now necrethe Rhone with his Army, and within foure dates journey of the Sea, makes hast to passe it with all possible speed. And therefore he cals all the inhabitants thereabouts, and wins them by Presents, from whom he buies Skifs and small Boates which they ordinarily vie, and whereof there were at that time a great number, by reason of the Paires for the Trade of the Sea: And he causeth others to be made in making hollow the bodies of Trees.

The which the Souldiers likewise did, being mooued with the abundance of stuffe and the facility of the Worke : So as in lesse then two dues, there were so many Boates and Skifs, as they were sufficient to passe: Euery man striuing not to be at the mercy of his Companion or Comrade, but to passe himselse and his baggage into his owne Skiffe

In the meane time there were an infinite number of men diawne to- The Gaulesengether vpon the forther Banke of the Rhone, to hinder the Carthagi- denour to flop nians passage. The which Hannibal perceiting, and knowing well Hannibal passage A that he could not passe the River by force, for that the Enemy held (ag over the rhe other Banke nor flaviberelong but he should be invited the River. the other Banke, nor stay there long, but he should be inuitoned by the people of the Country, at the setting of the third Watch of the night he fends Hanne sonne to King Bomilear with a part of his Army, to whom he gaue some guides of the Country; who mounted vp the Rivertwo hundred furlongs, staying aboue an Iland, about the which the Rhone did runne : Where by reason of the Ford it seemed good, for that the River divided it selfe in two. They suddainly cut downe wood, and made floates sufficient to passe the men, and other things necessary. By this meanes they past the Rhone without danger or impeachment. B Afterwards they recouered a place strong by nature, where they re-

fresht themselves a day, for the toile which they had taken, as well for their march by night, as for the paines they had indured, being all attentiue to affect their enterprize in time.

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Hannibal likewise made hast to do the like, with the rest of the Army. But he was troubled to passe the Elephants, being thirty seauen in num- Hamibal etui ber. The night following, they which had past the Rhone, marching sethhis Arany along the River fide, at the breake of day approached neere vnto the topatiethe Barbarians, who as we have fayd were there affembled. Hansibal on the other fide, having his men ready, commaunds them all to be C te olute to paffe, and that they should put the Horse men prepated for the Combat in Boates, to the end that being past they might serue if necessiry required : And that the most active and nimblest foot men should enter into the Skifs. And to the end they might passe with more eafe and fafety, and might the better breake the vehemency of the Waves, he placed Boates aboue the River to breake the Violent and fwift courfe. He also caused three or foure Horses to be tyed to the Poope to swim it ouer, and there were two men set of either side, of the Poope. By this meanes the greatest part of the Horses had bin past

The which the Barbarians feeing, they came out of their Fort, and runne voto the shore in a great throng and without order, as if they should easily defeat the Enemies. But after that Hannibal had stayd a little, and seeing his men approach by the smoake that they cast a according to his appointment, he gaue a figne to his whole Army to paffe, the which the Carthaginians feeing, they laboured with all their pos wer to passe the River with great cries, and to breake the Violence of the streame, so as every one laboured to passe first. When as the Carthaginians held the two Bankes, and past the river with great noise,

geth the Gaules

to y ouer the

Gaules.

the Gaules endeauouring with great fury to reffift them, crying, and finging after their manner. The Charge was terrible for the time, and the Combat horrible to fee. All the Gaules were run downe vnto the River, and had left their Tents. Hanno arrives prefently with his Troupe, whereof one part fals vpon their Campe, and the other Charges them in the rearc. The Ganles being amazed at this suddaine accident, recouer a part of their Campe, to keepe it from the Enemies ; the others were no lesse attentiue in the Combate. When Hannibal faw his enterprize succeed so happily, he incourageth his Souldiers, putting them in minde of their auncient proweffe, and A perswading them to repulse the Enemies couragiously. Whereupon they fall vponthem with great fury. Finally, the Gaules retired into their Villages with a shamefull flight, for that they had begun the battell without order, and had bin terrified by the surprize which Hanne

made with his Legion.

When as Hannibal had at one instant, vanquished the River and his Enemies, he causeth the rest of his Army to passe at leasure. And being all past in a short time, he planted his Campe without seare of the Gaules, and spent the night in peace vpon the River side. Three dayes after he was aduertised of the entry of the Roman Confull, B with his Army at Sea into the mouthes of Rhome. Wherefore he fent fine hundred Numidians, to discouer the Enemies, to view their numbers, and to learne what they refolued. In the meane time he gives order vnto the maisters of the Elephants to be carefull to passe the Remonstrances Rhone. And having drawne his mentogether, he causeth the Kings to be called, who were come vnto him from Gaule which lyes beyond the Poe. Who speaking vnto the whole Campe by an Interpreter, aduited them to passe the Mountaines, promising that both themselves, and the rest of the inhabitants of Ganle should give them both aide and affistance: That the waies were safe, and well furnished C with all things necessary: And that moreover the mountaines were not very difficult to passe, and they should finde the places where they were to goe, abounding in all things. Befides, they should finde such Allies, whole Courage in times past was not a little feared by the Remans. After these or the like words, the Kings presently re-

Haniba's Speech

Then Hannibal entring into the Assembly, he shewes them first their vato his Soul. Actions past, wherein following his Councell and opinion, they had bin alwaies Victorious : And that Fortune had neuer bin auerse vnto them. Moreouer he intreates them to be of good courage, being affu-D red that they had ended the greatest of their Labours, having past so dangerous a River, confidering the good affection of their Allies, who were ready and prepared. Finally, that they should lay the burthen of affaires voon him, shewing only their Obedience, where it should be needfull, with a remembrance of his Vertue and Proweffe, which he had performed with fo great refolution. His speech being ended, feeing the loyfull Countenance of his men, carrying the shew of resolution, he commended them all. Then having made his prayers

vinto the gods according to their manner, he regired, and fent them away to feed, giving them charge to be ready to part the next day.

The Company was scarce dismist when as the Numidians, who as wee haue fayd, had beene sent to discouer, returned, defeated and broken by the Enemy : for as they encountred neere vnto their Campe. the Roman Cauallery, whom Scipio had fent for the same cause, they charged one another with such fury, as there were flaine seauen score Horic as well Romans as Gaules, and aboue two hundred Numidi. A ans. The Romans pursuing the Carthaginians vnto their Campe, A defeateof where having diligently observed all, they returned to the Confull, the Numidians and reported certaine newes of the Enemy, and of the Combat they by the Kanan had with the Numidians. Which things being heard, Publius Cornelins feeing that his flay there, would bee of no great moment, im-

barkes his Baggage : and parting with all his Troupes along the

Bankes of Rhone, and makes hafte as if hee would give battell to the

Three dayes after that Hannibal had made his Oration to the Souldiers, at the breake of day hee sets all his Horsemen upon the Seashore, as it were for a guard: and causeth the Foote-men to march a flow pace, being parted from their Campe : vfing the greatest diligence he could possible to passe the Elephants : For the effecting whereof hee tooke this aduice. Hee made provision of many floats, and tied two together from the Land vnto the River, being fifty foote broade : to the which they added two others on the fide of the The meaneste Bankes: The which they tied fast vnto Trees which were vpon the phants. Bankes, to the end they might swimme fafely : their length being C of two hundred foote.

Finally, they tied vnto these last two other long floats gently, to the end they might bee eafily vntied : to the which were faltned certaine Cords, wherewith they might drawe the Boats to the other Banke, after they should bee vitted from the other floats. Finally, they couered them all with Earth, to the end that the Elephants might march vpon them without feare as vpon the Land. This Equipage being prepared, they brought the Elephants, who had beene accustomed to obey the Indians in all places, but vpon the water, by the meanes of two Females which marcht before voon the floats as vpon the firme land, which after they had past vnto the last, which prefently were vntied, and were drawne by the Boats without any feare whilest they were all together : But when as the last floate was separated from the rest, and that they saw themselves carried upon the water, they made some shew of affrightment, for the scare which they had of all parts, for that the last fled from the water: yet this feare The feare of made them quiet, for that they saw nothing but water about them. The Elephants When the first were past, they went to fetch the rest, and past them. Some of them tormenting themselves with feare, fell into the River, and were retired safe, although their Masters were slaine : For in marching flowly, and finding alwaies footing, they recourred the other fide of the Banke: for that their waight kept them firme, and by rea-

fon of their greatnesse they had their Tronks alwaics about the River, wherewith they might cast out the water it they had drunke any : and so recouer their breath.

The Spring of the River of

The Elephants being past. Hannibal marcheth with them, and all his Cauallery along the Rhone towards the firme land, drawing all his provisions in the meane time from the Sea. The Rhone comes from three heads of Fountaines about the Sea of Venice, taking their course towards the Well, and bending at the foote of the Mountaine fomething towards the North. Then it enters into the Lake of Gewere, where it is not so violent : and passing through the middest of A it, it tends to the Hyuernall West, dividing the Gasles in some fort: and then taking its course towards the South, it enters into the Sara dinian Sea. The Valefien Gaules inhabite that part which tends towards the North: and on the South fide is enuironed with the Mountaines which bend towards the North. And as for the Plaines which are about Poe, whereof wee haue formerly spoken, the Alges separate them from the Rhone, which beginning at Marseitles, extend vnto the Gulfe of Venice. The which Hannibal then past about that Countrey which lies neere vnto the Rhone, and came into Italy.

Hannibal paf. along the Rhone

Some Historiographers seeking in this passage to terrifie the ludgement of Readers, doe not observe that they fall into two strange errours, contrary to the reason of the History. For they are forced to write lies, and actions quite contrary: shewing Hamibal (whom they will have inimitable, as well for his knowledge in Martiall affaires, as for his great courage) to be wholly voide of fense and reafon. And in the end when they cannot free themselues from their lies, they have recourse voto the gods, for their History made at pleasure. For in making the passage of the Alpes so great and difficult, so as not onely the Horse men, Baggage, nor Elephants could not passe, neither yet the Foot men lightly armed, and that moreouer, there is fo great a Defart, that if God, or some Angell had not guided the Army, without doubt it had perished in the Caues and hollow places a they fall directly into two errours. First, where should you finde a Pobliushis re. Commaunder more sencelesse then Hannibal, who having the charge of so many troupes, and of so great an Army, wherein consisted all his hope to prevaile in his enterprize, knew neither the passages, nor the places, as they fay, nor which way hee should passe, nor against whom : For their meaning is, that with fo great a hope, and with fuch a triumphant Army, he should doe that which others after many Com- D bats doe not attempt, but through extreame despaire. But what can be spoken more vnreasonable . And whereas they say the places are de-The Garlesin. fart and rough, they shew themselves apparent liars. They doe not habiting along fay how the Gaules inhabiting the banks of Rhone, before that time the Rhone have have past into Italy, not once nor twice: Nor how in times past, they often past into haue past the Mountaines with a great Army against the Romans, to fuccour and helpe the Cifalphin Gaules: nor how that those Mountaines are very well peopled: But as men ignorant hereof, they fay,

graphers.

that I know not what God appeared to Hannibal, and fliewed him the way. By this meanes they feeme rather, Tragedians than Hiftoriographers. For euen as they which write Tragedies, doe many time their Playes with the gods, or tome other invention, for that they have taken a false and strunge beginning : Euen so these kinde of Historiographers are in the like paine : For that taking falle bering nings, they are forced to fly to some gods or Heroes...

But how can'it bee that from a faire beginning the end should bee true ? Without doubt Hannibal hath not carried himselfe as they A imagine, but contrariwise like a wife and politique Captaine, for hee duely confidered the fertility of the Country whither hee went. and the hatred of the Inhabitants against the Romans & And he had Hamileleen to paffe the Mountaines (which is a hard and difficult thing) the peo. ducted by ple of the Countrey for his guides; whom he had already wonne a guides at the gainst the Romans. This we have learned from those which were Mountaines. at that time imployed in affaires, and wee our schues have beene purposely to see the Alpes, and therefore we have written it the more the Alpes, Land and the study are a said being

Three dayes after the Romans departed from the Bankes of Rhone; B Publius Scipiothe Roman Confull being come to the Enemies Campe with a refolution to fight, hee Rood for a time amazed, feeing the placevoide: For he made his accompt that the Enemy should neuer take that Countrey to passe into stal) as well for the difficulty of the way, as for the multitude of Barbarians which held it. But after he had well waighed the great courage of the Carthaginians, he presently recouers his thip, and drawes his Army terether : Then he fends his Brother into Spaine with part of his men, to the end ir should not be inturnished of Forces, and himselfe takes his course towards Italy, to encounter Hamibal at the descent of the Moun-C tairies with more case and safety. Foure dayes after Hannibal arri- Lifte madely ued at Lifle, a rich and fertile Countrey ? The which was fo called, the chiera of for that the Rivers of Same and Thome falling from the Mountaines, Rhone. embracing a little quantity of Land, runne together and make an lland like in figure and forme to another that is in Egypt, dalled Detta. It is in Egypt true, that that in Egyps hath on the one fide the Sca, with the which two Rivers iovne: But this hath rough and stony Mountaines, which in a manner are inacceffible. Where Hannibal being arrived, hee found two Brothers in quarrell for the Kingdome, and their Armies fron. ting one another. But being called by the eldeft, and increated to D restore him to his Fathers inheritance, he obeyed him, thinking it would affist him much in his Enterprize. And when hee had chased away the younger, and put him in possession of his Realme, hee had not onely store of victuals, and abundance of all things for a recompence: But moreouer they were furnished with all forts of Armes and other furniture, whereof the roughnesse of the cold Mountaines forced him to make prouision. His Army, and himselfe were likewife conducted fafely by the King and his forces, through the Sauerards Countrey vnto the Mountaines, which was a great benefit to him. When

L1b. 3.

When he in ten daies aftenhis departure from the Ahone had march'c. labout an hundred miles, the began to affend the Mountaines, where he was ingreat danger! It is true, that whileft the Carthaginians palt the Plaine .. the Lords of Samer fuffered them to goe, on quietly a partly fearing their Horse-mentiand partly the Gaules forces, which did But when as they were recited to kheir houses, and that the Cartha-

ginibus began to afcend thousangh; and steepe Mountaines : then they drewstogether in great multinudes at and feiz'd vponthe passages, by the which Hannibal must of nedeffity goes of And if they had layed featte- A ring ambushes in the Vallages, and had ghang'd them sind dainly, withbal and his Ar- out Houbt they had made a great flaughtet of the Carebaginians. But being discounted by His wishes and not so much annoy the Enemy as hemselves (:) For when the found that they held all the passages, he caufeth his Aomy to flavour and lodging among the Rocks and hollow places; batche formerod the Ganles that were with him; to vifite the places, and to discouer the linemies intention and and preparations. Being aduertised by them, that the Enemy stayed there onely in the day, and than by night energy mantrotized to his house, to a Towne which was neere by he vigdehis invention. At the breake of day hee B recovers the Hills with his whole Army, as if he had an intent to force through the Enemy. But when he was neere vary them , he fetled

his Campe, and fortified himfelfe. And affective of the control of themf-luce trom their Hills the makes many fires in his Campe, leas uing the greateffepart of his Army, there knamed Asales, through other fireights with the heft and ablest men of his Army , flaying voon thole Hills which the Enony formerly held. This done when the Villaines of the Mountaines law, it at the breake of day, they made a stand for atime's Bus finding that the baggage and the multitude of Horfe-men distributed the Atmy in the stroights: thinking likewife, that the least a. maniement were sufficient to the feate them, they charge them in divers places by the inaccellible Rocks. Then the Carehaginians, were not to much annoyed by the Enemy as by the difficulty of the place : for that the Horfes and baggage made a great spoile of men and goods : For as the streights were of cither side steepe and like a Gulfe, many Horfee fell with their burthens a wonderfull height. The Horfes being frucke or butt , were wonderfully troubled, the way being narrow. falling partly for feare, and partly for the griefe of their hurts. The which Hannibal feeing, and that there was no hope in flight, after the D losse of his baggage, he descends with great fury from the place where he had remained all night. And although he gaue a great defeate to the Enemy, yet he dew many of his owne: For the motion increasing on either, side, many fell.

victory aginft the Sauoyards.

charge the car-

thaginians.

The Sanovards

hinder Hanni-

Finally, after that the Sausyards had beene flaine, some in fighting, and some in the route: Hannibal past the rest of his Horse and baggage with great paine and trouble. And having drawne together the rest of his Army, hee marcht to the Citty from whence the Sauoyards had

fallied, the which he tooke without solitance, finding no man in it. It was a great reliefe vato him for all things necessary, not onely for the pretent but for the future : for he carried away a great humber of Horses and Prisoners, and victualled his Army for three dales with Corne and Cattell; Amazing the other Inhabitants of the mountaines, who dirft not make the like attempt : Which was a thing more to be

He stated there one day, and parting with his Army, he marchie but little the two daies following, and on the fourth he was againe in A great danger. He was come vnto a place among the Mountaines very well peopled with Inhabitants, who altogether had Compired to deceine the Carthaginians. Wherefore they go to meet Hannibal, car- Conspiracy of rying Garlands of Flowers: which is a figne of friend hip and peace 2. them of the mong the Barbarians, like vnto the Caducci among the Grecians. Han- Mauntaines, what their will and intent was . Who are them, and inquires triendaip. what their will and intent was: Who answered, that they did like well of the taking of the Towns and the defeate of the Ganles, who were Enemies vnto them: And as for themselves they would obey his will, and would not do, nor fuffer any ourrage; promifing to give him Hoffa-B ges for the affurance of their promises. And although that Hannibal was long in suspence what to do, yet he considered that he might happily pacifie the Barbarians, if he accepted these Conditions, and if he refused them, they would declare themselves his Enemies. Wherefore in giuing them a gracious answer, he makes shew to receive their

And when they had not only given him Hostages, but furnished The Treason of him with abundance of Victuals, and purthemselues into his hands: the Barbirians Hannibal had fo great Confidence in them, as he made no doubt but against Hannito make vie of them for Guides in difficult places. When they had C marcht two daies, and were come vnto a streight Valley, having the Mountaine on one side, the Carthaginianswere in danger to be wholy defeated : For that the Barbarians fallied from all fides out of their Ambushes. If Hannibal (who had not yet so great considence in the Gaules, and who fore-faw future things,) had not put the Elephants and Horse-men in the foreward, and had followed in the Reare with the force of his foot-men, having an Eie over all. By this supply the losse proou'd the lesse; yet it was great both of Men, Horles, and Baggage : for the danger was so great, as Hannibal was inforced to continue a whole night there with halfe his Army, without his Cauallery D on Baggage: For that the Enemy held the top of the Mountaine, which was very neere ento them, rolling downe pieces of the Rocke into the Army, and sometimes casting stones.

The day following, when the Gaules began to grow cold, he recouered the Mountaine, ioyning with his Horse and Baggage: Then the Gaules presented themselves no more to Battell, charging like Theeues, sometimes in the foreward, sometimes in the Reare, as time and place gaue them opportunity. The Elephants were very viefull to the Carshaginians; for wherefoeuer they marcht, the place was

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affured from Enemies, for that they durit not approach neere them, having not bin accustomed vnto them. On the ninth day they came vnto the top of the Alpes, and there they planted their Campe two daies, partly to refresh the Souldiers which were weary with toile, and partly to retire those that were fraied. During which time, many Horses freed from their burthers, and following the Rour of the Army recouered the Campe. Those places were then full of Snow, for it was in November . Whereby the Souldiers grew in a manner into despaire, being tired and vext with so many Crosses. The which Hannibal perceiuing, he draws them together, refoluing to make a A Speech vnto them.

his fouldiers.

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For the effecting whereof he had but one occasion, which was to Hanibal makes shew them Italy so neere, and the fertillity thereof. In truth it is so neere the foot of the Mountaines, as if it be well observed, the Hils seeme to serue as Rampiers to Italy. And therefore he shewed it them from a high Hill, from whence they might see the whole Extent. The like he did of the plaines about Poe, lying at the foot of the Mountains, relating vnto them the friendship of the Gaules inhabiting those Countries, and the Territory of Rome: wherewith he reuiued their spirits. Three dayes after he began to dislodge, the Enemy making no attempt B against them, but after a Theeuing manner: Yet he had no lesse lose at the descent of the Mountaines by reason of the bad Country, and the coldnesse of the Snow, then he had at the ascent by the attempt of his Enemies: For they which did stumble in any fort, fell presently into a Gulfe, confidering that the place was narrow and rough by nature: And all the Country newly couered with Snow, fo as there was no shew of any path, neither could they hold their footing. It is true the men accuromed vnto so many miseries, did easily indure this Trouble.

In the meane time they came to another Rocke, where as neither C the Elephants nor Horse could passe: for a late fall of the ground, had streightned the Way two hundred paces, which had formerly bin as large. Here agains the Army began to be troubled and tormented. Hannibal in the beginning laboured to lead his Army by vncough and vnknowne places, whereas neuer soule had bin : But for that the Snow hindred them that they could not passe, he desisted from his Enterprize. There had Snow fallen newly this yeare vpon the old, which was yet whole and entire, vpon the which they had firme footing, for that which was newly fallen was foft and not very thicke. But after that it had bin trodden and beaten by fo many men and horses, D no man could keep his footing: As it happens to those which go vpon places which are flippery with durt, where their footing failes them: For that they marcht upon the Ice, and upon the Snow that was moulten.

Moreouer the men (which was more miserable) falling back-wards (for that they could not keep their footing in those slippery places) tum. bled downe into the Caues and hollow places, where they laboured to rise vpon their Hands and Knees. The Horses of burthen fell some-

times, brakethe Ice and could not stirre: for that they were laden and could not retire their feete out of the Ice. Then Hannibal frithrate of his former hope, for that the men and Horses laboured in vaine, planted his Campe vpon the top of the Mountaine, having cleanfed the place of great difficulty. Then he Commaunded them all to leuile the way vnto the Rocke where they were to passe; The which was done with much toile. When as the way was made in one day for the Horses and Sumpters, he caused them presently to passe, seating his Campe in those places that were without Snow, and there to feed. A In the meane time he gives charge to the Numidians, to make a way for the Elephants: The which was effected with great difficulty, they being in a manner dead for hunger; for the tops of the Mountaines are without Graffe or Trees, for that they are continually couered with Snow. It is true, that the Vallies of either fide of the Mountailles, hauing goodly Pastures and Trees, and places which are very well in-

When as Hannibal had drawne all his Troupes together, he began Hannibalgoza to pursue his course : and having past the Rocke about mentioned, in on his course. three daies, he came voto the Plaine a having loft the greatest part of B his Army, aswell by the Enemy and Ribers in his way, as by the roughnesse of the Mountaine in passing them, and not only men, but allo Horses and Carriages. Finally , hading recourted Italy in this manner, fine moneths after his departure from Carebage, and patt the mountaines in fifteene daies, he enters boldly into the Countries about The number of Pee and Millan, hauing yetremaining about ten thousand, two hun men which dred foot Affricans, eight thousand spaniards; and fixe thousand Hannial had Have arther most. This he restifies in a nill a sub-black the most remayning af-Horse at the most. This he testifies in a pil'ac where the whole mums ter he had past bet of his Army is set downe at Laugnium. At the same time Pablius the Alpes. Cornelius Scipio the Confull, having fent his brother into Spaine to C make head against Afdrubal, he fail'd to Pyfa with few men, taking his way through Tufcany where he received the Army of the Pretors Manlius and Assilius, which they had against the Bullondi , and marche directly to the Riner of Poe, to fight with the Enemy before he had refresht himselfe.

Seeing we have turn'd our Discourse to the Warte of Italy, and to the Commaunders of these two people, we have thought it good to deliner in few words some things which are not vulfetting for a Hilloriographer, before we come to those which have bin acted in that Prouince. It may be some one will demaund of me how it happens, D that feeing we have handled the Affaires of Lybia and Spaine at large; polybius his yet we have not spoken of Hencules Pillars, nor of that Arme of the Excuse. Sea which divides Affricke from Europo, nor in like manner of the great Sea or Ocean, nor of those things which depend thereon, nor of the Hands of Bugland & Scotland, nor likewife of the abundance of Tinne, Gold, and Siluer wherewith spame abounds. It is certaine, that the auncient Historiographers have spoken many things and divers, being of contrary opinions. It is true we have not omitted them, as thinking that they were not fitting for a Hillory, but we have done it

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to the end that our Relation might not be divided, nor divert the Readers often from the order of the History : Being of opinion that these things should be delivered with all possible truth, in time and place, and not out of feafon. And therefore no man ought to marvaile, if in the following Bookes we passe on, when we shall come to these passages, for we do it of purpose and for the reasons about mentioned. If there be any one that defires to heare them at every passage, he may well be compared to a Glutton, that is invited to a Feast : for as tasting of all the meates, as soone as he is set at the Table, he shall receive little pleasure or profit for the future, considering that he hath no per. A fect tafte, and that all being put together into the Stomacke, it hinders digestion. They in like manner which do the like in reading of Histories, have not pleasure for the present nor profit for the suture. It is apparent, that a History among other things hath need to be corre-Acd in this, as well for other reasons, as for that the auncient Historio, graphers, who have laboured to describe Countries, and the Nature of Regions to the remotest parts of the World, have in many places Araied from the truth.

Finally, we must speake against them, not by hazard and rashly, but with reason, nor reprehend their ignorance, but rather to commend B them and correct them: Who no doubt would have repaired their errour if they had lived in these times. For there are sew men found among the Grecians, which in former times could have gone to fearch out the extremities of the World, for the danger and tediousnes of the way: For that there are many, and in a manner innumerable dangers at Sea; and if any through necessity, or of his owne free will, had gone to the extremities of the World, he could not eafily have found out the scituation of places, nor those things which are worthy to be sought after: For that the greatest part was inhabited by Barbarous nations, and some Delart and inhabitable: Besides that, for the diversity of C Tongues, the enterprize was much more difficult; for there was no meanes to inquire, nor to learne, for want of vnderstanding one ano. ther. It was no lesse difficult to relate truly those things which they had seene, for that every man was given to augment, and to make things sceme more admirable.

Seeing then it was not only difficult, but in a manner impossible, to have a true History of these things before this time, we must not blame the auncient Historiographers, if they have forgotten or committed fome Errours; but rather we ought to wonder and commend them that they have bin able to make any fearch. It wilbe therefore necessary to D make a true and diligent fearch of those things, which our Predecessors knew not: for that in our times all the passages are open, aswell by Sea as Land, by the meanes of Alexander of Macedon his Forces into Afia, and of the Roman Empire over the rest of the World: And likewife when as people were no more troubled with Warre, nor with any defire or ambition of publicke Affaires: So as they had great opportunity to fearch out the truth of these things. For the effecting whereof we will strive by all meanes, as soone as we shall find an oppor-

tunity. There is nothing that was more pleafing voto meather to know that they which defire to understand these things, come voto the truth by our meanes, and that wee have not taken so much paines, nor vidergone fo great dangers; to vifite Affricke, Spaine and the Polybinshath Gaules, by the meanes of the Orean, but in repairing the errours of spaine and the the ancient Hiltoriographers, & make thole Countries knowne to our Gauer. men. Let vs now returne to our Discourse of the Warres which A are in Italy, betwixe the Romans and the Garthaelnians.

Wee have formerly related the number of men which Hannibal had remaining after hee had past into traly who planted his Campe at the foote of the Mountaines to refresh his Army : for it was toiled and wearied, not onely with the passage of the Mountains which was very difficult. but also for want of victuals : Besides, it was continually afflicted with diseases, misery and pouerty: The greatest part were dead of famine, and their insupportable toile : for Milenes comit was impossible to carry things necessary for so great an Army, in mon arrong a Countrey that was rough and difficult : And if they carried any Souldiers,

B thing, the greatest part was lost with the Horses.

By this meanes it fell out, that although a little before lice had parted from the River of Rhone with thirty eight thousand Foote. and eight thousand Horse, hee had scarce then halfe his Army en- A decrease of tire : and yet by the reason of their continual labour and toile, they Hamibal Atwere in a manner become wilde. The which Hannibal perceining, my. hee not onely laboured to cheere up the bodies and hearts of the Souldiers, but likewise to refresh their Horses. After which hee marched with his Army, and laboured by all meanes to procure the Friendship of the Turinois, which was the necrest Nation, and were at that time in Warre with the Millaneis, and feemed to C haue no great trust and confidence in the Carthaginians. Who seeming not much to regard him, hee affaults one of their firongest Townes, the which hee takes vpon the third day : where purting all vnto the Sword that would not follow his party, hee fo terrified and amazed the Barbarians which inhabited there-abouts as presently they yeelded themselves into the hands of the Cartha ginians.

It is true that the other Gaules inhabiting along the River of Poe. would willingly haue joyned to Hannibal as they had resolued, if ac-D tending an opportunitie to doe it, the suddaine comming of the Consull had not preuented them. So as they stirred not, and some of them ioyned to the Roman Army. The which Hannibal perceiuing, he resolued to make no longer stay, and that he must attempt some good enterprize, to make the rest more bold to follow his partie. Being carefull hereof, he had newes that Publius Scipio had past the Poe, and that he was not farre off: the which at the first he seemed nor to regard, as a thing not likely: For he remembred that hee had lately left him at the mouth of Rhone, and understood that the passage from Marseilles vnto Tuscany was long and inaccessible, and the way from the Tuscan Sea which leades to the Alpes through Italy, was rough.

where an Army could not passe. But your diners advertisements of the certaine newes hee was amazed, wondring much at the Confuls industry and diligence. The Consull in like manner wondred no lesse. For where as he thought that Hannibal would never presume to passe the Mountaines with an Army confifting of strange Nations: And that if hee attempted its hee would dye by the way, hee wondred much at his great courage and boldnesse, when as hee found that hee had not onely past safely, but had also forced some Townes of Teally and the store of the restore or with I

The Romans aduertifed of

At the same time the Romans were full of affaires. It is true, that the last newesthey had received, was of the taking of Sagons: wherefore they called an affembly, and made choice of two Confuls, whereof the one was fent into Affricke to make Warre against Garthage, and the other into Spaine against Hannibal. But when they had suddaine newes of the comming of Hannibals Army, and that he held fome Townes of Italy belieged : they were fo amazed as they presently countermanned Sempronius from Lybia 37 advertising him of the descent of the Enemy into Italy, and that leaving the affaires of the Prouince, he should make hast to succour his Countrey, Af- B ter which newes, Semprenius prefently fends backe the Army by Sea, giving them charge to faile directly to Isaly, and he gave the conduct of the Army by Land to the Tribunes, appointing them a day when they should come to Rimeny. It is a Towne seated voon the Adriatique shore, at the end of the Plaines which are about Pee towards the South. By this meanes matters being altred, and that all seemed to fall out contrary to the hope and opinion of the World, euery man yled diligence to prouide for the future. The two Armies were now opposite one to another, whereof the Commaunders for the time they had, laboured to give courage vnto

But Hannibal strining to encourage them vsed this meanes, putting into the middest of the Army essembled together the Prisoners of the Mountaines, who were in Chaines: The which by their continuall toile, and partly by his commaundment were growne; leane and feeble: for (the better to attaine vnto his intention) hee had caused them, to have great fetters, and had in a manner starued them, manual to an example to and finally, had commaunded that they should bee cruelly beaten

his Souldiers. naked.

Having drawne them into the midst of his Army, he caused armes D to be laid before them after the manner of the Gaules, and fuch as Captaines vie to arme themselves with when they fight single Combats: he also gave them Horses, and Cassocks made with great Art. Then he demaunded of the Prisoners, which of them would fight man to man, propounding to the Victor the afore faid gifts, and to the vanquished that by death he should be freed from his present miseries. And as they all cried out that they were ready to fight, Hannibal caufeth Lots to be cast, and makes two men to enter the list arm'd, upon whom the Lot had fallen. The which the prisoners hearing, they lifted vp

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their hands to Heauen, praying vnto the gods, that they would bee pleased to choose them for the Combate. As soone as the Lot was cast they vpon whom it fell, were wonderfully joyfull, and the rest remained sad and pensiue. But when as the Combate was ended, the other Prisoners did no lesse commend the fortune of him that was defeated, then of the Conqueror: Conceiuing that hee was freed from the great and many miferies, wherewith they were tor-A mented living. The like thought the Carthaginians ; for in making comparison of the misery of the survivours, and of those who fight ing died valiantly, they found the fortune of these men good, and that of the others moued them to pitty.

When as Hannibal faw his Army moued to pitty at this specacle; Hannibals he presently came into the midst of the affembly, faying, that hee pre- speech to his fented it vnto them, to the end they should make vic of the example Souldiers. of anothers mans fortune, to confider of their owne : for that they were to vndergoe the same Combate, and that Fortune propounded vnto them the like time, and the like rewards : for they must of R necessity live or dye, or fall into their Enemies hands alive. If they vanquished, their spoile should bee more then a Horse or a Cassocke, being the happiest men in the World, after they had conquered the good fortune of the Romans. And if in fighting they died like brane men, they should end their lives with good hope, free from all miferies and calamities : But withall they must expect all miseries and pouerty, if being vanquished, they should flie, with a desire of a longer life, or with a resolution to seeke some other meanes to live : and that there is no man fo voide of sence, which thinkes (if hee flies) that his safe returne into his Countrey is possible, if hee will remem-C bor the length of the way, with the multitude of Combats which must bee maintained during the Voyage : If hee likewise considers the

narrow streights, and so many troublesome Rivers which were to passe. Wherefore it was needfull for them, that in laying aside all hope of flight, they should vie the like pitty to themselves in their affaires, as they have shewed lately in the example of other mens fortunes : For as in the others they commended the fortune of the Victor and the vanquished, and held those which remained miserable : so they must judge the like of themselves. And therefore they must goe resolutely to the Combate, to get an vnspeakable Victory or else to dye like D braue men in battell, if auerfe fortune deny it them : and that they must not expect that being vanquished, they should finde any meanes of

Finally, if they march to the field with this resolution, there is no doubt but the Victory and their fafety is in their owne hands : for there was neuer any man that have fought with this intention, or with a resolute courage, or forced by necessity, but hee hath prevailed ouer his Enemies. And that this is very eafie to doe, when as all these things concurre together contrary vnto the Enemy, ast it happens this Day vnto the Romans : For as their flight hath a manifest and an apparent safety in their houses which were neere them. T 2

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so the courage of desperate men will be found insupportable. And when as after this Oration (together with the example) the Souldiers hearts were much inflamed to Warre, and that their Generals comparison was pleasing vnto them, Hannibal commending them, fent them away, and commaunded them to bee ready at the breake of day.

But after that the Confull Publius Scipio having past the Poe, had caused his Army to march to the River of Tesin, he commaunded a Bridge to be made by fuch as were skilfull, and made a Speech vnto the affembly according to the opportunity of the time. In the begin- A ning he spake many things concerning the Maiesty of the people of Rome, and the prowelle of their Ancestors: But concerning the prefent affaires, this was the substance. They must of necessity (sayd he) hold the victory certaine, although they had not yet tried their vallour with the Enemy: But onely for that they were to fight with the Carthaginians. Neither must they expect that they would dare to come to Battell against the Romans, having in the last Warres so often beate them both by Sea and Land, to whom they had also so long payed tribute: and whose power they had so often tried. And to the end I forbeare to speake of the times past, why should men of judge-B ment doubt of the future, feeing we have some experience, that they dare not looke vs in the face :

Scipio his

speech to his

It is certaine that when lately the Roman Horse-men encountred the Carthaginians in Gaule, on this fide the River of Rhone, they not onely returned fafe, but they beate them backe into their Campe: and that presently, when as Hannibal and the Carthaginian Army found the Romans to be so neere, they steale away in manner of a flight, and passe the Mountaines otherwise then they had resoluted, in feare and amazement. Now behold Hannibal, who in passing the Alpes, hath lost two parts of his Forces. And the reft is fo tired and broken with toile, hunger, cold, and pouerty, as they can hardly support themselues and the remainder of his Horses (if any be escaped) are so worne with labour. and the tedious wayes, as they could not make vie of them. Finally. it sufficed the Romans onely to present themselves, and that moreover, his presence should with reason make them more resolute, seeing that he had not left the Army at Sea, nor the affaires of Spaine, nor had not transported himselfe thither with such speed, going so great a circuite both by Sea and Land, if he had not knowne it necessary for the Countrey, and the victory to be certaine. The Army being inflamed with this Speech, and making thew of a resolution to fight, Scipio com- D mending their good will, sent them away, and gaue them charge to feed, and to be ready, and in Armes at the found of the Trumpet and Drumme.

Three daies after, the two Commaunders marcht with their Army along the River, on the side of the Mountaines. The Remans had the left hand, and the Carthaeinians the right. And when as the day following they were aduertifed by their Spies of their approach one vnto another, they stayed. The third day after, the two Commaunders

fronted one another with all their Horse, Scipie being moreouer accompanied with men that cast Darts, chosen out of the bands of sootmen : The which they did to discouer the number of the men, and

But when they came to affront one another, and the dust beginning to rife by reason of the Horses, they presently prepared themselves to Battell: Scipio puts in Front the Gaulish horse-men, with those that Darts, and appointed the rest to second them marching a slow pace. In regard of Hannibal, he makes his point of the strongest of his horse-A men, and presents it to the Enemy, casting the Namidians vpon the Wings. But when the two Armies began to enter the Combat furioufly, they had scarce begun the Crie but the Darters fled, without A Combat of any fight, and paffing through their supplies, they recovered the Battell. They were in truth amazed at the violent charge, fearing to be and scipie. ouerthrowne by the encounter of the Horse-men. In the meanerime the Combat was great betwixt the Horfe-men; for both the one and the other fought with great courage; which made the Battell to continue long in suspence. There was fighting both on horse-backe and on foot, for that many had left their horses in the Battell. And when as the Numidians in turning about, had fallen vpon the reare of the Dar-

ters, who in the beginning had fled from the fury of the Horse men, they were inuironed by them, and defeated in great Troupes. They alfo which fought with the Carthaginian Horse-men, after they had received great losse of their men, and slaine many of their Enemies, in the end they gaue backe, for that the Numidians charged in the reare. Some were dispersed here and there: others retired to the Campe in a throng, fauing the Confull (who was wounded) in the middelt of the Troupe, from thence Scipio Commaunded his men to follow him The retreste of without noise, and marcheth with his Army to the Bridge which he sopie. C had made vponthe Poe, there to passe without tumule or danger; but

when he faw the fields about the Pee fo great and spacious, and that the Carthaginians were ftronger in horses, and being moreoner troubled with the Wound which he had received, he held it the facet course to passe his Army before the Enemy should pursue him. Hannibal made his account that the Romans would fight fometime

with their foot-men , but when he was advertised of their aight , and that abandoning their Fort they had past the Pet, by a Bridge which they had made, he pursues them with speed. The end of the Bridge was already broken and the guard was yet remaining; of the which he D presently tooke about fixe hundred. Hannibal advertised that the rele of the Army was not farre off, hee returnes to his Fort, feeking carefully for a place fit to make a Bridge : The which two daies after he found with great difficulty, and then effected it, loyning many floars together, Afterwards he gaue the Charge to Adrubal, to pallethe Aimy, whilst that he bussed himselfe to heare the Embassie of the Gaules, which were come vnto him from diners neighbour Countries; For as frome as it was bruted that the Romans had bin defeated by the Carthaginians, all the neighbour Ganles made hast to loyne with Han-

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mibal, as they had formerly refolued, and to give him fuccours, and to 20 to the Warre. After he had given them a good reception, he past his Army beyond the Roe, and takes his way along the River, hoping more easily to ouer take the Enemy. When as Scipie had led his Army to Plaisence, (which was a Roman Collony) he had a care to cure those that were Wounded, and thinke of a place whither he might lead his Army.

in order before Plaisence in view of the Enemies, and presented them Battell. And when as no man offered himselfe, he Camp'd having A found a convenient place within fixe miles of them. The Gaules who had come to fuccour Scipio, seeing better hopes with the Carthaginians, resolued among themselves to abandon the Romans. And when at mid-night they found all men asleep, they being in Armes in their Tents, they part, and kill'd most of the Romans they met in their way, cutting off some of their heads. Finally they retired to the Carthagi. nians, to the number of two thousand foot, and two hundred Horse. Being graciously received, and inflamed with hope of good, Hannibal fends them home to their Houses; to the end they might make those things knowne, and induce their Country to feeke the Alliance of the B Carthaginians. He faw plainly, that of necessity they would leave the Roman party, confidering the foule crime which their men had

committed. Moreouer there was an Embassie come from the Boloni-

ans. deliuering vnto Hamnibal the Triumviry who (as wee have for-

The third day after that Hannibal had past the Poe, he puts his men

merly faid) had bin fent by the Romans to divide the Lands being taken by Treason.

AnEmbassie from the Bolo niansto Han. nibal.

The River of

Tychia.

·he Gaules a.

gainst the Ro.

Hannibal commending their good affection, makes an Alliance with them, and restores vnto them the Triumviry, to serue them as a meanes to retire their Hostages, as they had formerly resolued. Scipio being troubled, not so much for the Treason of the Gaules, and the C flaughter of his men, but for that he fore-faw that all the Ganles Country (which had bin a long time Enemy vnto the Romans) would revolt. which made him study how to give order in time for his Astaires. Wherefore the night following about the breake of day, he dislode'd without noise, and seated his Campe neere vnto the River of Trebia, on the highest Hils of the Country, relying vpon the scituation of the place, and the multitude of their Allies inhabiting thereabouts. Hannibal being advertised of his Enemies flight, he causeth the Numidians to march first, and then all the Cauallery, and soone after he follows with the rest of his Army.

The Numidians turning to the Campe abandoned by their Enemies, they fet it on fire, to the great benefit of the Romans: For if they had not staied in the Campe, they might have pursued them in the Reare, and have made a great flaughter of the Roman Army. But whilft they loose time in burning the lodging, the greatest part of the Army past the River in fafety: Some of the Reare-ward were surprized by the Carthaginians, who were either flaine or taken Prisoners. In the meane time scipio made choise of the Hils, which were neere voto the

River, for that they feemed fir to make a Boit. The which being in phroned with a Disch and a Pallifadoy hee aftended if this differit PR returne of his Companion Tyberies from syelly with an Army ; Charles his Wounds to be carefully looked vnro, to the end that their wall being in fo great danger, he might be a pertaker. Banibal feated Campe, within fine miles of the Enemies Fort, whom the Cante Bill furnish abundantly, not only with Victuals, but with all briner things necessary, and were very ready to vndergoe any danger with the

The newes came to Rome of the defeatent their men. Aid artiough they would neuer haue thought it, yer the Roman made no mew co be amazed therewith, difguifing the defeate of their Holle-men is haue hapned, not fo much by the Proweffe of the Carting to like by the ouer-weening of the Commaunder, and the Treaton of the Gaules, who had yeilded themselves to Hunnibal. Finally, they were in good hope of their Warte, feeing that the Bands of foot men were yet entire. Wherefore sempronius being returned, and passing 6 Rome, they all perswaded him publickely to grac Battell to the Carried.

ginians. Sempranism at his nonming who kimeny, receiles all the Troupes which were come from Sgelly, according to his commandment. From thence marching to Trobia, He loynes with his Companion, where he refreshib Army, soil d with the rediction of the way, having marcht forty daies together comming from Lyndenies Rimeny. He alfo vied diligence to prouide all forts of municion. Moreoues he confulted with Seipio, inquiring of the actions pall, and confer,

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At the same time Hannibal tooke the Towne of Classidium by Trea- Classidium tofon, corrupting Brengusin the Captaine of the Garrison, where as the kenby Hanni-Romans had lodged a great quantity of Corne, whereof he made vie bal. C in his necessity, and sent away the Souldiers in falery; to the end that by the fame of his Clemency , others might yelld more early vato the Caribaginians. He extended his bounty also vnto him that bettaide it. -And being advertised that the Gaules inhabiting that hele Country which lies betwirt Trebla and the Pow, and had made an Alliance with him, had fought the friendship of the comme by Embassie To the end that during the trouble of thefe two powerfall Wattons, they might haue the grace of an vocertaine fauour, He fends (being mooued with rage and despight) two thousand foote, and about a thousand warmidian Horses, with some Gaules intermixt, to spoile the Country. The which having performed and taken a great Boory, the Inhabitants fene presently an Embassie to the Confull to requite succours, sempronius presently imbracing this occasion to give battell, which hee had long defired, fends a great part of his Cavallery, with a thousand foote with Darts, beyond the River of Trebir, who charging the Gambi and furprizing them in diforder, for that they were in contention tous the Garching the diuffion of the Booty, they put them into a great conful. on, and forced them to retire, killing and chafing them into their Fort : Where by the fally of the Troupe which guarded the Campe,

the gamles resuming Courage, they were forced to turne head, and to police their Campe. The which Schiproniae perceiving, he fent a property of all his Horie, with the Darters, and forced the Gaules to retire hto their Fort. But for that Hannibal was not then ready to give batrell. he was not of aduice to undertake it without great confideration. ior to hazard all your all occasions. And therefore like a well admied the praint, he caused a Retreate to be sounded, and retires his men into the Fort, and the Romans had skirmished with their enemies in vaine,

they returned to their Campes having loft few of their men, and made A a great laughter of the Carehaginians. Semprenius growne ioyfull and proud of this good fortune. had a will to give Battell onely for the defire of glory, whill than his Companion was weake and infirme. And therefore he discouers himselfe to scipto, to whom the time did not feeme convenient to do it. but rather to deferre the Battell, to the end that the Remon Souldiers being yet fresh and greene, might gaine experience, and that in Temporizing, the Gaules as people light and without faith, might abandon the Carshaginians, and that finally he might be prefent , for that his Wound at that time made him vnprofitable. Although that Sempronius knew well that Subio foake the truth. B ver mooned with ambition, either that Scipio should not be present, or that the Warre flould not be prolonged untill the comming of the other Confuls, for that the time of the election was come, he refol-

hed to give Patrell alone.

Have the being of the like opinion with Scipio, was careful how to finde an occasion to fight, whill the Gaules faith was firme, and the Enemies Souldiers of little experience, and Sciple vaprofitable to vadergoe the danger: But especially be seared to loose time: For seeing he led an Army in a strange Country, and had a great enterprize in hand, there was no other meanes of safety, then to keepe his Allies. Where C fore feeing the defire of Semprenius, he prepared himselfe willingly to

There was betwixt the two Armies a plaine Champaigne, but very convenient to lay an Ambuth, having a deepe River, with high Bankes, and Thickets and Buthes found about it: Which Hamibal having viewed, he refolued to lay an Ambuth. It is true, that the Romans fled the Forrells. By reason of the Ambushes which the Gailer often layd for them, guilling onely in a Champaigne Country . Being ignorant that aplaine is more fitting then a Forrest, for the coucring of an Ambush : For they may see the Enemy come farre off, and have D fometimes fit meanes and opportunity to couer themselves, so as when they finde a River with low Bankes, the Reedes, Flagges of the Marifhes, Bushes, and such like things doe couer the foore, and many times the Horse-men, if they bend downe their Helmets which are apparent. Hannibal after he had acquainted his Brother Mage, with his refolution to give battel, and being both of this aduice, he caused him to be called whilst the Souldiers supp'd : His brother Mago was a young man, of a braue Spirit and Resolute, and had bin alwaies bred

A plaine is Cometimes the occation of an

Mago Brother

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vp in the Warre. To whom he gaue a thouland Horse, and as many Footechosen out of the whole Army, whom he called vnto his Tent after supper, and made a speech vnto them according to the opportunity of the time, declaring vnto them what he had resolved Moreouer, he gives every one of them charge, to choose out of all the Troupes nine others like themselues, and that they should repaire to a certaine place in the Campe. These presently obeyed the command- An Ambush ment of their Generall. Thus Mago accompanied with a thouland laid by Housing Horse, and as many Foote, and with a guide, came to the place of bat forthers. A his Ambush, being well instructed by Hannibal what hee was

At the breake of day Hannibal calls the Numidian Horse menable to beare labour : to whom when he had made a speech, and promifed great rewards, if they carried themselues like braue men, hee discouers his Enterprize. Hee gives them charge to passe the River of Trebia, and to runne vnto the Gates of the Enemies Campe, and to draw them forth to fight with their Darts, defiring much to furprize them in disorder, and to fight with them before they had taken any repast, the which he did much esteeme. He also gives charge to all the B other Captaines appointed for the Combate, to feed their men and their horses, and commands them to be ready armed, attending the found of the Trumpet. But when as Semprenius faw the Enemy approach, he first sent out all his Horse-men, and after them sixe thoufand Darters : Finally, he drawes all his Troupes to field, as if hee meant that day to make an end of the Warre; and who (for the good fortune which two daies before hee had in fight, together with the great number of his men) was in hope to get the Victory. It was by chance in Winter, anddid fnow that day with a vehement cold. Moreouer, the Souldiers were come forth in confusion with the Horfes, and had no great heat, neither had they fed. And therefore al-C though in the beginning they were ready and resolute; yet being entred into the River , they came forth wet vnto the breft : for that the show which had fallen in the night, had made the Riner fwell, fo as they began to be so afflicted with cold and hunger, that as the day came on, they were scarce able to hold their Armes. In the meane time the Carthaginians oyl'd and warm'd themselves at fires neere vnto their Tents, having their Horles ready after they had fed well.

When as Hannibal (who had an eye enery where) faw that the Enemies had past the River, he sets before the Ensignes the flingers of D Maierque and Minorque, and those that were lightly armed, to the number of eight thousand men, and puts the rest of his Army in Battalion. When he had marcht about a Mile, he fets voon the wings twent tale. ty thousand Foote, Spaniards, Affricans, and Gaules : the like he did of his Horse-men, who with the Allies that the neighbour Townes of Gaule had fent him, were ten thousand men. After them on either fide were placed the Elephants. Then Sempronius caused a retreate to be founded, to call backe the Horse men, lest pursuing the Namidians inconsiderately, they might be suddainly inclosed by them, for their

The manner of fighting.

custome is to flie here and there at the first charge, and to stay suddainly when they thinke good, recharging the Enemy with incredible courage and resolution. Then hee ordered his Foote men after the manner of the Romans. Among the which there were about fix-Semprenius pute teene thousand Romans, and about twenty thousand Latins their his men in bat. Allies: for when they were to undergoe any great Warre, and that the two Consuls were joyned together, the perfect number of their Army was of so many thousands. Then hee placed three thousand Horse-men upon the wings. When he had thus disposed of his men. he marcht in battaile a flow pace, scarce mouing.

The two Armies being neere one vnto the other, those that were lightly armed began the fight, wherewith the Romans were suddainly opprest. All things fore told good vnto the Carthaginians : for the bodies of the Roman Foote were growne feeble with hunger and wearinesse, and numm'd with cold: Being moreouerslaine by the multitude of Darts which the Numidians cast. For their parts they had abandoned their Darts, as ynprofitable by reason of the continuall humidity: The Horse-men suffred the like with the whole Army. Contrariwise the Carthaginians being in their force, in good order and fresh, were diligent and ready at need. Wherefore when as they had R made way for their forlorne hope to retire, and that the Armics had charged one another: the Carthaginian Horse-men fell vpon the Enemies wings, and quite defeated them. It is true, the Romans were weake in their numbers of Horse: and the Souldiers were tired with labour and hunger.

A defeate of

the Reman

Horfe-men.

After the rout of the Horse-men, the Foote resisted more with the equality of courage then of force : But the Numidians besides the Ambush which the Army had past without discourring them, shewing themselues vpon the Reare, put them in a great amazement, yet the Battallions stood firme for a time, although they were involved with fo many miseries. But in the end when as the two wings were prest, hat C uing the Elephants in front, and that those which were lightly armed, had compassed them in, they fled directly to the neere River. This done, when as the Romans which fought in the battell, faw their fupplies broken, they were partly enuironed by them of the Ambush, and partly defeated and flaine: Others past through the Battalion of the Gaules, where were many Affricans, making a great flaughter of the Enemies. But when as they could neither succour their men, nor get to their Fort, as well for the multitude of the Enemies Horse, as for the swelling of the River and the raine, they recovered Plaisance, to the number of ten thousand men: the rest for the most part were flaine along the River by the Elephants and Horfe-men. Some few Foote and Horse flying dispersed ouer the Fields, drew to Plaisance, tollowing the route of the Army. The Carthaginians having pursued them of Hannibal at to the River of Trebeia, returned to the Campe, for that they could not proceed any farther by reason of the raine; being very joyfull of thevictory, whereas the losse of Spaniards and Affricans was small, and that of the Gaules great. But they were fo tormented with raine & cold that all

gainft the Ro-

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the Elephants except one, and the greatest part of the carriage-horfes, with many men and horses died.

After this action Sempronius defirous to coner and conceale so great a losse, sent men to Rome, to let them understand that the violence of The Romani the raine had deprined them of an absolute Victory, the reliability of fearester the the raine had depriued them of an absolute Victory: the which the loss of the Romans did easily beleeue. But when as within few dayes after, Baneil. they had newes that the Carthaginians held their Army in strength, A and that all the Gaules held for them, abandoning their party, and withall that their Army kept the Towne, for that it was not well affured within its Fort, and that they drew victuals from the Sea by the River of Poe, they grew into fo great a feare and amazement, as they thought Hannibal would come a Conquerour to Rome, A new Army Wherefore they leuied a new Army, and sent supplies into Sieily leuied by the and Sardinia, fortifying Tarentum and the other Townes in Italy. Remains both by Sca and They likewise prepared an Army at Sea of fifty Quinqueremes : Fi- Land nally, they were wholly attentine to Warre,

At that time Cneus Seruitius, and Caiss Flaminius were chofen Confuls, and a new leuie of men was made, and succours required from the Allies. One of them led his Troupes to Rimeni, and the other into Tuscany. They had resolved to lead their Armies into Ganle. They had befides fent to Hieron to demaund fuccours, who fent them flue hundred Candiors, and a thousand men which beare Targets. Without doubt the Romans at that time drew all the Forces they could possible against Hannibal: for the searc was not onely

generall, but every mans in particular.

During these accidents in Italy, Cneus Cornelius Scipio (who as Scipio artius at we have formerly faid, had beene left by his Brother in Gable with Emeries, and C an Army at Sea) parting from the mouth of Rhone, arrued at Em- Ebro. pories. And beginning there, hee made all the Maritime Countrey vnto Ebro subject to the Romans, renewing the ancient leagues with some, and making new with others. When hee had pacifi d the Sea-coasts, aud had lest Garrisons where neede required, he led his Army vp into the firme land. Hee had now drawne together some Companies of succours from the allied Townes. By this meanes he takes some Townes, some by Composition, others by sorce. The which Hanno perceiuing (whom Hannibal had left for the de-Hanno; fence of Spaine) he resoluted to encounter the Enemies, and planted I) himselse right against them, neere vnto a Towne which the people of the Countrey call Cife.

Scipio in like manner did not hold it fit to deferre the Battell. And therefore after hee had gotten the Victory, and taken the Enemies Fort, hee recouered greatstore of Treasure : For all they which went to the Warres of Italy vnder Hannibal, had left all their wealth with these men, lest the Baggage should bee tedious and troublesome vnto them. Afterwards Scipio made a league with all the Inhabitants which were within the River of Ebro, and made them Allies and Friends. There were two Commaunders taken aliue, whereof the one was Hanno, who had the leading of the

Carthagenians

The

King Andubal taken.

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A defcate of fome Romans by Afdrubal.

Carthaginians, and the other Andubal, King of a Region which lies in the heart of Spaine, who had alwayes held the party of the Carthaginians. Afdrubal hearing the newes, paffeth Ebro, marching with his Army against the Romans: who vpon the way had newes that the Souldiers and Sea-men wandred the fields vp and downe, being confident and carelesse with the ioy of their Victory. Whereforchee marches thither speedily with eight thousand soote, and a thousand Horse, where killing a great part, he forced the rest to recouer their ships : yet hee durst not stay long, but repast the River of Ebro. And when hee had put Garrisons in necessary places, hee A went to winter at Carthage. Cneus Scipio aduertised hereof, drawes his men suddainly together, and goes vnto his Sea-army, punishing fuch as had beene the cause of the defeate, after the manner of the Romans. When hee had drawne his Army both by Sea and Land together, he went to winter at Taracona, where he divided the spoile, fo as hee purchased the loue of them all, making them more resolute for the future Warre. Behold the estate of the affaires of

In the beginning of the Spring Flaminius marching thorough Tufcany, came to Areizo. As for Seruilius, hee attended (after hee B

had brought his Army to Rimeni) when the Enemy would distodge. And whilest that Hannibal spent the Winter in Gaule, hee kept the Romans that were Prisoners straightly setter'd, and poorely sed, intreating the Allies courteously from the beginning: and afterwards causing them to assemble, he made many remonstrances vnro them. telling them that he was not come to make Warre against them, but to fight with the Romans for their liberty : and therefore if they were wife, they should imbrace the alliance and friendship of the Carthaginians: and that he was there to fet the people of Italy at liberty. and to restore those whom the Romans had outragiously chased from their houses, their Townes, and Countries. When hee had vsed thefe, or the like speeches, hee sent them all away without ransome, defiring by this meanes to winne the hearts of all the people of Ita. ly, and to make them abandon the Remans party, and to encourage those whom they had deprived of their Townes and Countrey. It is true, that whilest hee wintred, he was many times in dangers by the Gaules, the which he preuented by an Affrican tricke, Mannibalipoli. for that the Gaules discouered it as lightly vinto him, as they had given their consent : so as hee caused periwigges of diners ages to bee numere trom made with great art, the which he vsed, changing his apparrell of- D ten: so as he was not onely vnknowne to them which had neuer seene him, but also to his familiars. By this meanes he was in fafety, they not knowing whom to affault for Hannibal. Moreouer, when as the Gaules were discontented, that their Countrey was made the seate of the Warre, making a show to be desirous to fight, to the end it might be transported to some other part, Hannibal resolued to goe the sooner to field, and to lead his Army to the Warre

which he defired.

Hannibals

the Romans.

The Spring time approached, when calling vnto him those which knew the wayes, he inquired of the passages, which went into the Enemies Country. And being aductifed that all the wayes were long and knowne to the enemy, they discouered vnto him one that was shorter, but troublesome, which would leade him through the Marishes of Tuscany, whereby he might passe his Army, voknowne voto the enemy: But when the newes came into the Campe of their Voy- The Way and age by Marishes, the apprehension discouraged them, fearing the Order which

Quagmires and Pooles. Yet he tooke this way with his whole Army, to passe into A causing the Spaniards and Affricans to march before, with the ablest tray. of his men and their Baggage, to the end that if they were forced to plant a Campe, they should not want things necessary. It is true, that before, he had not resoluted to carry any Baggage, for that hee knew well that the Carthaginians should not want any thing if they were vanquished; and if they won the Countrey they should not likewise want. Next he causeth the Ganles to march, and in the Reare the horse men, whereof he gaue the charge to his brother Mage, to the end that by their helpe, the Gaules by their basenesse should not turne head, being discontented with the toile. The Spaniards and Affricans marching through the Marishes, came vnto the end without any great toile, as inured to paines, and accustomed to such miseries. Contrariwise the

Gaules went with great difficulty, as men amazed, falling into the Quagmires of the Moares, and carrying this misery with griefe and discontent, like men vnaccustomed to such calamities, the Horsemen kept them from returning. Finally the whole Army was in great trouble and paine; and they languished the more, for that they had watch'd foure daies and three nights, going through the Waters. But amongst all the rest the Gaules

were most tormented. Most part of their carriage Horses falling into C the Mire, dyed, seruing the tyred Souldiers, to rest themselves vpon and the baggage, lying downe vpon them in the Water, so as they tooke their necessary rest some part of the night. Many Horses also lost their hooses, by their continuall going in the mire. Hannibal could hardly escape the moares, but that he was carried vpon an Elephant Hamibal loswhich was onely remaining: Who by a great paine in his eyes, which tethan Rye.

had hapned by the bad condition of the Ayre, in the end hee lost an x eic, for that he had neither time nor place to prevent it.

After that he had past the Moares contrary to the opinion of all the World, and was aduertised by his Spies, that Flaminius was about the D Wals of Areizo, he planted himselfe neere vnto the Marishes, partly to refresh his army being tyred with so great toyle, and likewise to learne the Resolution and sorces of the Enemy, with the scituation of the Country and Wayes. But being aducrtifed that among the Regions of Italy, that was very fertile, and that the Champaigne betwixt Aretzo and Fesula was very rich in Corne, and all other things ne. ceffary; and that moreover the Confull was a proud man, affecting the applause of the people, but without experience of Warre, and relying much vpon Fortune, he thought it fir, that in leaving the enemy on

he had to purchase the fauor the people, would never suffer the Country to bee spoi'd: Nor attend his Companion, as desiring him not in things well done: But contrariwife would follow him wherefoeuer he went without feare, having a defire to fight. By this meanes he forefawe good opportunities to give Battaile, making therin a wife and politique discourse of suture things. Beleeue mee he is deceived, that thinkes any duty greater in a Captaine, then to discouer the opinion and Nature of the enemy. For as you must observe in a Combate be- A twixt man and man the place where you meane to strike, and consider diligently where he lies open and discovered: So in a great Warre, you must seeke the Enemy, not so much to understand where the the parts

of the body are naked, but by what meanes you may discouer the

the left hand, he should drawe towards Fefula, to spoyle the Country

of Tuscany: being conceited that the Consuli, for the natural defire

Nature and proceedings of the Generall.

There are many which not onely forget the publicke Affaires by a dulnesse and negligence, but also many times those which concerne their private Lives. Others subject to Wine, cannot rest vntill they be drunke, and some given too much to women, not only ruine Townes and Common-weales, but also their Liues with infamy. Moreouer, B Cowardize and feare in private men is tull of Reproach and differace, but in a Commaunder, it is sometimes the cause of great losse. Ouerweening rathnesse, Choller, and vaine bragging is prejudiciall, and profitable to the Enemy. Beleeue me, such kind of men, doe easily fall into the Snares and Ambushes of their Enemies. And therefore if any one having discourred the Vices of the Enemy, findes some occasion whereby he may circumvent the Generall, he may eafily preuaile ouer the rest: For as an Enemy doth easily boord a Shippe when it is without a Gouernour: So if any one during the Warre, defeates a Commaunder by his Iudgement and good aduice, hee will foone be matter C. of the rest of the Army.

The Country Hannibal.

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As Hannibal had made this Discourse of the Roman Consult, so he was not deceived in his opinion; for parting with all speede thorough the Fesulans Countrey, leaving the Enemy behind, he began to put all Tuscamy to fire and Sword. The Confull influenced herewith, thinking that the Enemy made no account of him, holding it a great dishonour to suffer the Goods of their Allies to bee thus spoil'd ard carried away before his face, could not take any reft. And therefore although that many aduised him not to pursue Hannibal. nor to fight with him, but to keepe his Horse and soote entire, vntill the comming of his D Companion, to the end that both Armies being joyned, they might mannage the Warre by a common Councell, hee would not doe any thing, giving them no other answere, but that they should consider what the people of Rome would fay, feeing the Enemy Camp'd in the middest of Iraly, and march directly to Rome without resistance, they fleeping in Tussany at his backe. Having vsed this Speech, he began to pursue the Enemy, after that he had suddainly crawne his Troupes together, without confideration either of time or places, defiring onely

to fight, as if the Victory had beene certaine. He had put his whole Army in hope of winning the Battaile, so as there were more which charged themselues with chaines and fetters, and such like things, then with armes to fight.

Hannibal marching directly to Rome, spoil'd all the Champaigne Country, which lies betwixt the Towne of Cortone, and the Lake of Perouze, vling all manner of cruelty to draw the enemy to fight. But when he had newes of Flaminius pursuite with his Army, seeing the place convenient to lay his Ambushes, hee began to prepare himselfe A for a battaile. There was a large plaine enuironed round about with high Mountaines ioyned together: hauing within it a leffer Hill, which was painfull and difficult, and behind lies the Lake of Peronze, betwirt the which and the Mountaines, there is a narrow passage, whereby they

enter into the plaine.

Hannibal gaines these first Hils, planting his Campethere, and lodgeth with the spaniards and Affricans, laying behind the Mountaines, An Ambuth the Souldiers of Maiorque and Minorque, with others that were light bal, ly armed. He doth also place in the streight, the Horse-men with the Gaules, to the end that as soone as the Romans should be entred, they B should be wholy inuironed by the Lake and Mountaines, opposing the Horse-men in Front. And having thus disposed of his men in the night, he went to take his rest. Flaminius pursuing his enemy with great heate, came vnto the Lake before the Sun fetting, and the next day early began to lead his Army through the streight. The day was thicke and mifty, by reason of a Fogge which came from the Lake, and the Neighbour mountaines. When as Hannibal faw the greatest The Romans part of the Army entred into the Plaine, and that the fore most ap Surpized and proached neere vnto him, hee then gaue his men a figne of battaile. Defeated. Which done, they fall vpon them that were neerest. The Romans The Battaile of C were amazed at this suddaine surprize, for that the mist hindred their perouze. fight, and with all the Enemies charg'd them on all fides at one inftant, so as they could not put themselues into battaile, nor make vie of their Armes, nor scarce know what had beene done, being affailed by some in front, by others in the Reare, and likewise vpon the Flankes. So as many holding on their way, they were flaine like sheepe, for that they could not fuccour one another, and they were somer defeated, then they could confider what they had to doe. Flaminius himselfe, Flaminius flays when there was no more hope, was enuironed and flaine by certayne in the battaile, Gaules. There were flaine in this battaile fifteene thousand men, who for the most partstood firme vnto the end, after the manner of the Romans, neuer abandoning their rankes: The others inclosed betwixt the Mountaines and the Lakes by reason of the narrow passages, and out of hope, were slaine basely or rather miserably: For being forced in the Lake, some were drowned striuing to swimme in their Armes: Others going into the Water as farre as they could possibly, continued for a time in that estate. Finally, when the enemies horse were entred, they were same without pirty : Although that lifting vp their hands, they humbly begged to have their Lives faved, or taking Courage

Sixethouland Romanstaken

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kild one another. There were about fixe thousand of the fore-ward, which forcing through the enemies, escaped this passage: Although Tit were in their power to inclose them, and to succour their friends, yet not knowing what was done behind them, they marcht on still, doubting to make some encounter, before they had gotten the top of the Mountaines. And having made a stand vpon a little Hill, and seeing (the Mist being past) the great slaughter of their Souldiers, they hastily got vnto a neere Burrough, like men which had no more hope of fafety, for that they faw the enemy to hold the whole Countrey. The battaile being won, Hannibal Commaunds Maherbal to pursue them, A who parting with the Spaniards and the Souldiers that were lightly armed, befieged the Burrough. The Romans being brought to extremity, in the end left their Armes; and after they had concluded to have their Liues faued, they yeilded to this Affrican. Behold how that famous battaile past, which was given betwirt the Romans and the Car. thaginians neere vnto the Lake of Perouze.

After this Hannibal cals for those which Maherbal had taken, and for all the rest being aboue fifteene thousand, telling them at the first that Maherbal had no power to contract with them for their lives without his consent: And after he had vsed proud speeches vnto the Romans, B he distributed them among the Souldiers to be carefully kept in chaines, fending away the Allies without Ransome: Telling them that hee was not come into Gaule to make Warre against the Latin Nation, but with the Remans for their Liberty. Afterwards he fent them home to their Lodgings, and Commaunds to bury the bodics of those which were of most note, being about thirty: For hee lost of all his Army onely fifteene hundred men, whereof the greatest part were Ganles. Hee then held a Councell with his Brother and other friends concerning their affaires, who were growne so glorious for this Victory, as they held nothing impossible.

The great awhich was at Rome for the battaile loft.

The Newes of this great Defeate was now come to Rome, and the Senators could not long conceale it from the Common people, nor dissemble the greatnesse thereof: So as assembling the Court, they were forced to relate it vnto them in particular. As soone as the Prætor (being set in his Chaire) began to say, we have lost a great battaile; the amazement and trouble grew fo great, as they which were at the battaile and there present, report that the terrour was greater then in Rome, then it had beene in the fight. And it is likely; for it is not possible that they which for a long time had not felt any great difaster, neyther in Word, nor Deede, should patiently indure so great a losse. Yet the D Senate made a good shewe, as it was fitting, adulting what was to be done, and what Commaunders they should choose, and with what Troupes they should resist the Carthaginians.

Whilst these things past in Toscany, the Consult Servilius advertifed that Hannibal was past, hee resolued to ioyne with his companions Army. But for that it was a difficult thing, to passe so great a number of men together, he sent Caim Centronim Proprator before with foure thousand Horse, to the end that if any occasion were offered, they

fhould doe that which his Companion should commaund him. nibal having gotten this Victory, and advertised by his Spics of the comming of the Enemy, hee fends Maherbal to meete them, with the best of his Foote, and part of his Horse-men, who being met, Adefeated the best of his Foote, and part of his Horse-men, who being met, they defeated the greatest part at the first charge: the rest retiring to Hotte men by the first Hill, within three daies after they were taken aliue. When Maherbal. as the newes of this defeate came to Rome, three daies after the other, wherewith their hearts were much aflicted, then not onely the people, but also the Senators were in so great distresse and mise-A ry, as all the Citty was in teares. Wherefore leaving the Annall A Dictator Magistrates, they had recourse to the election of a Dictator; for that created, the condition of the time, and the affaires then required a Commaunder, which should have soueraigne power. And although that Hannibal were very glorious for the good successe and fortune of his affaires, yet heedid not hold it fit to goe unto Rome. Wherefore Hammibaltuns putting the Prouince to fire and fword, and paifing by the Dutchy along the of spolette, and the Marquifat of Ancona, hee came within ten definition administration of spolette. dayes to the Region which is neare vnto Adriatique Sea, fo rich and abundant in all wealth, as the Army was not able to carry B it away.

Finally, hee made a great flaughter of men in his journey: for he caused a Proclamation to bee made in his Campe, that they should The cruelty of kill all those that they found carrying Armes, as they had common- Hannibal. ly done in Townes that were taken by affault. Hee carried fo great a hatred to the Romans, as there was no cruelty that hee omitted. And after they had found a fit and convenient place along the Coast of the Adriatique Sea, abounding with all forts of commodities, hee laboured by all meanes to refresh his men and horses: for both the one and the other were fallen into diseases and the Scuruy, which C they had gotten as well by the extreame cold in the Winter which they had endured in Gaule, being alwaies in field, as by the continuall toile which they had lately suffred in passing the Marishes, and the

continuall sweat and filth, by reason of their harnesse. In the meane time hee inures the Affricans to carry Armes after the manner of the Romans, whereof hee had gotten abundance, confidering the great spoiles of the Enemies. Moreouer, hee sent newes to Carthage of his Victories by Sea. This was the first time that hee approach't neare the Sea, fince his first comming into Italy. The Carthaginians being joyfull at this newes, were wholly attentive vn. D to the affaires of Isaly and Spaine. The Romans made choice of Quin- Quintus Fabrus tus Fabius for their Dictator, a man of so great virtue and pru chosen pictadence, that for his prowesse hee purchased and obtained the name of Maximus, the which his family retaines vnto this day. The The difference Dictator differs from the Confull in this, that the Confull hath but between a twelue Axes before him, and the Dictator hath foure and twenty. Dictator and Moreover, the Coulull must referre many things to the advice of the Senate: but this other hath a foueraigne and free power, vnder whom all other Magistrates cease, except the Tribunes. But this X

Hannibal.

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shall be for a larger discourse. Moreouer, they gaue vnto the Dicta-Majens Minu. tor Marcus Minucius for a Constable, or master of the Horse, which cint Confiable. is a Magistrate subject to the Dictator, and supplies his place, when as the necessity of affaires forceth him to be absent.

In the meane time Hannibal marching along the Coast of the Adriatique Sea by small iournies, fed his Army in a rich and fertile Province, causing the Horse-feet to be washt with old Wine, whereof there was great abundance, the better to cure them of their Scabs. Hee also caused the Souldiers which had beene wounded, to bee carefully looked vnto, and fortified the rest for suture affaires. Ha- A uing past the Countries of Pretutian and Adrian, hee ruined the Countrey of the Marrueins and Franquenille : Moreover, he bent Many Coun. his course towards Iapygia, divided into three, whereof some are tries ruined by called Dauniens, and the others Messapiens. Hee first ouer-runnes Daunia beginning by Lucerna, a Collony of the Romans, thundring ouer all the Countrey. Then fetling his Campe at Ibonium, he falls vponthe Artins, and etterly ruines all Dannia without any re-

At the same time Quintus Fabius hauing taken his charge of Dicator, and performed the accustomed Sacrifices, parts from Rome B with the Master of the Horse, and soure Legions levied in haste: And within few daies came to Appulia, whereas receiving the Army from the Confull Cnew Servilius, being come from Rimeni, he fent him to Rome with some troups, giving him charge to raise an Army at Sea at Hostia, and to defend the Coasts of Italy, if the Carthaginians should attempt any thing by Sea. Finally, he marches with all his troups, and plants himselse in front of the Enemy, neare vnto Aigues, and within fixe miles of them. Hanxiball advertised of the comming of Fabius, and meaning to amaze them suddainly, drawes his Army to Field, and presents it in Battaile before the Romans. Fort: But when he had stayed some time, hee retired to his Campe, seeing that no man came forth to fight. You must vinderstand that Hamibal pre-Fabim had resolved from the beginning not to hazard any thing, nor to fight, thinking it would bee very beneficiall to the Romans, if The constancy he might defend their Townes from the Enemy. Hee was constant in his opinion, so as at the end hee purchased the reputation of a flackeman, and Coward, as if hee fled from danger onely for

fents Battaile

to Fabius,

But soone after hee forced the World to confesse, that they could not make choice of a Captaine that was more constant, nor wifer D to mannage the Warre, the which appeared soone after in their affaires. Beleeue mee, this wise Dictator understood well what great difference there was betwirt the Carthaginians Army, and that of the Romans: Confidering that the others had from their Youth frequented the Warre, having a Commaunder which was bred with them in the Campe, in the raine and winde, and who from his very Cradle had learn'd the trade: having gotten fomany famous victories both in Spaine and Italy, against the Romans and all

their Allies: and who moreouer, distrusting in all things, put their onely hope of fafety in the Victory : the which would proue contrary to the Romans. Wherefore he was not resolued to fight, fearing the Numidians, for that hee was too weake in Horse : lo as retiring for his aduantage with good confideration, he stayed, and led away his Army. The aduantages which the Romans had, were abundance of munition and victuals, and a great Army. And therefore hee ledit alwaies by the hilly Countries, following the Enemie neare, yet giving him no meanes to fight, being alwaies well victualed, and ne-A uer suffring the Souldiers to goe forth, but kept them alwaies close together. By this meanes his men were alwaies in fafety, and beate the Enemy, if at any time they went from the Army for pillage, fo as many times there were some taken, and others staine. This he did to the end that by little and little hee might weaken their forces, and encourage the Souldiers by these petty Victories, being amazed with their former losses, nor to distrust their Forces, or Fortune. Moreouer, they could not perswade him to come to a Battaile. But Marem Minucius discontent with his temporizing, blamed him of cowardise and seare. Hee was a proud and rash man, who found B nothing more tedious and troublesome then to bee absent from a

The Carthaginians after they had ruined the former Countries, The Carthagiand had past the Appenine Hils, they goe to Samuium, which is a niansipoliothe very fertile Countrey of Isaly, and which for a long time had not Countrey, felt any Warre : There they found fo great abundance of all things, as they could not consume the Bootie, neither in vsing it moderately nor wastfully. From thence, they spoiled Benenent, a Collony of the Romans: They tooke the Towns of Telesia which had strong walles, was well victualed, and furnished with all things necessary, the Romans followed the Enemies still within a daies iourney or two. When C as Hannibal faw that Fabius fled from all occasions of fighting, and yetdid not abandon the field, but followed him still by the hilly Countrey, heerefolued to goe speedily into the Countries of Capua and Falerna, thinking that of necessitie one of the two would happen: either that the Romans would come to a Battaile, or that the World would soone see that the Carehaginians camp't, and that the Romans kept themselues within their Forts. By this meanes he did hope that the Townes of the Province being terrified, they would veeld vnto the Carthaginians : For vnto that day not any one had n fallen vnto them, although the Romans had loft two great Battailes, and there were many to whom their perswasions were very vapleafing. Whereby wee may see of what authoritie and power the maiesty of the Roman Common-wealth was with their Succours and Allies.

Certainly Hannibals conceit was not idle : for the Capuan is an The description excellent Countrey, for abundance of wealth, fertility of land, and on of the Coun the beauty and pleasure of the place. First, it is seated along the Sea trey of Capual and Its seated along th whither infinite number of people come from all parts of the World don.

Lib. 3.

to Italy. Moreouer, the noblest Townes of Italy are scituated there: for vpon the Borders of the Sea, stand the Smitzers, the Camans, the Pozolois the Neopolitans, and at the end the Nucerius.

And towards the North voon the firme land, are the Calleniens and Teanins: towards the East and South are the Dauniens and Nolains: and in the mid'st of the Region Capua stands, the richest of them all, whose Lands are famous amongst the fabulous Poets, which they call Phlegrees: and it is likely that the gods have spoken principally of them, by reason of their wonderfull beauty and excellency. Moreouer, this scituation is strong by nature, and in a manner impregnable. For on the one fide they are inclosed by the Sea, and on the other they are wholly enuironed with Mountaines. There are onely three entries which are narrow and painefull: the one is at Samnium, the second at Eriban, and the third among the Arpins. The Car. thaginians made a shew to goe into these Countries, as into a Theater, to amaze them all : and thereby to flye from the Enemy, and then

The River of

Wherefore Hannibal moued with these reasons, leades his Army by Samnium to the streights of Mount Eriban, and plants his Campe neere vnto the River of Vantour, which divides the faid Champaigne B from Rome. Then the most pleasant Countrey of Italy was overrunne, and the Villages put to fire and sword. And although that these things were very troublesome to Fabiu, yet he continued constant in his resolution. But Marcus Minucius, and all the Tribunes of the Horse, were of opinion not to temporize any longer, but to fall vpon the Carthaginians with all their strength and forces, not fuffring the spoile of so goodly a Countrey in the view of the Reman Army. Fabine diflodging more fuddainly then he had beene accustomed, seemed to make haste to preserue the Countrey of Caand from spoile: But when hee came to Falerna, hee did but thew his Army vpon the Mountaines, lest the Allies should thinke C he held not a Campe. Yet he would never drawe downe into the field, fearing to fight with the Carthaginians, as well for the reasons which wee have formerly mentioned, as for that he was the weaker in Cauallery.

When as Hannibal had often attempted in vaine, to drawe the Enemy to fight, in the end he studied of a place to winter in, having ruined all parts of the Countrey, and taken a wonderfull spoile: hauing no intent to lose his Pillage, but to transport it to some place where he might passe the Winter: to the end his Army might not want anything, as well for the present as the future. Fabius knowing well that the returne of his Enemy would be by the same streight by the which he had entred, hee imagined that this passage would be beneficiall to the Romans: and placeth about foure thousand men within these streights, intreating them to carry themselues like braue and valiant men, when occasion should require, making vse of the aduantage of the place. For his part, hee recoursed the next Mountaine with the rest of the Army, looking earnestly

The meanes which Pabius Hannibals pal-

about him what was to be done, and from whence and by whom the Enemy should be Charged, holding himselfe affured to defeate their whole Army, or at the least to make them abandon the Booty which they carried. But Hannibal law that Fabius fought with his owne weapons : and having duly confidered thereon, he disappointed his enterprize with an excellent stratagem, causing many Faggots of dry stickes Hamibals policy to be drawne together, and bound to the hornes of Oxen, and Bugles, against Fabius. whereof he had to the number of two thousand; and gaue charge to Asdrubal, that in setting fire to the slickes at a certaine house he should A chase the Troupe to the next Mountaine, which was betwixt the Camp and the ftreight they were to passe, and that as soone as they should see a figue which he would give, they should force the Oxen against the Mountaine, vntill they had gotten the top. When as all things were ready, he makes them to feed and to take some rest. About mid-night hee causeth them to march which had the charge to tie the Torches to the hornes of the Oxen. This being suddainly done by reason of the multitude of assistants, hegines order to kindle them all, and to chase them to the top of the Mountaine. Finally, hee gives charge to them that were lightly Armed, to follow them to a certaine place, commaun-B ding them that as soone as the Troupe should begin to runne suriously through the Mountaines, they should recourt the places of advantage, which Hamibal whereby they might fuccour his men in paffing, and annoy the enemy tooke inputting If they encountred any. In the meane time hee distodgeth with his the strength Army, and marcheth directly to the streights, ordring in Front the kept by the Ro-Souldiers that were best armed, and after them the Horse men, then the Baggage, and in the Reare the Ganles and Spaniards.

The Romans which had been appointed to guard these passages, thin-

king that Hannibal came where they saw the fire on the toppe of the Mountaines, abandoned their places, retiring to the highest Hils. C And when at the first they encountred some of these Oxen seperated from the rest, they made a stand, seeing their heads on a staming fire, wondring as at a miracle. But when the Souldiers were discoursed, they entertained one another with casting of Darts. And when in the end the Oxen came on, they all made a stand on the top of the mountaines, expecting day with great defire to be more certainly informed of the businesse. Fabine advertised of this noise, conceiving it was fome Ambush, and flying the battaile as they resoluted, kept his men within the Fort. In the meane time Hannibal (to whom matters fucceeded according to his defire) past his Army by the mountaine, and carried away all his Spoiles without any obstacle. Then seeing at the D breake of day the Romans in front against his men, and to bee stronger innumber and in their kind of Armes, he sent them a band of Spaniardos to second them: Who after they had flaine about a thousand at the first Charge, they brought their men safe backe vnto the Campe. Han. nibal being freed by this policy from the streights of Falerna, from thenceforth he was more carefull to choose a safe place to Campe in, feeking where he might Winter, greatly terrifying the Townes and

During these actions, many taxed the Dicator of Cowardize, for that he had fuffered the enemy to escape so easily, being inclosed within the ftreights; but hee continued ftill conftant in his opinion. Some few daies after he was called backe to Rome for the Sacrifices, and left the Gouernment of the Army and all other affaires to the Constable. giving him charge that he should not study so much to offend the Enemy, as to defend his owne men. But Minucius (whom the Dictator aduited in vaine) had no other care but to fight. During these actions in Italy, Astarbal having repaired thirty good

thate to go into

The Romans

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ting from car. Thips, which he had received from his brother Hannibal, adding there- A unto ten others, parts from Carehage in the beginning of Summer, and gives the charge to Imileon, who ran along the Coasts, and Afdrubal led the Army by Land neere the shore, hoping to meete at one instant at the mouth of the River of Ebro, with the Army by Sea. Crew Scipio advertised that Asarabal was gone to field, hee was first of the same opinion, but afterwards he resoluted to fight rather by Sea then Land, by reason of the bruite of their new succours, and preparation for war. Wherefore after hee had prepared an Army at Sea of five and thirty Vessels, he made choise of the abless men of his whole Army, and most active to fight at Sea. The which being imbarqued, he fet saile a to encounter the enemy: and three dayes after hee had fail'd from Tar. racona, to places neere vnto Ebro, hee comes vnto a Hauen ten miles distant from the Enemy. From thence hee sends two Vessels of Marceilles being very swift to discouer. This was a people which had a great League with the Romans, and had held their party, during the time of the second Punique Warre. But as soone as these Scouts had made Relation, that the enemies Army at Sea was in the mouth of the River of Ebro, he weighes Anchor and sayles towards them, being defirous to surprize them vnprouided.

Aldrubal had beene advertised of the comming of the Roman army, C. by a figne which was given him from a Beacon or watch-Tower; and therefore after he had ordred his Army by Land along the shore, and and caused his Rowers to imbarque, hee puts all into armes. When the Romans not onely approacht, but also put their shippes in battaile, they gave warning to fight. The Carthaginians affayling them refolutely, had for a time some shew of Victory. But afterwards Fortune began to turne, for they which were vpon the shore, gaue not so much courage to their men to fight, as hope of safety for those that would flye. And therefore the Carthaginians got to Land, after that two of their ships had biu taken and foure sunke. But when as the Romans pur. victory at Ses, fued them with all their forces, the Carthaginians fled to shore, abando-Carthaginiant. ning their ships, and retired to their Army which was there in Battaile. Finally having followed them with great speede, they towed away with Ropes all the Vessels which stoated: And after they had vangui. thed their Enemies they parted joyfully as being masters of the Sea: and of the forty (hippes they tooke five and twenty. Being therefore proud of this Victory, they were afterwards more carefull of the affaires of Spaine. The

The Carthaginians advertised of this miss fortune, sent three-score andten Vessels, Rigg'd sooner then they could imagine, understand Sea prepared ing well of what consequence it was to be masters of the Sea. Who suddainly by fail'd first to Sardinia, and afterwards to Pifa in Italy, to the end they the Carthaginhmight ioyne with Hannibal if it were possible. But when as the Romans were aduertised of the comming of the Carthaginian Army, they so terrified them with fixe score Quinqueremes which they sent, as they presently returned to Sardinia, and from thence to Carthage. Cuens The Romains Sernilius Commaunder of the Army at Sea, had them long in chase; but Breat Army at

A when as he heard there was no hope to ouer-take them, he came vnto Lylibeum with his Fleete. From thence soone after he sailes vnto the Iland of Cercinetes, where taking filter of the Inhabitants not to ruine the Country, he turnes backe, and takes the Iland of Collyron in paffing: Where after he had put a Garrison into the Towne, he returned to Lylibeum, where lodging his Vessels in the Port, within few dayes after he went to the Army at Land.

In the meane time the Senate having newes of Cneus Scipio his Victory at Sea in the mouth of Ebro, they not only held it fit , but also neceffary to pursue the War in Spaine, and to annoy the Carthaginians B with all their power both by Sea and Land. And therefore they prescinily prepared twenty shipps of War, and sent them to Publius Scipio Supplies sent in Spaine, continuing his authority after his Confulfhip was ended, to from Rome itthe end that being joyned with his brother Cneus Scipio, all the affaires to Spaine. might be mannaged by their common Councell. For the thing which the Romans feared most, was, that the Carthaginians prenailing in Spaine, would be masters of the Sea: So as afterwards they might Saile into Italy, and furnish and supply Hannibal easily with men and

Publius Scipio going into Spaine, ioyned with his brother ; after which C the War was gouerned by their common Councell. Wherfore presently they past the River of Ebre, the which before they never durst are tempt. Then Fortune began to smile on the Romans. And after they had made subject those which dwelt in the passage of Ebre, finding no resistance, they came to Sagons: Where being within fine miles of Cape Decrux, they camped in a place fafe from the Enemy, and conuenient to draw Victuals from the Sea. Soone after that their Army at Sca arrived; whereas this accident hapned. You must vnderstand that Hannibal at his going into Italy, had taken the Children of the noblech Families in Spaine, and had left them in guard at Sagons : For that the place was frong, and they which kept it, confident to the Car. D thaginians. There was at time within the Towne a certaine Spaniard, whom they called Acedux of a noble house, and as honest a man as any other Spaniard; and among the rest very loyall to the Carthaginians: But at that time after the manner of most of the Barbarians, hee changed his faith together with his Fortune. This spaniard leeing the Romans to prosper in Spaine, had a desire to deliuer the Hostages; having a conceite that it would be a great meanes to purchase their fauour. When he had well considered of all the meanes to bring his enterprize

Boffer Chiefe of the Cartha. ginians.

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to an end, he goes to Bostar Chiefe of the Carthaginians. Astrubal had fent him into Spaine, to keepe the Romans from passing the River. The which not daring to attempt, he seated his Campe beyond Sagons voon the Bankes of the River. He was a mild man, and (contrary to the nature of the Affricans) not very politicke: He drawes him a part. as a man which held his faith assured to the Carthaginians, and lets him vnderstand the estate of the affaires. The Carthaginians sayd he, have held vnder their obedience vnto this day, the people of Spaine by cruelty for that the Romans were a far off: But now the Enemies Campe hath passed Ebro, so as every man hath thereby occasion of a new A enterprize. And therefore it is necessary to bind those by benefits and fauours, whom they could not retaine by feare: Moreouer, that the Romans were neere vnto Sagons in Armes, and furnished with Armies both by Sea and Land, fo as the Towne was in danger : For this cause he was of opinion that hee should send backe all the Hostages to their Townes: The which if hee did, hee should first of all frustrate the Romans of their hope, for that they did chiefly beliedge Sagont to haue them: And that moreover, he should purchase the love and favour of the Spaniards to the Carthaginians.

He likewise thought that it would be for the safety of the Hostages, B and that if hee would give him the charge to carry them backe, hee would do him no small service to winne their loues, and that he should not only bind their hearts by the fending backe of the Children vnto their Parents, but he should set before their cies, how much the kindnesse and Clemency of the Carthaginians was to be esteemed. Moreouer he propounded vnto him the expectance hee should have of their gifts and presents, to whom he had sent the Children, and that there

was not any man would torget fo great a benefit.

After he had held this kind of Speech and others to the same end, he returned to Sagont, as soone as he had perswaded Bostar to that which he defired, appointing a day when hee should in with those which should carry backe the Hostages. The night following he goes to the Enemies watch, and having spoken to some Spanish Souldiers of the Allies, they lead him vnto the Captaines: Where having vled much speech, what profit it would be for the affaires of Spaine, if the Hostages fell into their hands, in the end hee promiseth to deliuer them. The Romans giving a willing care vnto him, weighing the greatnes of the action, take his faith, & promise him theirs with great rewards. And after they had aduised of the place and day, when they should attend to receive the Hostages, he returnes. Afterwards he takes with him fuch as seemed fit for this businesse, and goes to Bostar: Where receiuing the Hostages, he goes out of Sagent as it were to flie the enemies Watch: But having past their Campea little, hee leads them all into an Ambush which they had prepared, as not knowing any thing. The Remans gaue great rewards to Acedux, and made vie of him to carry backe the Hostages to their Townes, as he had resolved with Bostar, fending men with him to make them fauourable. Acedux went with them, and by this perswasions caused many to enter into League with

Acedux com

the Romans, by the meanes of these hostages : laying before their eyes their mildnesse and great courage, and detesting the lealousses and cruelty of the Carthaginians, propounding himselse for an example. Bostar after the losse of the hostages by the advice of a Childe repented too late. And then the season of the yeare forced both Armies to goe and winter, after that fortune had fauoured the Romans in this enterprize of the hostages- Behold the present estate of the af-

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Hannibal being aduertifed by his Spies of the great provision of A Corne within Lucerna and Gergona, and that moreover Gergona was a very good place, hee refolued to winter his Army there. And paffing the Mountaine of Lyburna, hee drawes to those places. Being come to Geryona, fine and twenty miles from Lucerna, hee began first to summon the Inhabitants to yeeld, vsing faire pro. Gerienataken mises, and affuring them of his faith. But losing his time hee besieged the Towne, the which hee tooke presently, and slew all the Inhabitants, preserving the greatest part of the houses to serue him for Garners : then hee planted his Campe close vnto the Towne, being well ditched and pallisadoed. This done, hee sends two parts B of his Army to gather in the Corne, and continued in battaile with the third part, as well to guard the Campe, as to preuent all oppression of those which gathered in the Corne. They brought in dayly a wonderfull quantity, for that the Region was very large, and the number of the people in a manner infinite, and harvest was disc.

now at hand. But Marcus Minucius Commander of the Romans, in the beginning followed the Carthaginians by the Mountaines, ho.

ping hee should sometimes encounter the Enemy in some bad But being aduertised that they gathered in the Corne, after the C taking of Geryona, and had seated their Campe neare voto it, hee goes into the plaine and recouers a high Hill vpon the way, where hee planted his Campe: and there hee studied by what policy hee might fall vpon those which were in battaile. But when as Hanmibal found the Romans to bee so neare, hee sent onely the third part of his Army for Corne, and kept the two other parts in the Campe.

After which hee plants himselse nearer vnto the Enemy, about two miles from Geryona, to the end hee might seeme to bee carefull to defend those which gathered the Come, if they made any attempt against them. In the meane time there was a little Hill be-D twixt the two Campes, which was very fit and convenient for the

Carthaginians, if they could take it, and dangerous for the Romans. Hannibal sent Numidians thither in the Night, who tooke it. But when as Minucins at the breake of day, faw that they held it, hee puts forth those that were lightly armed, and giues an affault vnto

The Combate for a time was very fierce and cruell: but in Thecarebagi. the end the Romans had the best successe, for they wonne the Hill sians descated by the Romans by force : whither presently the whole Army retired. Hanni- vpon a Hill.

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nians furprized by the Ro-

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bal continued for some dayes within his Campe, for that the Romans were still in front. But soone after necessity forced him to fend some to feed the Horses for the Baggage, and others to the Haruest : to the end that as hee had resolved, he might not consume that which hee had gotten, but might draw together some great quantity of Corne to Winter, having alwayes a great care the Army should not have neede of any thing in that time, especially the Horses and sumpters, for that all his hope and confidence was in the Cauallery. Minucius feeing the Enemies difpersed, and wandring up and A

downe, hee drawes his men to field, and marching directly against their Campe, puts them in battaile, and sends the Horse-men with the best Foote men against the Forragers, giving them charge to kill all, and not to receive any to mercy. Hannibal surprized with this suddaine accident, durst not put his men in battaile, neither could hee succour those that were disperced. The Roman Horse-men with those that were lightly armed, made a great flaughter of their Enemies thus feattred. They likewife which were with Minneius, grew fo resolute and couragious, as they durst in a manner force the Enemies Fort, and besiegethem. Hannibal finding himselse destitute of R counsell and helpe, kept himselfe within his Fort, which hee guarded with great difficulty, when as Afdrubal gathering the Souldiers together which sted to the place where their Campe had former. ly beene, neere vnto the Walles of Geryona, came to succour him with about foure thousand men. Then resuming a little courage, he comes out of his Fort, saving his Army from that present danger with great difficulty. Minucius hauing made a great flaughter before the Emies Fort, and not much leffe in the field, he retired with a wonderfull hope for the future. And three dayes after hee lodged in the Campe abandoned by the Enemies. For Hannibal fearing left the Romans by night should lodge in the Campe which he had left neere vnto Geryone. C and so get all the spoiles, he returned thither with speed with his whole

After this defeate, the Carthaginians were more wary how to forrage and goe for Corne, and contrariwife the Romans more hardy to undergoe dangers. In the meane time the newes of the victory was (according to the viuall manner) made farre greater then it had beene: fo as all the World reioyced. First for that they imagined that after so many losses, this was the beginning of a better fortune : and judge thereby, that the flacknesse and cowardize which had seemed to bee in D their Army, was not the fault of the Souldiers, but of the Dictator. And therefore all the World contemned Fabius, and held him to bee dull and a Coward. Contrariwise they did so highly extoll and praise Minucius, as they gave him equall power with the Dictator, the which had not beene formerly seene, hoping that hee would soone make an end of the Warres of Italy. Thus there were two Dictators at one time, and in one Aimy: which was a new

at Rome at one

Minucius

Minucius much more proud then it is credible, as well for his good fortune as the peoples fauour, grew so glorious as if the Enemies were already defeated and vanquished. Fabius fainted not, nor lost his courage, for the injury they had done vnto him, but returned to the Fabius returned Campe alwaies constant in his opinion. But when hee faw that his Gampe. Companion was much troubled to finde an occasion of fighting, fearing left hee should commit some folly, he gaue him the choice, either that one of them should for a certaine time, or every other day, or for a longer space, have the Gouernment of the Campe, or else the Roman Ar-A they should divide the Legions betwixt them after the manner of the my betwixt the Consuls, and that either of them should doe with his Acmy what two Divertors. hee pleased. Wherefore they parted their Troupes, and had their Campes separated about a Mile and an halfe distant one from a-When as Hannibal was aduertifed not onely by the Fugitiues, but

also of their actions, of the hatred betwixt the Commaunders, and of the ouerweening of Minucius, thinking that this would further his intention, he fought occasion to fight with him : hoping hee should easily abate his fury and presumption. There was a little Hill B betwixt Minucius Campe, and that of the Carthaginians: whereon whosoeuer seazed, it would proue very prejudiciall to the other. And when as Hannibal made hafte to get it, being certaine that Minucius would come to preuent him, as hee had other times done, he vsed this stratagem. First of all the whole Plaine betwirt them at The policy of the first fight seemed vnfit to lay an Ambush, being void of woods Hamibal, and bushes : Yet there were about it many turnings and hollow Rocks, where they might eafily hide Souldiers. Hee fends by

Night to these hollow places, according to the capacity which hee knew to bee in them, two hundred, and three hundred, and fine C hundred Horse together with fine thousand Foote. And to the end they should not bee discouered by the Forragers, hee send at the breake of day, some that were lightly armed, to take this Hill. The which when Minucius perceiued, contemping fo small a number, he marcht with his Army to repell the Enemy from thence. First hee fent those that were lightly armed, commaunding them to charge: then the Horse-men. Finally, hee followes with those that were compleatly armed, not changing the order which hee had held in other encounters. The fumme was now rifen, and all the World looked vpon this Hil. D The Ambushes were couered: Hannibal fent succours continually to his men, and afterwards followed with all his Cauallery. Finally, a Combare the the two Armies fought with all their Troupes: and in the end the Romans and Roman Foote-men that were lightly armed, were forced by the the Carthugi-Horse-men to retire to their Companions that were better armed. nians, Then the Ambush brake forth, and charged on all sides with great

cries, soas they not onely distressed and afficted those that were

lightly armed, but likewise the whole Army. The which Fabius

perceiuing, and fearing that the Roman Army might be wholy defeated,

Lib. 3.

Falius fuccours

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parts from his Campe and fuccours his Companion: At whose comming the Romans reioyced, and retired presently to their Ensignes, although they were broken and scattered here and there, with the losse of many Souldiers that were lightly Armed, and divers others of the Legions.

Hannibal seeing the Enemies re-inforced with Succours, and that they marcht directly towards him, he caused a Retreat to be sounded. Then all the Romans which were in the fight confessed publickly that the Vertue and Wisedome of Fabine, had saued the Roman Empire, which the ouer-weening of Minucius had loft and ruined. When as A the newes came to Rome, all the World knew plainly, what difference there is betwirt the ouer-weening and ignorance of Souldiers, and the iudgement and aduice of a wife Captaine. From that time the Romans contented themselues with one Campe, and all obeyed Fabius. The which I find related after this manner by another Author.

Speech.

THen the two Armies were returned to their owne Campes, Minucius haning bis Souldiers about bim fpake unto them in this manner. I have often heard fay, louing Souldiers, that hee is most Wife that can give good Councell, and tell what is to be done in his R difficult Affaires : And hee is next Wife that can obey him that giveth good councell : but heethat can neyther give good councell himfelfe, nor obey other mens councell, is of all others most ignorant and foolss. Seeing that Fortune bath denied ws the first of these Gifts , let us keepe the second, and whilf we learne to Rule, let vs propound unto our selnes to obey them that be Wife. Wherefore les vs ionne our Tents with Fabius, and when as you shall beare me saluse him as my Protector and Father you likewise shall Calute his Souldiers as your noble Patrons, by whose strength and resolution you are preserved this day. Whereupon they presently removed their Tents. and went to Fabius Campe, whereat he marnailed much. There Minucius fubmitted himfelfe and his men to the protection of Fabius, refigning C the authority of the Empire into his hands.

The Carthaginians thought to accomodate a place to passe the Winter having invironed it with Ditches, betwirt the Hill and their Campe, and fortified the top of the Hill with men and Pallifadoes. In the meane time the day of the Election of Confuls was come, where they deposed the Dictators, and made choise for Consuls of Lucius Emilius, and Caine Tarrentius Varro. And when as Emilius had created for Pro Consuls, the Consuls of the precedent Army, Cnew Serwilius and Marcus Attileus Regulus, who had beene subbrogated in the place of Flaminius, they tooke the charge of all the Troupes that were in the Campe, mannaging all the Affaires of Warre. The Confuls make a new Leuy of men to furnish their Army : and giue charge vnto the Pro Consuls, that they should not dare to fight a Battaile with the Carthaginians, but entertaine their Souldiers with light skirmishes, and invre the Youth to hardnesse and labour for the time to come : for that they imputed the defeats past vnto the ignorance and flacknesse of

Lucias Emilius and Cains Tare rencius chosen Confuls,

the Souldiers. Lucius Postumus was created Prætor, and sent into Lucius rostus. Gaule with an Army, to do the like vnto those Gaules which were in mus Prator. Hannibals service. They also provided Rowers for the Vessels which were at Lylibeum : And they fent what soeuer was necessary to the Captaines that were in Spaine. During these actions at Rome, Enew Sernilius, and his Companion Arrilius, following the Commaundment of the Confuls, did not any thing worthy of memory, but make light skirmishes, both by reason they were forbidden by the Consuls, and for the roughnesse of the Weather: Finally, they mannaged the affaires A wisely and with great policy. By this meanes the two Armies wintred in view one of another.

Hannibal dislodged in the beginning of the Spring, and leaving Geryona, (for that he had resolued so to presse the Romans, as they should be forced to come to a battaile,) hetakes the Fort of Naples, well fur- The Fort of nished with Corne and all other munition: For the Romans had drawne Naplestaken by thither a great quantity of Corne from Canufum, and other neighbour Hannibal Countries, wherewith the Campe was vsually Victualed. This done they were in great perplexity, not so much for the soffe of the munition, as for that the whole Country was left in prey to the enemy. They B fend men to Rome, to acquaint the Senate therewith, and that they might aduise what was to be done: For that they had resolued to give battaile if the Enemy approached: Seeing there was no meanes of flight, and that the whole Prouince was ruined, and their Allies wauered. The Senate sent them word that they should not attempt any thing, but expect the comming of the Confuls, whom they afterwards commaunded to depart. All the World had their eyes fixed vpon Paulus Emilius: They had their hope in him, aswell for his Wife. dome, as for that he had in former times done great exploits against the

Eing ready to depart, I finde it Written that Fabine stayed him for Da time, speaking thus vnto him. If thou good Lucius Emilius wert Fabius Speech matcht with a Companion like unso the Selfe, or if thou wert like unto line. thy Fellow, then were my Speech in vaine, which I will now make for you both, for being good Confuls you would worke effectually for the common wealth, although I should be filent. But if you were both bad, then would you neither heare my words, nor admit of my Councell. But knowing thy integrity, and the conditions of thy Companion, I fore-fee that thy goodnesse shall little availe the Common wealth, through the folly of thy Companion: So as the Common wealth doth halt, and is halfe lame; whereby enill Councell shall prenaile aswell as good. Whetefore to Thee onely my Speech tends, fore-telling Thee that Then Shalt have as much Warre wish thy fellow Tarentius , as with Hannibal : Neither doe I know which of them will be a more deadly enemy waso thee. For thou shals not onely fight with Hannibal in the field, but with thy fellow thou Shalt have continual Warre in all places, and at all times. With Hannibal thou shalt fight with thy Horses and foose men, but Varro will assatle thre with thine owne men. I pray thee remember Caius Flaminius, who being Confull and having his men

about him in his Campe, beganne to grow mad. This man (before hee was made Confull, and now being Confull, even in the Senate house, before hee fees his field or his enemy,) is already mad. And hee shat thus talketh among the Senators, what thinke you will he doe when her shalbe in the field among a number of fresh young Souldiers, where as one word speaking, all the matter shalbe decided. But in case be make haste to fight, as he saith he will, either I know not what belongesh to the Warre, or elfe we are like to

suffer greater losses, then we did at Trasimenum.

There is but one way to maintaine warre against Hannibal, the which I have fore-feene, and none will be found fo good to make him weary of Italy. A We are in our owne Country, having Gitties and faithfull Allies ready to assist vs at all times with Horse, Harnesse, Victualls, and all other necessaries. Hannibal is in a Strange Country among his enemies, farre from home, he looketh for no peace both by Sea or Land: Hee hath no Citties to receive him; he hath nothing but what he Stealeth, and taketh by rapine: he hath scarcely the third part of his Army left, which hee brought over Iberus: more are dead by famine then with the Sword; and heere hee can hardly feede those that are living. Wherefore doubt not but in sitting still, you shall vanquish such an Army, which decreasesh daily in strength, and cannot have their wants supplied. Thisis the onely meanes to dally and de- R ceine your enemy.

Varro desireth battaile, and Hannibal hath the like desire. Wherefore thou alone must wifely oppose thy selfe against them both, and regard not what they speake of thee, let not the vaine glory of thy Fellow, nor the falle aspertions which shalbe cast upon thee, moone thee to the contrary. Suffer thy Selfe to be called fearefull, flow, and unskilfull in the Warre. It is better to be feared of thy wife enemy, then to be praifed of thy foolish company. My meaning is , not that thou shouldest do nothing , but whatfocuer thou falt attempt, do it foberly, and according to reason, not rashly, trusting to Fortune follow not the occasions that the enemy will give Thee: And be not oner hasty ; for haste is blind and worketh vnfafely.

To these and his other Words the Consullanswered little, saying onely that were more true then easie to be followed: But hee would professe one thing, that his desire should alwayes be, to have things succeede well: But in case it should otherwise happen, hee would rather expose himselfe, to the danger of his enemies Weapons, then to the exclamations of his angry Citizens. With these words he parted out of the Citty, and went to the Campe with his hasty Companion. It was ordred that the Warres should be mannaged with eight Legions, D the which had neuer beene done, and that every Legion should confift of five thousand men. The Romans as we have sayd, make a compleate Army of foure Legions, euery Legion being foure thousand foote, and two hundred Horse, or else of fine thousand soote, and three hundred horse, if there be any great necessity. To the which they adde as many foote of theis Allies, and thrice as many Horse, All the Troupes are equally decided betwire the Confuls. Most commonly one Confull gives battaile with two Legions, and with the fuc-

A Legion of five thousand Men, and the mener how the Romans raife an Army

cours of their Allies. They seldome fight with all their Troupes. But the feare and amazement of the Romans, was then fo great of the Carthaginians, as they thought it fit not to fight onely with foure, but with eight Legions together. And therefore after they had given faire admonitions to the Consuls, and had laied before them the consequence of the affaires which way foeuer Fortune should turne, they Commaunded them to goe vnto the Campe intreating them to doe the duties of good men, in the administration of the Warre, as the Roman Maiesty required.

After the comming of the Confuls to the Campe, they mingled the new Bands to the old Army, and let many understand the will of the Senate, wishing the multitude to be of good Courage, confidering the season of the time: Wherewith Emilius made an Oration, where-

of this in a manner is the Substance.

Lib. 2.

That for losses lasely made, they should not faint like men amazed: Paulus Emiliat For the lokes in former Battailes had not hapned for one or two can. Speech vno fes, but for many. And if at this day they be Men of Courage and the Souldiers, Resolution, there was nothing could hinder, but they should obtaine a good. B by Villory. That never wnto this houre, the two Confuls had fought with all the Legions together, nor with more warlike Men, nor of greater Expersence. And if on the other fide they have made vice of young Men, and little acquainted with the Art of warre, and who moreouer were foill aduertised of the Enemies enterprizes, of the scituation of places, and the nature of the Region . So as many times they have found themselves in danger, when they had scarce seene the Enemy; which was a matter of great consequence : For they which were defeated in Gaule, neere wnto the River of Trebia, cameto fight without reason, never inquiring of the enemies enterprize, within three daies after their arrivall from Sicily; and they C which were neere unto the Lake of Peronza, were defeated before they

could see the enemy, by reason of a great Fogge. But now Companion, saith be all things are for us; for wee are two Confull vinited in one will, and the same forces, and we have with visthofe of the last yeare. And for your part, you have not onely scene the daily com.

bates, the order which Souldiers observe, and the enemies Troupes: But moreover behold the second yeare, wherein you have had experience of all this, in practifing your selues, and fighting continually. Wherefore seeing that things are contrary to those which hapned in former Battailes, is is not likely but the end should prooue otherwise. It is not credible, nay 1

say it is impossible, seeing that in fighting with the enemy with an equall number in somany incounters , you have parted Victors , that now you should be wanquished by them with all the Troupes, seeing you have a double

Sceing then Companions that you have the Victory in your owne hands, you have no more neede of our Counsell and care. I might make you a long ger Speech, if I did hold it necessary; for this must be expected from those which are mercenary, or being drawne from the Allies are Commaunders of an Army, so whom nothing is more troublefome then a day of Battaile.

Lib. 3.

In regard of those which are like unto us, whose lines are not onely in danger but their Country, Wines, and Children, whole remembrances happily should be of more force then any remonstrance.

What man is be that would not eyther wanquish in fighting . or die in the Combat, then to live in mifory, and attend so great a storme and pomerty? Courage Companions, consider with your selnes what a difference there is between vanquishing and to be vanquished, and what followes the one and the other, and prepare your felues to Battaile, fo as you will remember that it is not the Roman Army that is in danger, but the Country; and moreover the head of the World. What shall the Romans A have remaining after your defeat? They have put all their forces and power into your hands, and all their hope is in you. I intreate you for the ho. nour of the immortall Gods, that you would not frustrate their expectation. Teeld the thankes which you owe waso your Countrey, let all the world know, that the loffes formerly made, were not by the proweffe of the Carthaginians, more then by the Romans : but for that the Roman Souldiers were at that time new, and ignorant of the Warre.

After this Speech or the like, Emilius dismiss the Souldiers. Three dayes after the Army marcht towards the Enemies Campe, and on B the third day they planted themselues neare vnto them. But Emilius feeing that the Plaine was large, hee was not of opinion to fight with the Enemy: for that hee was stronger in Horse-men, and that they must draw them into some place where the Foote-men might haue the aduantage. Contrariwife Varro being of little experience in the Warre, was of aduice not to deferre the battaile, lest the Enemy should escape from them. And therefore these two Consuls were in contention and debate, which is the worst thing that can happen in a Campe.

That day (for they gouerne it by dayes) Varro had the Commaund: who dislodging from his Campe, made hafte to approach C neare vnto the Enemy, notwithstanding that Emilius opposed himfelfe to the contrary. Hannibal marcheth against them with his men lightly armed, and his Horse men, and assaults them with a fight more likely to their fore-runners, then to a pitcht Battaile. The Romans received them valiantly: Finally, the Night parted them. The Carthaginians having gotten little, retired to their

Camue.

A skirmish betwixt the Carthaginians and

Difcord bea

twist the two

Confuls.

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The Riuer of Fante.

And when as three dayes after Lucius Emilius had resolued not to fight, and could nor diffwade the other, hee divides the Army in- 13 to three, and fortifies two parts on this fide the River of Fance, which alone divides the Appenine Hills, and bending towards the Sea of Maly, runnes into the Adriatique. The other third part hee lodgeth on this fide the Riuer, about two Miles and an halfe distant from the other two, and in a manner as much from the Enemies Campe. When as Hannibal had found out a convenient place for his Horse men to fight in, and thinking that the Consuls would come to the Combat, hee began to put his men in Battaile: But

fearing that the Army was amazed, by reason of this last Fortune, hee resolued to preach vnto them. He drawes them together, and Hannibals commaunds them to looke vpon the Countrey which was about Speech vato him demanding of them what they could define of the Gods more his Souldiers, him, demaunding of them what they could defire of the Gods more beneficiall and profitable then the offer of a battaile, in those places where they might make vie of their Horse-men which were inuincible. And when as all had confest it freely, therefore saith hee, giue thankes first vnto the immortall Gods: for in preparing vs the Victory, they have brought the Enemy into this place of advantage for vs, and feeondly to vs, who by our industry and labour A haue forced them to come to fight. The Romans cannot flie, nor anoide the Combate, and therefore the battaile and victory is in your

The History of POLYBIVS.

I hold it folly now to perswade you to persorme the duties of braue men. It had beene well spoken, when you had no experience of the Roman Forces: the which at this present time wee made knowne vnto you by words and example. But what preaching can more inflame and encourage your hearts then the workes themselues : seeing you have obtained the Victory in three great severall battailes ? You haue beene Masters of the Field in the Combats past, and haue had a-B bundance of all things as wee haue promised you : So as hitherto I haue neuer failed of my promise. But the Combate at this day is for Townes and treasure: if you gaine this battell, you shall be Lords of all Italy.

Finally, after so many labours and dangers, being deliuered by this alone, you shall purchase the felicity of the Romans : You shall bee the Head and Emperours of all the World. For the effecting whereof, there is not any neede of words, but of effects By the will of the Gods before it be long, you shall all see by experience that I am a man of my promise. After these Remonstrances, hours commen-C ded their resolution, he planted his Campe upon the Kiuer-side, where the Enemies greatest forces lay. The day following hee commaunds them to treate themselves well, and to prepare themselves to battaile for the day following. And therefore at the third day he passed the River at the Sunne-riling, and put his men in battaile. But Emi- Hannibal puts lim (seeing that his Forces were not equall in that place, and know- his men in bate ing that Hannibal would distodge for want of victuals) came not out tailed of his Fort.

When as Hannibal had stayed some time there, seeing that hee had in vaine called the Enemies forth to fight, he retired the rest of his Army to the Campe, and fent the Numidians to charge those which came from the Romans leffer Campe to water : which they kept and detained from them, pursuing them with great cries vnto the Fort. Whereat Varre disdaining much, that the Roman Campe should bee annoyed by these men, was the more inslamed and encouraged vnto battaile. The whole multitude wished nor defired nothing more, so much the expectance in all things is tedious.

And

Lib. 3.

A great amazement at

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The Romansin old time very ceremonious.

Var, o offers battaile, and the order which he held.

men in bat-

The dinerfity of Swords be. swixt the Gaules and Spaniards.

Horfe.

And as in the meanetime the newes were come to Rome, that although the Armies were not lodged in a place to give battaile, vet they were one right against another, and that there were dayly encounters, all the World entred into great heavinesse and care. Certainly the Romans having received lately wonderfull great losses, feared much the future. Every man fore casts with him selfe what the Romans fortune would bee, after the defeate of this Army: All the World poured out threats against the Sybils Bookes, they saw nothing in the Temples and private houses but prodigies and strange fignes. And therefore the whole Citty was addicted to Prayers, to A facrifices to the Gods, and to Ceremonies: for the Romans are great obseruers, as well in publique as in private, in the time of Warre. neither doe they let passe any thing out of their rememberance which in reason they ought to doe.

Varro to whom the authority belonged the next day, at the Sunnerifing drawes forth the Armies out of both the Campes without the prinity of his Companion. And parting with those which were in the great Fort, hee ioynes vnto them those that were in the lesser.

Then putting his men in Battaile, hee places the Roman Horsemen vpon the right wing, which was necrest vnto the River. Next B to the which continuing the order, hee disposeth of the Foote-men, with the greatest number of Ensignes, and the closest Bands : and the Horse men of the Allies were vpon the left wing, and in Front The Roman Ar- those that were lightly armed. They were with their Allies, to the my of foure number of fourescore thousand Foote, and about fixe thousand Horse. Footeand fixe Hannibal paffing the River at the same time, sends them of Maiorque thousand Horse and Miner que with those that were lightly armed before : and pasfing the rest of the Army at two places, hee plants himselfe before the Enemy, ordring the Horse-men of Gaule and Spaine neere vn-The order which Hamibal ter which he sets Foote-men in the midst of the Affricans, who were held to put his armed to proofe, and after them the Gaules and Spaniards, and finally the rest of the Affricans: and on the right wing he lodgeth his Numidian Horse-men.

When he had put his whole Army in order, he placeth in the midsthe Troupes of Gaules and Spaniards: he ordered them in a crooked forme, and a weake figure, meaning that the Affricans should vndergoe the danger before them, as a safegard to the Battaile. The Affricans were armed in such fort, as you would have taken it for a Roman Battalion, by reason of the Armes which they had got - D tenat Trebia, and at the Lake of Perouza. The Gaules and Spaniards carried the like Targets, but their Swords differ'd : For the Spaniards were short, and therefore easie, werewith they did both thrust and strike: But the Gaules were long and without points. It my confilted of was a ftrange and terrible thing to fee the Gaules naked about the forcy thousand waiste, and the Spaniards attired in shirts of Linnen, wrought with Foote, and ten purpleafter the manner of their owne Countrey. There were ten thousand Horse, and aboue forty thousand Foote with the succours

that came from Gaule. Lucius Emilius led the right wing . and Tarrentius Varro the left : Marcus Attilius, and Cheine Sernilius gouerned the Battalion in the midft. And as for the Carthaginian Captaines, Asarabal led the left wing, Hanno the right, and Hannibal was in the middest with his Brother Mago. The Romans looked towards the South, and the Carthaginians to the North: but neither of them were annoyed with the Sunne.

After they had given warning to battaile, the encounters and skir. The battaile of mishes were for a time equall. But when as the Ganles and Spaniards of the left wing, had charged the Romans, the Combate was fierce the Romans A and cruell, so as they did not charge and recharge, but ioyning to- Horsemen by gether, they did fight Foote to Foote, and man to man, after the Gaultrand they had left their Horses. There the Carthaginians vanquished Spaniards. and flew most of the Ramans, fighting valiantly, and with great courage. In regard of the rest, they slew them retiring neare the River without any mercy or compassion: And then the Foote-men receiued those that were advantagiously armed, charging one another. The Spaniards and Gaules refifted the Romans valiantly for a short time, but being forced, they retired, breaking their Lunary order. Then the Roman Battalion pursuing with great courage, did easily disorder The Gaules B the Encinies Rankes: for that of the Gaules was weake, as having Battelian of fortified the hornes, being in the midst of the danger. Wherefore Foote broken the hornes and the midst were not equall: so as the midst of and remained he Gaules Battalion aduanced farre vpon the hornes, like an halfe Moone, againe. the crookednesse turning towards the Enemie.

Finally, the Romans pursuing them, marcht thorough without any refistance, so as at their coming they had vpon their Flancks the Affricans that were best armed, who covering themselves with their Targets, charg'd their Enemies vpon the fides thrusting with their swords. So as by the providence of Hannibal, the Romans were inclosed among the C Lybians, by the encounter which they had made against the Gaules. They did not fight by Battalion, but Man to Man, or by troupes, tur-

ning against those which charged them voon the Flancks. And although that Lucius Emilius, who commiunded the right wing, had beene in the Combat of the Horsemen, Yet hee was safe and well, meaning therefore that in giuing courage, his deedes should bee answerable to his words, feeing that the hope of Victory confifted in the Footemen, hee thrust into the hottest of the Battaile, where in fighting hee gaue courage to the Horsemen, the which Hannibal did in like Hannibal D manner. In the meane time the Numidians of the left wing with all their Horse-men, falling vpon the right wing of the Romans, they neither did nor suffred any thing that was worthy of memory, so equall were the two Troupes both in force and courage : yet they made the Romans unprofitable, scattering them heere and there. In the meane time Afarabal went to aide and succour the Affricans with the Horse-men of the lest wing. The which the Horse-men of the Roman Allies perceiuing, they presently turned head. Asarbal seeing this, performed the duty of a wife and discreet Captaine: and sent the



Lucias Emilian

Numidians_

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Numidians, (whom he knew were more in number, and terrible to make a chase,) to pursue them that fled, and went himselfe speedily with the Footmen to succour the Affricains: where affailing the Romans in the Reare, he fortified his owne Men, making a great flaughter of the Enemie. Lucius Emilius hauing receiued many wounds, died in this Batin the Battaile. taile: Hee was a Man who vnto his death had done good seruice vnto the Common-wealth. They write that Caius Lentulus a Tribune leading an empty horse in his hand as hee fled, sam Paulus the Consul sitting on a Rone, all couered with blood, to whom he faid : Lucius Emilius whom the Gods should hold innocent of this cruell staughter, take this borfe, whilest A any strength remaines within , and I being thy friend will lift thee up, and keepe thee on , lest thou make this Battaile dolefull thorough the death of a Comfull: wishout the which there is cause enough of mourning and weeping. Emilia Cocch Whereuntothe Confull answered, Caius Cornelius increase thou in vertue, but beware lest whilest thou doest bewaile this accident thou finde little time so escape thy selfe. Goe therefore and bid the Senate make strong the walls of Rome, and to fortifie it with Succours, before the Conquerour come : and tell Quintus Fabius fecretly, that Lucius Emilius Paulus doth constantly vemember his precepts, lineth in them, and will die in them. And I pray thee suffer me to passe this life, among these my dead Knights, lest by longer lin B uing, I become an accuser of my fellowe, defending my innocencie by the trefpaffe of another, and yet at length dye being held guilty of this action.

The Romans lofe the Batraile.

Varre flics with threefcore and ten Horfe.

Ten thouland Romans taken aliue.

Threefcore and ten thoufand flaine in the Battaile.

Hamibals

The Romans holding still good in so long and furious a Battaile, were in the end all flaine. Among the which died the Confuls of the precedent yeare, Marcus Attilius and Cneius Seruilius, brane men, and worthy of the Roman name. At the same time the Numidians ouertooke the horsemen which fled, whereof they slew a great number, and dismounted the rest. Some retired to Venusium: among the which was the Consull Varro, whose life was base, and his command unprofitable for his Country. Behold the end of the Battaile of Cannas, fo famous as C well for the victors as the vanquished: whereof the reason is, for that of fixe thousand Roman horse, there escaped but threescore and tenne to Fenulium with Varre; and of the Allies about three hundred scattered. here and there, who fled to the Neighbour Townes. And as for the Bands of Foote, the Enemie tooke about tenne thousand alive, so as there hardly escaped three thousand. The rest to the number of threescore and tenne thousand were slaine in the Battaile. The Carthaginians got not the victory without losse. There were slaine about foure thousand Gaules, fifteene hundred Affricains and Spaniards, and two hundred horse. The Romans which were taken aline were not in the Battaile: for Varre had left tenne thousand Men in the Campe, to the end that if Hamball led forth all his Army to fight, that in affailing the Enemies Campe whilest they were otherwise busic, they might spoile the Carshaginians Munition. And if Haniball left a sufficient Garrison for the Campe, then his Forces would be the leffe, for the Romans wete stronger in numbers of Men. Behold the manner how they were taken. Haniball had left a sufficient Garrison in his Campe to guard it: But when as the Romans faw the Battaile grow hot, they go voto the Campe

as they had resolved to besiege it. The Carthaginians detended themfelues: But for that the Romans charged them furiously, they were forced to abandon the place. In the meane time Hamibal having gotten an absolute victory, falls upon those which assailed his Campe, and put them to flight, shutting them vp within their Forts, of whom hee flewe two thousand, and tooke the rest. The Numidians on the other side brought vnto Hannibal the Roman horsemen, who slying, were dispierced in the Fields. Thus after the Battaile ended, neither of them were deceiued in their expectation: for presently the Carthaginians were Ma- Tarent, Capua sters of the Prouince, which they call great Greece, so as Tarent, Capua, and Naples te-A and Naples, came vnder their obedience, and all the Townes wanered for the obedience Hannibal, neither was he out of hope to take Rome speedily.

Finally, the Romans wholy dispairing of the Empire of Isaly, were in feare not onely of their owne ruine, but also of the whole Country, expecting housely their cruell Enemie at the walls of Rome. The Citie being thus troubled. Newes (to the end the measure of their miseries might be full) came from Gaule of the Defeat of Lucius Postumus the Lucius postumus Pretor, with his Army by an Ambush. Yet the Senate involved in so mu deteated many miseries, made a good shew; adulting the people to fortifie the in Gaule. Citie with Men, and to confider of their affaires with courage and con-B stancie. The which the things which succeeded afterwards did verifie,

for being now vanquished by the Carthaginians, and seeming to acquit unto them the glory of Armes, within short time after, by the constancie of the Common-wealth, and by the Councell and wisdome of the Senate, they came (after they had vanquished and ruined the Carthaginians) to be Lords not onely of Italy, but also of the whole world. And therefore we will conclude this booke, and likewife the actions of Spaine and Italy, which were during the hundreth and fortieth Olimpiade. And when we shall come to those of Greece, during the same Olimpiade, we will speake more at large of the Roman Common-wealth: For I holdic C not onely necessary for the Reader, for the knowledge of the History,

The end of the Third Booke of Polybius.

but also profitable, to correct and gouerne a Common-wealth.

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FOVRTH BOOKE of the History of POLYBIVS.



EE have in my opinion sufficiently shewed the causes of the second punique warre in this last Booke, and then the descent of Hannibal into Italy: Wee have also related many Combats betwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians, vnto the Battaile which was fought neere vnto the River of Pante, and the Towne of Cannes. Now wee will pursue the warres of Greece of the same time, deliuering in few words, the things men-

tioned by vs in the second Booke of the preparation of our worke, and especially of the Common-weale of the Acheins: Considering that their manner of gouernment tooke a great increase, as well before as in our time. And therefore beginning with the time of Tisamenes (one of the sonnes of Orestes) we have said that the Acheins lived from his time wnto the Reigne of Gyges, vnder Kings descending from him : And that having chased them away, the Citie being well aduised, gaue the gonernment vnto the Commons: Some few yeares after the Townes and Burroughes began to fall into diffention, by the meanes of the Lacede. monian Princes. Yet afterwards as we have faid, the Acheins reunited themselues, which was the first meanes that all Morea tooke the sirname of Acheins. Wee have moreover delivered their actions in perticular, vnto the Defeate of Cleomenes King of the Lacedemonians. And there we have concluded our preparation, with the death of Antigonus, Se.

Cleomenes.

Tifamenen

leuem, and Prolomy: for they all died in one Olimpiade. It rests now, The time of that in writing the Remainder, wee should begin there. The subject the death of Antigonas, Seseemes good: first, for that the deedes which Arate hath written, end leacus, and Pre. at that time, to the end that to continue the Narration of the Grecians lumy. actions, wee should prosecute (as wee haue promised) those which follow: And for that the times are so vnited, as one part hath beene in our age, and the other in the time of our Parents. By this meanes we have Popling within scene part, and heard the rest from those which have seene them. I nothing but what he hash haue not held it fit to fecke things farre off, nor to make a relation grow- frene, or re-A ing from heare-fay or report, for that I conceive it would not be profi- ceived from table for the Reader: And therefore let vs begin with the time, when these which had teen them;

as Fortune seemed to have made a new world. Philip the lawfull sonne of Demetrius, being in his younger yeares, had taken possession of the Philip. Empire of Macedon. Acheus Lord of all the Province neere vnto Tan- Acheus. rus, had not onely the Name of a King, but also the Forces. Antiochus Antiochus sirnamed great, succeeded his Brother Selencus lately dead, in the Realme Selencus. of Syria, although hee were but young: and Ariarates had taken the Realme of Capadocia. At the same time also Ptolomy Philopater had recomy Philogotten the Empire of Egipt: and soone after Lycurgus was chosen King Puter. B of the Lacedemonians. The Carthaginians likewise had chosen Hanni- Lycargus. bal for their Generall in the Warres as we have mentioned. And therefore it seemes that there was an alteration, seeing that all the Potentates were renewed, which is a naturall thing, and which happened at one

The Romans and Carthaginians made the warre which we have mentioned: and Antiochus and Ptolomy that of Syria. In regard of the Thecauses of Acheins and Philip, they had warre against the Etoliens and Lacedemo. the warre bemians. Whereof fee the causes. The Beoliens being long discontented twist the achievand philipping and contents of line wood and the state of the st with peace, were not content to live vpon their owne charges, as being ip, against the C accustomed to live vpon their Neighbours, for the necessity of their Etolien and great expences, by reason of their Naturall arrogancie, whereunto being subject, they lead a cruell and brutish life, observing no law of friendship nor alliance: so as all things are of good prize vnto them. And although that during the life of Antigonus, they did not stirre, fearing the forces of the Lacedemonians: Yet after his death when as Philip had succeeded him, they began (disdaining his youth) to seeke occasions of warre with them of Mores: and namely, for that by an ancient custome of injuries, they had vsed to rob and spoile at Sea: And that moreouer they held themselves more powerfull to make warre then the D Acheins.

Being in this humour, soone after they found this occasion, together with the fauour and fortune of their enterprize. Dormiache Triconee was sonne to Nicostrates, who violated the affaires of the Pambiotins: who being yet young and full of arrogancie and pride, an Etolien had beene sent by the Common-wealth to Phigalea: It is a Towne scitua- The scituation ted right against the Messenian Mountaines, and which by fortune was of Phigaira. then allied to the Etoliens. Hee let them understand that hee had beene fent thether to governe the Towne and the Country: Although they

The Etoliens

had done it of purpose to discouer the estate of Morea. But for that in regard of the alliance, they could not victuall the Pyrats, who wandring there abouts, retired to him to Phigalea for their Munition, and the rather for that the peace made with Antigonus continued still, hee aduised them to carry away the Meffeniens Cattell, who were their Friends and Allies. The which they began at the first to chase our of their limits: spoilethe Mef- and afterwards as their obstinacie increased by little and little, to ruine the houses in the night standing scattered in the Fields, and to spoile and ruine the whole Country. The Messense discontented herewith, send an Embassie to Derimache, to complaine of the outrages done by the Py. A rates, who at the first made no account of it, doing it partly for the benefit of the Pyrates, and partly for his owne interest, having a share in the Booty. But being often prest by Embassies, by reason of the continuance of the wrongs, he told them that he would be soone at Messens to doe them right, for the complaints they made against the Ecoliens. Being arrived, and that many presented themselves vnto him having bin wronged, hee sent some away with scoffes: others with injuries, and some he terrified with bigge and outragious words. During these purfuits at Mellena, the Pyrates came in the night to a Burrough called Chiron, and tooke it by Scalado, and facking and spoiling it, they slewe some B of those which were found in Armes, and carrie away the rest Prisoners with the Cattell.

The Etoliens take Chiron by Scalade.

> The Mesenians being more incensed herewith, considering his Prefence, and finally thinking that they were deluded, they cause him to come before the Magistrates. By good fortune Schiron, a man of good esteeme, and at that time Governour of the Messens, was of opinion. not to suffer Dorimache to part out of the Towne, before hee had reftored the spoiles which the Pyrates had made, and repaired the houses in the Country, and deliuered those which had committed the Murthers. And when as all the affembly approued of this Councell, Dorimache inflamed with choller, told them shey were fooles, and if in doing that, they thought to wrong Derimache, and not the Eteliens : And that more. ouer they did him great wrong, and that within a short time revenge would be taken.

Babyethe.

There was at that time in Messena a man of base condition, called Babyrthe, fo like in face, body, lineaments, and voyce to Dorimache, that if they had given him his Crowne and Robe, you could hardly have difcern'd them. This Dorimache knew well. And when he vied proud and audatious words to the Meseniens, Schiron grew into choller, telling him, thinkest thou that we care for thee or Babyrthe for this thy rashnes. D After which words, Dorimache thought good to strike saile, restoring to the Meseniens all the pillage. And going then to Etolia, he tooke this speech of Schiron so to heart, as without any other cause he made warre against the Messeniens. At that time Ariston was chiefe of the Esoliens, who by reason of the weakenesse of his body, growne by a long infirmity, could not mannage this warre. Although hee were allied to Scope and to Dorimache, yet he gaue the conduct to Dorimache. But he durst not openly incense the Etoliens to make warre against the Messe-

Atiffen.

niens : for that hee could not propound for a sufficient cause, as grow. ing onely voon choller for an iniury spoken to him. And therefore leaving this aduice, hee adresseth himselfe to Scope in private, perfivading him to oppose himselfe against the Messens: being then affured of the Macedonians, by reason of the minority of their King, for that Philip had not seauenteene yeares compleate : and that moreouer the Lacedemonians held northe party of the Messeniens, acquainting him with the Friendship and alliance hee had with the Grecians. Wherefore hee found not any man that could hinder his passage to A Mesena. Then hee propounded vnto him with an Etolien perswasion. the great profite that would redowne thereby: confidering that all the Countrey lived in affurance, and that they alone had not felt the Cle. omenique Warre : and that finally the Etoliens would bee well pleafed, and ready to doe them honour vnto the vtmost of their ability

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As for the Acheins, they would give them occasion of Warre, if they fought to hinder their voyage: But if they did not budge, they would passe easily to Messena: and for that the Messeniens had made a promise to the Acheins and Masedonians, to enter into their league, Warte attempt R they gaue sufficient occasion of Warre. Having vsed a long Speech red by the Res touching this enterprize, hee soone moued Scope and his Friends, as liens against without affembling the people, or attending the will of the Ma. Morea. giftrates, or observing any order of future, they made Warre against the Messeniers, the Epirotes, Acheins, Acarnanieus, and

Macedonians. Wherefore they presently sent forth many Pirates. who encountred with the royall ship of Macedony, laden, and carriedit to Etolia, where they fold the Pilots and Marriners, and in the

end the ship.

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Then they ranne along the Empire, spoyling all those which they met, being affilted by the cephalonien Vessels, to commit their outrages, taking Townes by Treason. For in Acarnania them tooke Orea, and seized upon a Castle which is in the midst of the Megalopolitains Countrey, which they call Claire, by men whom they had secretly sent into Mores: whereof making vie afterwards for a retreate, they committed great spoiles at Sea. At that time Timoxenes which was Chiefe of the Acheins, tooke the Towne of Taurionteken Taurion by affault, the which Antigonia had taken in the time of the by affault, Warre of Morea.

You must vaderstand that King Anigonus held Corinthe with the D good liking of the Acheins, as we have shewed heretofore, in speaking of the Cleomenique War: But he had not restored Orchomenes vnto them. the which hee had taken by force, and had made himselfe Lord thereof, requesting and defiring (as it seemes) not onely to have an entry into Morea, but also to keepe the heart thereof by meanes of the Garrison of Orchomenes.

Derimache and Scope making great choise of the time, when as Timoxenes had not no many dayes to continue and stay in his Magiftracy, and that Arase who was to succeede him, could not execute

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his office, they affembled the Etoliens neere vnto the Mountaine of Rhie: and having prepared the Cephalonian ships, they sayled to Morea: and in passing by the Coasts of the Patrenses, Pharences, and Tritenses, they march against the Messeniens. It had beene forbidden not to doe any outrage to the Acheins. But who can prescribe an order to a multitude, who spoile all where they come? Comming in the end to Phigalea, and making their attempt against the Messe. niens, without any regard of their ancient Friendship, and without any feare of God or Men, they ouer-runne and spoile the Countrey, putting all to fire and fword. In the meane time the Messeni- A ens finding themselves too weake, kept themselves close within their Towne.

The time of election approaching for the Acheins, they affembled at Eges, whereas holding their Diet, when as the Embassadours of Patres on the one side, and those of Phares on the other, made their complaints for the outrages done by the *Etoliens*, and that on the other fide the Messeniens demanded Succours with great compasfion, they were induced, partly by the wrongs done vnto their Allies, and moued partly with pitty, which they had of the Messeniens, being likewise discontented that the Etoliens had past their Ar-B my thorow their Countrey without their privity, they resolved to giue succours to the Messeniens, and thereby to accustome the Acheins to Warre: and what the assemblies double ordsige, should be observed. Timexenes chiefe of the Acheins, who was not yet depofed, fearing to make any attempt, as if there were no other meanes but the multitude: for that after the Warre of Cleamenes, when as all quarrels were pacified, hee knew well that the people of Morea were given to pleasure, and that making no more accompt of Warre, they were growne idle.

Contrariwife, Arate not able to endure the outrage done vnto his Allies, and incenfed the prefumption of the Etoliens, remembring in like manner their ancient hatred, hee made haste to cause the cheins to take Armes, and to fight with the Etoliens. And therefore flue dayes before hee fould enter into the Magistracy, hee received the Seale from Timoxenes, and wrote vnto the Towne, willing them to leuiemen, and to assemble at Megalepelis. But before wee proceede. I have thought good to speake something of his nature and disposition.

Arate was a man perfect in all things for the Gouernment of a City: The dispension for hee spake well, and had a good invention; being also diligent, D and of execution: There was not his equall to endure a Civill diffention patiently, nor to contract leagues and alliances. Finally, hee was a wife and different man in his Magistracy and charge, and to lay Ambushes for his Enemy, bringing them vnto a good end by his labour and patience. Whereof there are many proofes and testimos nies, but especially for that he deliuered Sieven and Mantinea to the Acheins: and had taken Pellene from the Etoliens. Hee likewise conquered the Grong Fort of Corinthe, which they call Acrocorinthe.

Yet if hee were to fight, he was careleffe to take Councell, and fainthearted in the fight. Wherefore he filled Mores, with the triumph The divers of the spoiles taken by him : so as Nature hath more mely framed a di. Naures of uersity in mens bodies, but also in their soules : So us many times the same man doth not carry himselfe onely in diners, things, and the man in some; and flacke in others : But also lice dot la many times in one and the fame action make thew of extreame weste, and fortietimes of incredible flackneffe : fo as forietimes her feemes a man of great courage, and another time very fewefull. Thele are no france A things, but vitall, and well knowne vitto those that doe observe them. Wee likewise see many men in hunting to bee wonderfull hardy against the cruellest sauage Beatts that can bee found : whom if you leade to the Warre against the Enemy, would be found Cowards and faint hearted. You shall likewise finde many in the Warrewhich are resolute ro fight man to man, but in a pitcht Battaile are

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It is certaine that the Horse-men of Thessaly being joyned together, The nature of are not to bee forc't in a Battaile, but if you charge them by fmall the Theff Jonie Troupes, it is easie to cut'them in peeces: the which is contrary in and B the Etoliens. They of Candy are the most active men in the World, Etoliens. as well for Combateat Sea and Land, for Ambushes, Robberies, Etoisens. Rapines, surprizes in the Night, and for all manner of deceipts : But in a pirche Bassaile, they are funt-hearted Gowards, and of no feruice. To whom the Acheins and Maredonians are quite contrary. I have delinered these things in few words, to the end that no man should maruaile, nor give lesse credit to the History, if fometimes wee shew that one and the same man hath carried himselfe diversly in the like affaires. Let vs now returne where wee

After the affembly had beene made at Megalapolis, of able men for C the Warre, the Meseniens came agains to the Acheins, intreating them The Messagninian ro helpe and affift them, being fo apparently wronged by the Bioliens: feckethe alliand desiring withall if it were their good pleasure to bee received in- acteins, to their league, hereafter to beare the necessary charges for the prefernation thereof. The cheife of the Acheins make answere, that as for the alliance, they could not hearken unto it, for that it was not in their power and ability to receive or favour any one without the consent of Philip and the other Allies : For that the accord continued yet firme, which had beene made in the time of the Cleome-D nique Warre, vnder the command of Antigonus, betwirt the Acheins, Epirotes, Phocenfes, Macedonians, Beociens, Arcadians, and Theffalians. And yet they would willingly give them fuecours, so as they will give their Children for hostages vnto the Acheins: promifing neuer to make peace, nor any accord with the Eroliens, without the consent of the Acheins. It is true, the Lacedemonians had drawne downe an Army necre vnto Megalopolis, not fo much in regard of their Alliance, as to fee the euent of the

When as Arate had thus concluded with the Melleniens, he fends an Embassia to the Etoltens, fignifying vnto them to retire their Army tetothe Etc. Out of the Mesemiens Countrey, and that hereafter they hould doe them no wrong, nor touch the Acheins Countrey: And if they did otherwise, hee declared himselfe their Enemy. Scope and Dorimache, having heard the Embassadours charge, and being aduertifed of the preparation of the Acheins, thought good to yeeld vnto Arata. Wherefore they feat Letters presently into Cylene to Aristo, chiefe of the Etoliens requiring thipping: and two daies after they narted, causing the Baggage to march before, taking their way to- A wards the Elienfes: a people which had beene alwayes faithfull to the Etoliens. But Arate thinking simply they had gone away, as they had resolved, gave leave to all his Bands to retire vnto their houses : and went directly to Patras, accompanied onely with three thousand Foote and three hundred Horse, which were under the charge and command of Taurion, to cut off the Enemies

Dorimache being advertised, and fearing they should hinder the passage, hee sent all the booty with a good Conuoy to the ships, gi uing charge to those which had the conduct, that they should come and R meete him at Rhie, where he had resolued to imbarke. When he had conducted the booty a little way, hee prefently turnes head and comes to complete. Delug there advertised that Taurion was about Clitoria with his Troupes, fearing that he fliould not be able to imbarke at Rhie without fighting or danger, hee held it best to fight presently with Arate, who had but small Troopes, and was ignorant of his Enterprize. Hee conceived that hee should make his retreate fafely that way which he had resolued, if he defeated the Enemy, in running the whole Province, before the Acheins should make a new head: and if they fled the Combate for feare, hee should passe where hee pleased without danger. Dorimache moued C with these reasons, seated his Campe neere vnto Methydrie, which The errour of is not farre from Megalopolis. The Acheins advertised of the comming of the Etoliens, made so little vse of those things which were visible, as they forgot nothing that might augment and increase their folly. First, in leaving Clitoria, they planted their Campencere vnto Caphies.

And when as the Etoliens parting from Methydrie, had past at ora chomene, the Acheins marcht by the Countrey of the Caphiens, being inclosed with a River, as with a Rampier. The Etoliens fearing D to fight with the Enemy according to their first resolution, as well for the difficulty of the places, (for there were before the River Ditches and inaccessible places) as for the comming of the Acheins. They marcht vnto Oligarte in good order, being loath that any one should force them to runnne into danger. When as the Bands of Horse-men followed them vpon a Plaine neere vnto them, Arate sent the Footmen that were lightly armed after the Horse-men, vnder the conduct of Asarnane, giving them charge to fight with them, and to trie

the Fortune wherein hee committed a great errour, for feeing hee had an intene to fight, he should not have charged them in the Rearc, for that they were not farre from the Mountaines, but in fronty, before they should have gorten the top : By this meanes the Battaile had beene in the Plaine. Whereby vindoubtedly the Etoliens had beene defeated by reason of their kind of Armes and order. Contrariwise Arate by bad aduice left vnto the Enemies the opportunity of the place, and of time which was offred him. When as the Etoliens faw the Acheins march, they vsed all diligence to gaine the Mountaine, making hafte to ioyne with their Foote-men. Arases men not duely A confidering what had beene done, and being ignorant of the Enemies enterprize, when they saw the Horse-men runne, they sent those that were lightly armed of two wings, thinking it had beene a flight : and give them charge to succour the Horse and Foote. Then Arase marched with the rest much discontented, making a long wing. The Etolien Horse-men approaching to the Foote of the Mountaines, began to march a flow pace, and called downetheir Foote-men with great cries : who comming suddainly to succour them, and seeing they were not fewer in number then the Enemy, they turned head Afight betwin against the Achein Horse men, and charged them, for that they and the Eroli-B had an aduantage in the number of men, and the opportunity of the en. place.

The Compare was fierce on either fide, and the victory for a time was in suspence. Finally, the Achein Horse-men were iepuls'd. And when as they which were lightly armed . which had beene fent to fuecour them, met with them that fled, they were forced to doe the like being amazed with this new accident, and partly broken by them that Acd. So as the defeate was but of fine hundred, whereas the flight was of aboue two thousand. The Etoliens seeing plainely what they had to doe, purfued the Acheins with cries and ioy. Who think-C ing to finde their men in Battaile where they had left them, retired to Arase. And therefore their flight in the beginning was honest. and for their fafety. But when as they faw them diflodge, and to come A defeate of by files, and in diforder, then some slying here and there, sought for the deleins, their fafety : others marching directly to their owne men, disordred one another without any Enemy : Finally, they all flie, and faue themselues in the neighbour Townes : for Orchomenes and Caphies were not farre off, otherwise they had beene all taken or slaine that day. Thus the Acheins were defeated neere vnto Caphies.

The Megalopolitains being aduertised, that the Etoliens had planted their Campeneere vnto Methydrie, they affembled all with one consent, and went to Field three dayes after the Battaile, to succour the Acheins: but they were forced to bury those, with whom they did hope to fight against the Enemy. And therefore they made a great Ditch, wherein they put all the dead Bodies, and performed their obsequies after the manner of the Countrey. The Etoliens being Victors, past through Mroea without feare of danger. At what time after they had fought divers wayes to gaine the Pellenefiens, and

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had ruined the Country of the Sicyoniens, in the end they retired by the Arcight of the Ithmu. These were the causes of the warre of the Allies, whereof wee have formerly spoken: whereof the beginning was by a Decree which was afterwards made among the Allies, and confirmed at Corinthe: where they were all affembled for that cause: Philip King of Macedon confenting thereunto.

Arath blamed by the Acheins.

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Some few dayes after, the Acheins being affembled, they blamed Arate both in publique and private, as if he had beene the cause of this defeat and losse, and the Commons were the more inflamed, for that the Enemies league made it to seeme greater. First, it seemed hee had A committed a great fault, to have leazed voon the Magistracie before his time, and to have made enterprizes doing another mans office: wherein hee had many times before beene unfortunate. But it seemed hee had done worse, diffoluing the Acheins Army, the Etolien Commaunders being still in the midst of Morea. Thirdly, that being ill accompanied, he had given Battaile without force: confidering that hee might cafily haue retired to the Neighbour Townes, vntill the Acheins had made a new head: and then give Battaile if he had thought it fit. Finally, that hee had carried himselfe so inconsiderately, that in leaving the Plaines (where without doubt his Men had beene the stronger) he had affailed B the Enemie in the Mountaines with Souldiers lightly armed: whereby

the Etoliens could have no greater advantage.
Yet fuddainly when as Arete was returned, and and and the late the affembly, and that he began to deliuer the things which he had formerly done for the publique good, and had made knowne the causes of the last Defeat, and given them to understand that he was not the cause thereof. as his Enemies had falfly flaundred him: and that finally hee would have craved pardon, letting them know that if hee had committed any fault, the Asheins should not consider the event of things, so bittetly nor with fuch rigour, but with fauour and mildnesse, the opinion of the Commons was suddainly so changed, as where before they seem'd to be wonderfully incensed against Arate, they sodainly turned their choller against his ill-willers, so as from that time they followed the Councell and opinion of Arate. These things happened in the hundred and nine and thirtieth Olympiade, and those which follow in the hundred

and fortieth.

The aduice of the Acheins touching the Warreagainst the Liefigs:.

It was then resolved by the Acheins, to send Embassies to the Epirotes. Peociens, Phocenfes, Acarnaniens, and to Philip King of Macedon, to let them understand that the Etoliens had entred twice into Acheia, contrary to the former accords: and likewife to demaund fuccours according to the league', and moreover that the Messeniens might bee receiued: and that the chiefe of the Acheins might leavie five thousand Foote, and five hundred Horfe, and fuccour the Messeniens, if the Eteliens did reassaile them. Finally, that he might agree with the Lacedome. mians and Messens, touching the number of Foote and Horse, which they should keepe ready for the common affaires of the league. After these things thus resolved, the Achiens stomacking the Deseate whereof we have spoken, did not forget the Meseniens affaires, nor their resolu-

tion. The Embassadours execute their charge diligently. The chiefe likewise assemble the youth as it had beene decreed, and agree with the Lacedemonians and Messeniens, that either of them should furnish two thousand five hundred Foote, and two hundred and fifty Horse, to the end that the whole might amount to tenthouland Foote, and a thousand Horse. The time being come, when as the Etoliens were to hold their Diet, they affembled the Commons, and consulted how to make a peace with the Lacedemonians and Messeniens, and with other people their neighbours, being forced partly by pouerty, and A partly weakned by the Acheins Allies. As for the Acheins, they resolued to contract with them, if they would leave the Alliance of the Messens: But if they would holdit still, they were of aduice to make Warre against them, which was a most idle and sencelesse thing. For being allied to the Acheins and Messeniens, they declared Warre of the Etelieni against the Acheins, if they contracted any Friendship or alliance with the Meseniens: and contrariwise a peace was confirmed, if they held them for their Enemies. And therefore their villany could not take place, by reason of the contrariety of their subtill invention.

The Epirotes and Philip having heard the Embassadours charge, receiued the Messens into the league : and although they disliked the outrages of the Esoliens, yet it seemed they made no great accompt of it: for that they had done no new aftion, confidering they had been accombanied to such things. Wherefore they willingly continued a peace with them. Thus sometimes outrages growne old and continued, are sooner pardoned then those of new date. The Etoliens vsing this course of life, in ruining Greece by their incursions, and making Warre many times before they declared it, did not vouchfafe to answer to the complaints: Many times also they made no accompt, and mockt at those which demanded satisfaction, for those things C which they had done, or would dec. And although that the Lagedemonians had beene lately restored to liberty by Antigonia, by meanes of the Acheins, having promited to Philip and the Macedonians, not to arrempt any thing against them , yet they sent an Embassie secretly to the Etoliens, and confirmed friend thip and alliance with them.

When as the Acheins Army was affembled, and the faccours of the Lacedemonians and Meffeniens ready, as it had beene decreed : Seerdi. Demotrine. laide, and Demetrius fayling from Sclauonia with fourescore and ten Vessels, past to Lisse, contrary to the accord made with the Romans. And attempting first to take Pyle, they were shamefully repuls'd after D some dayes siege. Demetrius afterwards made a voyage with fifty Saile vnto the Cyclades, and spoiles the Ilands, taking some by Treafon. Scerdilaide with the other forty, drawes towards Nanpacle, relying vpon the friendship of Amiclas King of the Atheniens, to whom he was allied. There an accord was made with the Etoliens, by the meanes of Agelaus, that in marching with them into Achaia they should The descent of divide the booty by halfes. The which being concluded betwixt seardiade, 4. Scerdilaide and Agelans, Dorimache, and Scope, they entred in gelans, Dorito Acheia with an Army of Etoliens and Sclanonians, the Towne into Acheia,

of the Sithians being of their party. Ariston chiefe of the Etoliens stayed at home, saying that he had peace and no warre with the Acheins, as if hee had beene ignorant of the Enterprize: which was a simple and idle course. Is there any thing more foolish, then to thinke long to couer with words things that are plaine and euident ? This done Dorimache comes with his men to Cynethe with wonderfull speed. The Cruethenles were tormented with great divisions and seditions, having beene long time Areadiens: whereas many murthers had beene committed, with Banishments, Rapes, and Spoiles: Finally it fell out, that they which held the Acheins party, had the command of the Towne, A Wherefore their chiefe men, and the guards of their Towne were of Acheia. Matters standing in this estate some yeares before the descent of the Etoliens, when as the banished men had sent to them of the Towne, intreating them to receive them into grace and concord, the Gouernours perswaded by their words, sent an Embassie to the Acheins, desiring to make this peace and agreement with their Councell and aduice. Whereunto the Acheins consented, for that they conceived that the affection and love of the one and the other, would by this meanes be more firme vnto them, confidering that they which were within had all their hope in them, and that the banished men would conceive, that they had beene preserved by the benefit of the Acheins: The Cynethenses sent backe the Garrison of the Acheins with their Captaine, and called the banished men into their Towne, which were to the number of three hundred, in taking their Faith with Oathes, whereby men may bemost religiously bound.

But presently after they were received into the Towns, they resolved among themselves to betray it, and to be revenged on those which had preserved them, without any consideration of the cause of this new praclife: So as I am of opinion, that at the time when they facrificed, and gaue their Faith and Oathes, that even then they resolved to contemne the Gods, and vie cruelty towards those which had faued their liues: for they had scarce set footing within the Towne, but they called the Etoliens to deliner it vnto them. The bufinesse was mannaged in this manner. Some of the banished men, were created Polemarches: It is a Magistrate which hath charge of shutting of the Gates, and keeping the keyes at night, and in the day time to attend the Guard thereof. The Etoliens having their ladders and other things necessary, attended the execution of the enterprize. The Polemarches flew their Companions which were not of their faction, and opened the Gate. This done, the Etoliens entred, some by the Gate, some by Ladders. The whole Citie being D troubled by this new accident, ranne vp and downe full of feare and lamentation: for that they could not runne to the Gate, for that the Enemies cast themselves from the walls, neither could they goe to the walls, for that they came by multitudes in at the Gate. And thus the Etoliens by the Etaliens, tooke the Towne presently, where among all the outrages which they committed, they did one act of great inflice, for they flew all the Traytors, and spoiled their goods. The like they did to others, taking away all their substance. Men were tormented to confesse their Goods, if

they had hidden away, and many others staine. Hauing thus taken the Towne, and after some sewe dayes leaving a sufficient Garrison, they marcht with their Army towards Lufes. Where approaching neere to Diana's Temple, which is betwixt Cliteria and Cynethe, and is held by the Grecians as a place of Freedome, they had an intent to carry, away the Cattell of the Goddesse, and to rauish all the Treasure of the Temple. But the Lustates offered them part to temper their wickednesse. The which being received, the Etoliens parting from thence, planted their

At that time Arate, chiefe of the Acheins, had sent an Embassie to Philip for succours, and had affembled the choyce of the youth from all parts, and demanded from the Lacedemonians and Messeniens, the number of men, which they were to furnish by the accord- The Etoliens The Chytoriens began first to perswade the Clytoriens, to leave the alliance of the Ache, affaulted by the ins and to imbrace their party. The which being refused, they tormented them with divers affaults, and scaling the walls, they laboured to enter the Towne: But for that the Inhabitants defended themselues couragiously, they rais'd the Siege, being in despaire to take it : and returned to Cynethe, spoiling the Sheepe and Cattell of the Goddesse, mea-B ning to deliuer the Towne to the Elienses: Vpon refusall they resolved

to keepe it, making Euripides Captaine. But being afterwards terrified with the Newes of the fuccours of Macedon, and the proparation of the Acheins, they burnett, and taking their wayes againe towards Rhie, they comehe burne resolued to passe there. Taurion aduertised that the Esoliens marcht, by the Esoliens and of the ruine of Cynethe, and that Demetrius of Phareh, was come from the Cyclades to Cenchrea, hee perswaded him to succour the Acheins, and to hinder the passage of the Etoliens, in transporting the ships by

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Demetrius had parted from the Iland with profit, but with little ho-C nour, for that the Rhodiens came against him with an Army at Sea, hee yielded easily to Taurion: and the rather for that he furnished the neceffary expences the transport of the Shippes, wherefore after hee had transported them, and was aduertised that the Etoliens were past two dayes before, hee fail'd againe to Corinthe, after he had spoiled some of the Etoliens Coasts: with whom the Lacedemonians having secret intelligence (as we have faid) they deferr'd to fend the fuccours promifed by the accord, sending onely some Horse and Foot for a colour. Arate made shew to his people, that for the present hee would performe the duty of a Citizen, rather then of a Captaine without any trouble, for the

D remembrance of the losse which he had made, vntill that Scope and Dorimache were retired, hauing ruined the whole Prouince, and what they pleased: although it were no difficult thing to deseat them in their rough and narrow passages. And although the Cynethenses had suffered a wonderfull loffe of all their goods, and were in a manner all flaine, yet the world held them worthy of the punishment which they endured.

And for that the people of Arcadia haue a certaine fame and re- The customes nowne of good men, not onely for their easie kinde of life, and their of the dicadigood dispositions, and great honesty towards all the world, but also for ant

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the honour and reverence they beare vnto the Gods. I have thought it good to relate in few words, fomething concerning the rudenesse of the Cyneshenfes, and to let the world understand (seeing they were held to be Arcadians) how they did so much differ from the other Grecians of that time, in wickednesse and cruelty. For my part I thinke this hath happened, for that they have beene the first and the onely men which among all the Arcadians have neglected that which their Ancestors had wifely inuented.

Musique prothe world.

The Games

of Children

and Youth.

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It is certaine that Musique, (I meane true Musique) is profitable to all the world, and necessary for the Arcadians. Neither is that true which Epharus (speaking without reason) writes in the Proeme of his Histories, that Mulique is invented to deceive and abuse men: Neither must wee thinke that the ancient Candyots and Lacedemonians, had without reason, preferr'd the Flute and Songs before the Trumper in Warre: Neither had the ancient Arcadians Musique in so great honour in their Common-wealth, as they not onely caused Children to learne it, but also young men vnto the age of thirty yeares, who otherwise were rude and vaciuall. It is no vaknowne thing, that in Areadia alone, they did accustome their children from their infancies, to sing praises in Hymnes, by the which enery one did vse to commend the Angels of his Birth, B vertuous Men, and the Gods. And after all this they doe yearely make Games to father Taker, with Sease and Dances, infructed in the Disciplines of Philosenes, and Tymotheus. And those of Unideen, are catled the Games of Children, and the others the Games of Youth: Finally, all their life is adicted to this kinde of finging, not fo much for the pleasure they take to heare the Musique, as to excite them to sing together. Moreouer, if any one be ignorant in other Arts, it is held no fhame: but none of them may be ignorant of Musique: for they learne it by necessity: Neither may he confesse that he understands it not, for that among them is reputed infamous. Finally, the young men doe vearely present Shewes and Games in the Theater to the Burgesses, with Songs and Dances, at the publique charge. Which things (in my opinion) were wisely invented by their Ancestors, Not for lacinious. nesse or delights, but for that they see the continual toile of the people in manuring the land, with a rudenesse and brutishnesse of life, and more ouer with an aufteere kinde of living, which proceedes from the coldnesse and roughnesse of the Ayre, to the which of necessity we growe

It is apparent that the Region of heaven; made Nations to differ in their manner of living, in their forme and complexion, and in many dif. ciplines. Seeking then to make Nature pleafing and tractable, which of it selfe seemes fierce and rude, they first propounded all those things which we have mentioned, and afterwards common affemblies, and many facrifices, where as men and women frequented, and finally danced of Virgins and Children. All which things they have done to the end that that which by Nature was rude in the hearts of men, might be made milde and pleafing by custome. But for as much as the Cynethenses, after some tract of time, became to disdaine these things, which

of the ruine of Cynoshenfes,

were about all things necessary for them, (inhabiting in the coldest part of Arcadia) they grew in a short time to such a rudenesse of life, as there was not any Citic in Greece, where there were more villanies and Murthers committed. The testimony of their wicked life is most manifest, for that the other people of Arcadia detested their manner of lining: For at what time as they fent an Embaffie to Sparta, after this great fedition, in what Towne so ever they entred during their voyage, they were chased away ignominiously, and forbidden to returne: and the Mantiniens, after their departure, purged the Citie, and all places there-A abouts with facrifices.

We have related these things, to adulfe the Cities of Arcadia, not to giue ouer the custome of their Countrey : and to the end men should nor thinke that they were so much given to the Musique of lasciniousnesse, and that by this meanes no man should mocke at their custome: I haue also done it for the loue of the Cynethenses: to the end (the Gods permitting it) that in punishing them, they may leade a better life and loue Musique, for it is the meanes by the which they may leaue their naturall Rusticitie. Seeing then we have spoken sufficiently of the Cynethenses manner of living, and of their ruine, let vs returne where

The Etoliens having over-runne all Morea, and put the Country to fire and fword, returned to their houses. Einally, while Klug of Macedon, Philipcones came to Corinello Ulccour the Achiens with an Army, But hearing to Corinello. that all was past, he sends post to his Allies, aduising them to send men vnto him to Corinthe, to conferre of their common affaires. In the meane time he causeth his Army to martch towards Tegee, for that he A mutiale was aduertised that the Lacedemonians were in mutinic among them. among the felues. And for that they had lived long vnder Kings, and had thenrecouered their liberty vnder the conduct of Antigonus, being subject to C no man, they fell into divers factions, every man feeking to have autho-

rity in the Common-wealth aboue his fellow. There were two among the Gouernours, which held their Councell fo secret, as no man could discouer it: the rest to the number of three, carried themselues openly for the Etolien party, being confident that Philip confidering his age, could make no alteration in Morea. But when as contrary to their hope and expectation, they had newes of the flight of Ecoliens in Morea, and of the comming of Philip King of Macedon: These three Gouernours of the Citie, having no confidence in one of the other two, called Adimant, for that knowing their secrets, he seemed to dislike of their pro-D ceedings, and fearing that at the comming of Fhilip all would be discouered. They declared themselues to certaine young men, and afterwards caused all the people to affemble in Armes, at Iuno's Temple, by

the found of the Trumpet, as if the Macedonians were come against the Spartains: who fuddainly affembled upon this new accident. Adimant difliking this, came into the affembly, faying: The Trumper should have sounded some dayes past, and this assembly of men in Armes should have beene made, when as wee heard that the Esolient, Enemies to the Lacedemonians, approached their Mountaines, not now

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The Murcher of the Gouer. nours of the Lacedemonians.

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Ambassadous fent from La cedemon to Philip.

Alexanderthe

when as we are aduertised, that the Macedonians our Benefactors and preseruers came with their King. And whilest he continued this speech, the voung men falling vpon him, flew him cruelly, with Sthenelans, Alcamenes, Thyestes, Byonides, and divers others. As for Polyphonse, hee retired with his friends to Philip, having long before forefeene the fu-

Things passing in this manner, the Lacedemonian Gouernours sent an Embassie to the King to lay the wrong vpon them that were slaine, and to perswade him to proceede no farther, vntill that all the troubles of the Citie were pacified: Giuing him to vnderstand, that the Lacede. A monians kept their faith and friendship with the Macedonians inviolable. The Ambassadours meeting the King neere vnto the Mountaine of Parthenia, deliuered their charge. Who being heard, Philip aduited them to returne speedily, and to aduertise the Gouernours that hee would foone returne with his Army to Tegee, and that they should presently send the chiefe of their Citie to Corinthe, to conferre of their present

By this meanes the Ambassadours being returned, and having acquainted them with Philips answere, the Gouernours sent him tenne of the chiefe of the Citic, among the which omias was the first, who com- B ming to Tegee, and entring into the Kings privile Councell, they yied difgracefull speeches of Adimant and his confederates: as if he had bin the cause of this Mutinie. Finally, they omitted nothing, which they thought fit to purchase the Kings love, promising to doe any thing; whereby it should appeare plainely, that they continued constant in the Kings alliance and friend thip.

Hauing deliuered these things, the Lacedemonians went out of the Councell. The Macedonians were of divers opinions concerning these affaires: for some being aduertised of the Enterprizes, which the Spartains made with the Etoliens, being also of opinion, that Adimans @ had beene flaine for the loue he bare vnto the Macedonians, beganne to counsell the King, to make the Lacedemonians an example to others, as Alexander had done the Thebains, when he came to be King. The other Senators faid, that this kinde of punishment was more rigorous then their deedes deserued, and that they should onely let the offenders know their offence, and deprine them of the government of the Common-weale, and give it to his friends. All which being heard, the King deliuered his opinion, (if it be credible that it was his owne) for it is not likely that a young man who had scarce attained the age of seauenteene yeares, could give iudgement in fo great affaires. But it becomes a Hi-D storiographer to attribute the resolution taken in Councell to Princes, by whose will all things are gouerned. So they which read or heare this History, must conceiue that these kinde of sentences proceede from those which are the wisest, and necrest vnto Princes: as if they should attribute this to Arate, who at that time was in great authority with the

railips with and Philip therefore faid, that if the Allies attempted any thing in particular among themselues, it did not concerne him, but onely to warne (Mete)

them by words or letters : But if they offended their Allies openly. they must receiue a publique punishment, and that the Lacedemanians had not infringed the common alliance in any thing, but contrariwile had offred to doe all things for the Macedonians : and that moreouer hee must not study to intreate them worse; considering that it were against reason, to take reuenge on those for a light cause, who being Enemies his Father had pardoned. The Kings Sentence being confirtned, Petreus a Friend to Philip, was presently appointed to goe to Lacedemon with the Embassie, having charge to adule the Spar-A tans to line in Friendship, and to take an Oath for the preservation of their Faith and League.

The History of POLYBIVS.

In the meane time Philip razeth his Campe, and returnes to Corinthe, leaning a great hope in the Allies of his good disposition, hauing vied the Lacedemonians to graciously. And having found the

Embassadours of the Allies at Corinthe, who were assembled there by his command, they began to hold a Councell for the common af divers people faires of Greece, where as all with one voice, had the actions of the against the E. Etoliens in execuation. The Beeciens charged them that in the time tollens.

of peace they had spoyled Minerna's Temple : and the Phacenses B that having planted their Campe neere vnto Ambryse and Daulia, they had a resolution to take them. The Epirotes shewed that they had put all their Countrey to fire and fword : the dearnapians that they had attempted to take a very rich Towne in the Night by Scala. doe. Finally, the Acheins propounded, sharthey had taken Caria belonging to Megalopolis: That they had other run and spoiled the Bounds of Patras and Phare, and put Cynethe to fire and fword, and then razed it : And moleouer, had spoiled Diana's Temple at Lufes, and befieged the Clitoriens : and that finally they had made Warre at Sea to

Pyle, and at Land to Megalopolis, loyning with the Sclauonians. The Councell of the Allies hearing these things, all with one confent concluded to make Warre against the Etoliens. It was refolued in Conneell, that all they should bee received into the league, whose warre conclu-Townes of Prouinces had beene taken by the Braltens after the death ded against the of Demetrins, who was Father to Philip. And that moreover they which through the necessity of the time had beene forced to make an alliance with the Etoliens, should be restored to their former liberty. and it should bee lawfull for them to live according to the Lawes and customes of their owne Countries. Finally, they ordained that the Amphictions should be restored to their Lawes, and have the superintendency of the Temple, which at that time the Esoliens, held, out, who had made themselves Lords. When as these things had beene thus resolved, the first yeare of the hundred and sortieth Olympiade, fuddainly elle Warre of the Allies was kindled, which tooke its inf beginning from the outrages done by the Bioliens, whereof we have spoken. They that were in the assembly, fint presently to the Allies. to advertise them, that according vnto that which had beene ordayned, curry one for his part should make Warre against the Eteliens. Moreover, Philip writes vato the Esoliens, that if they

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would answere any thing to that they were charged, they should send vnto him: And that they were mad with folly, if spoiling and ruining all the World without any open Warre, they which were vninftly wronged, would not feeke reuenge: and that in doing fo, they would be held to begin the Warre. The Etoliens having received thefe Letters, making no stay for the Kings comming, appointed a day to goe to Rhie, to meete the King. But when as they were aduettised of that which had beene concluded in the affembly, they fent a Post vnto the King, to let him understand that they could not resolue any thing concerning the affaires of the Common-weale, before the Etoliens had A

called an affembly.

The Acheins having held their Diet at Egia according to their custome, they confirmed the resolution : and presently signified Warre to the Etoliens. In the meane time Philip comming to Egia, vsed a gracious and friendly Speech vnto them, the Acheins embraced his words with great affection, renuing that ancient Friendship which they had held with his Predecessours. At that time the day of the Election was come, and the Etoliens had made choice of Scope for their Captaine, who had beene the first Author of the former alterations. Wherevpon I know not what to fay: for a warre mannaged by a com- R mon consent; a spoile committed by souldiers vpon al their neighbours. not to punish such crimes; to advance and honour the Captaines, and Heads of fuch actions, feemes to mee an absolute villany. For how can wee otherwise call this kind of Malice ? That which I say, is manifest herein. When as Phebidius had violated the Cadmian league, the Lacedemonians punished the Authour of the crime, yet they did not with-draw their Garrisons : as on the other side, it is fit to make satisfaction for the vniust wrongs committed. The Thebains did otherwise: For when as by a publique edict, they had restored the Townes to their liberty, and to their owne Lawes, according to the Antalcidan peace, yet they did not depriue the Magistrates. And when as C having a league with the Mantinieus, they had ruined them, they faid they had done them no wrong for that they had transported them from one Towne into many. Hee is simple, and accompanied with Malice, who shutting his owne eyes, thinkes he is not seene. Beleeue me, Enuy hath beene a great occasion of the mischiefe of these two Citties: Entry the caule the which no man of judgement should follow in his private or publique affaires. But when as Philip had received money from the Acheins. hee retired into Macedons with his Army, to leuie men, and to make necessary preparations for the Warre. Finally, hee left a great hope of Clemency, not onely in the Allies, but throughout all Greece, for the conclusion which was generally confirmed.

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scope chosen

Head of the

Etoliens,

Phebidius.

Thesethings were done at such time as Hannibal chiefe of the Carthaginians, belieged Sagons after that he had conquered all beyond the Riuer of Ebro. If then the beginning of Hannibals actions fall out at the fame time with those of Greece, it is apparent that we have not vnaduifedly related his vallour in the last Booke; considering that wee follow the order of time. And for that the Affaires of Italy, Greece, and

Alia, had their proper beginnings, and their commentands, it harh beene necessary to make a particular relation of either of them, vitill wee come vnto the time : when the faid affaires being intermixe together, have begun to draw vnto the same end. By this meanes there. lation of enery part is more manifest, and the vniting of all more plaine. You must vnderstand, that they were intermixt and turned to the same end, in the third yeare of the hundred and fortieth Olympiade. Wherefore we will relate in common that which followed. As for that which was before this time, we have delivered it in particular, every thing in A its place in the last Booke : to the end that the time should not only fol-

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low, but there should be an vnion of all things. Philip wintring in Macedony, made a new leuie of men, and neceffary prouisions for the Warre : he fortified the Townes against the attempt of the Barbarians, which dwelt about Sparta. Afterwards he went to Seerdilaide, with whom hee made a league, promissing him aide and succours to pacific the affaires of Sclanonia; and in The difference blaming the Esoliens, he perswaded him to what he would: For a pri- betwixt a prinate initing doth not differ from a publique, but by the number and mate and pub. greatnesse of things which happen. It is also an ordinary thing that lique initing. the alliance of wicked men is cafily broken, if Equity and Inflice bee not observed. The which happened at that time to the Etoliens. You must vinderstand, that when as they had compounded with Scerdi-laide, that the Booty mould bee equally divided, if hee would fall vponthe Acheins with them; who giving credit to their words, marcht with them to Gynethe, where after the taking and razing thereof, the Etoliens carried away great store of Gold, and a great number of Cattell, dividing the Booty among themselves, whereof they did frustrate scerdilaide. Wherefore he grew into choller and indignati-On : and when as Philip put him in minde thereof, hee suddainly confirmed the alliance under these Conditions: that he should have twelve thousand Crownes yearely, and should saile with thirty ships, making Warre by Sea against the Etoliens. Behold the things with such like which Philip contriued. In the meane time the Embaladours fent ynto the Allies arrived, first in Acarnania: whereas letting them underfland what they were enjoyned, they presently and freely confirme what had beene decreed, and make Warre against the Etoliens : ale though they had beene to bee pardoned, if they had forborne longer then the reft : confidering that for their neighbourhood, they feemed to haue just cause of seare, and that they had formerly had experience of D what consequence the hatred of the Reolians was vnto them, and for that they alone might be ruined. It is true, and I am of opinion, that honest men, and such as respect their honour, should hold nothing more deare, then to give order that their duty may in no fort be forgotten, the which the Acarnanians have alwayes observed about all the The commend Grecians, although they had but a small beginning : whereby it follows, that no man hould forbeare to make this people a Companion in hit affaires: for they have naturally something in them that is generous and noble, and defirous of liberty. The Epirotes on the other fide, after

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they had heard what the Embassadours had in charge, they allowed of the resolution : Yet they made answere, that they would not make War against the Essiens, before they were advertised that Philip had begun it. And afterwards they made answer to an Embassie of the Etoliens, that they had decreed to maintaine peace with them, shewing themselues in such affaires fearefull and inconstant. For they sent Embaffadours vnto King Ptolomy , to intreate him not to furnish the Etoliens against Philip and his Allies, with money, victuals, or any other

Answeres to-Embaffadours.

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The blame of the Epiretes,

But the Messeniens (for whose cause this Warre was kindled) and swered the Embassadours, that they would not make Warre against the Etoliens, before they had recoucred (by the meanes of their Allies) the Towne of Phigalea, scituated in the Mountaines, which then the Etoliens detained from them vniustly. Which aduice was giuen by Oenes and Nicippus, Gouernours of the Towne, with the confent of some of the principall, notwithstanding that the Commons opposed. Wherein I conceiue they understood not their Duty, nor the profit of their Common-wealth. I am of opinion that we should flie and avoide Warre, but not in such fort, that weeishould choose to endure, and suffer all things rather then to enter into it. But why R should wee commend an equality in a Common-wealth, or Faith, or the name of liberty which is so pleasing, if there were any thing to be preferr'd to peace? I doe not commend the about airs. Who in the time of the Warre of Media, madechoice of it for feare, to free themselves from the common calamity and danger of all Greece, whereby they were after ruined. Neither am I of the opinion of Pindarus. who in his Poches exhorts the Burgefles, that in neglecting all other things, they should onely seeke for peace and rest : and having sought for peace, hee defines it to bee the end of reft and a cleare light. But when as hee thought to have spoken with great perswasions, soone after hee deliuered a sentence, the most scandalous and incommodious C thing in the World. It is true that peace is a most excellent thing, if it bee iust and honest. Yet wee may not doe an vnreasonable act, nor suffer an infamy to enioy it. It is certaine that the Gouernours and chiefe men of Messene, having a regard to their private profits, were much inclined to peace, which was not reasonable. Wherefore as often the times were propitious vnto them, according to their defires. and sometime dangerous, they fell continually into the same inconvenience : fo as alwayes having the fame refolution to keepe the peace. they many times brought their Countrey into great danger. Where-The Mellenium of I conceiue the cause was, for that they were Neighbours to two alwayes friends principall Citties of Greece, that is to fay, the Arcadians, to whom to the Arcadi- they had beene alwayes Allies and Friends, and the Lacedemonians, to ans, and Euserdimmians, Ty themselves as Enemies to the Lacedemonians, or Friends to the Arcadians: By this meanes they lived in peace, when as the faid Citties made war betwixt themselues, or with other. But when as the Lacedemonians (after they had made a peace with their other enemies) ran vpon them,

they were forced to serue them wish ignominy: or abandon the Countrey with their Wiues and Children, to avoide feruitude: Confidering that they were not able with their owne forces to refift the power of the Lacedemonians, nor to defend themselves with the helpe and succor of the Arcadians, whose Friendship they were not able to keepe. The which hath often happened vnto them of late years. . I pray unto God if it bec his will, that the estate wherein the affaires of Morea now stands, may be such, as that which wee haue to say, may not take place. Yet if there happen any alteration, I see but one hope A for the Messenses and Megalopolitains, to preserve and defend their Countrey, if following the sentence of Epaminoudas, they live alwayes well vnited, and gouerne their Councels and Affaires with one consent, whereof they have ancient testimonies of the truth. The Messens as Califines doth report, erected a Pillar in the Temple of Iupiter of Lyce, in the time of Aristomenes, on the which these Verses were ingrauen.

> Time on a wicked King bash vengeance showne. The Traytour to the Messaine state loue hath made knowns: Nor could hee shunne the most revengefull fate Of Ione, who favours the Arcadian flate.

You must vnderstand that for as much as they had beene chased from their Countrey, they wrote these Verses, as meaning to pray vnto the Gods for their fecond Countrey. For the which in my conceit they had good reason. For the Areadians not onely received them into their Citty, during the Warre of Aristomenes, being banished and chased away, making them Burgesses, and assisting them with Councell and Wealth : But they also suffered them to marry their Daughters vnto their Sonnes. Moreouer, hauing examined the Treason of King Aristocrates, they not onely put him cruelly to differently death, bur punished all the Race proceeding from so wicked a stocke. But leaving the times past, let vs come to things of a fresher Date, and are happened fince this alliance betwirt the two Citties, which gaug

fufficient reflimony of that which we have spoken.

You must understand that at what time the Lacedemonians began (after that great Victory which the Grecians had neere vnto Mantinea by the death of Epaminondas) to enter into hope to make the Messeniens subject, not comprehending them in the accord, the Megalo-D politains and all the Citties of the league tooke these things so to heart for the Messeniens, as presently they received them into their Alliance, and excluded the Lacedemonians alone of all the Grecians. Matters standing in this estate, who will not thinke but weehad reason to fay that which wee haue formerly spoken? Wee haue continued this discourse of the Arcadians and Messeniens at length, to the end that remembring the outrages which the Lacedemonians had many times done them, they should continue alwayes true and constant in their Faith and Friendship : and that for no feare of Bb 2

their

their affaires, nor for any defire of peace, they should neuer abandon one another when it concernes their fafety. But let vs returne now to the discourse where we left.

The Lacedemonians according to their manner of living, fent backe the Embassadours of the league without any answere : they were so sottish and ouer-weening. Wherefore I hold that to bee true, which is commonly spoken, that ouer-weening doth many times make men mad, and drawes them to ruine. After all these things, when as the new Megistrates were created, they which in the beginning made that fedition in the Common-wealth, and were the cause of the Murthers before mentioned, fent to the Etoliens, requiring them to fend an Embassie. The which when they had casily obtained, and that Machate Embassadour for the Esoliens, was come to Lacedemon, they goe presently to the Governours of the Citty, telling them, that they must assemble the people to heare this Embassie, and to create according to the custome of the Countrey: and that they must no longer suffer the Empire of the Heraclidis to be lost, contrary to the Lawes of the Citty. And although the Gouernours were difcontented to fee the present estate of their affaires, yet not able to resist their force, fearing also the young men, they made answere, that as for Kings, they would B aduise of it afterwards, and presently they would affemble the people to heare Machate.

The affembly being made, they caused semplate to enter, who began to periwade them to imbrace the alliance of the Etoliens: blaming the Macedonians much without reason, and speaking many false things in praise of the Esoliens. Having ended his speech, there was a long debate among the people, and their opinions were divers : for some held it fit to follow the Etolien party, and to embrace their alliance: others were of a contrary opinion, infifting that they should preserve the Friendship of the Macedonians. Finally, after that some Senators were risen, and had put them in minde of the benefits of Anti- C gonus, and of the Macedonians, and of the loffe they had in the time of Carixenes and Timee, when as the Etoliens entred the Sparsains Countrey, and put all to fire and fword, attempting to surprize the Towne. restoring the banished men by force and policy, they caused many to change their opinion : and in the end the people were perswaded to entertaine their Friendship with Philip and the Macedonians. Matters thus decided, Machatereturnes into Etolia, having effected nothing of that for which hee came. The Heads of this Mutiny, whereof wee haue fpoken, being discontented herewith, began to plot a most cruell Enterprize.

Soone after the Youth were to affemble in Armes, to performe a Sacrifice which was done yearely, after the manner of the Countrey in Pallas Temple, where the Gouernours of the Citty had the authority, and continued some dayes in the Temple. Wherefore they corrupted some of the Yong men which should be there in Armes with gifts.who at a time appointed amongst them, seeing the Gouernors busie at the Sacrifices, should assaile them suddainly, and kill them like Sheepe. And

although they were in the Temple, the which the Eucedemonians honoured as a Sanctuary, and where all malefactors, (although they were The murther condemned to dye) were in latety, yet the infolence of men was growne of the Latedeto fo great a cruelty, as they flew all the Magistrates before the Altars, monian Gouerand on the Tables of the Goddesse. The like they did for a nour by the and on the Tables of the Goddesse. The like they did afterwards to young men, the Senators, which had followed the opinion of Herides. Finally, after they had chased out of their Citie those that were opposite to the Esoliens, they created new Magistrares of their owne faction: making 2 league with the Etoliens- By this meanes they declared themselves at A league made one instant Enemies to the Acheins, and vnthankfull to the Macedoni- betweene the A ans. They had a great hope in the loue of Cleomenes, whose comming Lacedemonians and Realisms.

they expected with great affection. Beleeue mee, the mildnesse and courtefie of Princes hath fo great power, as it leaves in the hearts of The power of men, nor onely by their presence, but also by their absence, a generall elemencie id zeale of lone and good will towards them.

The Lacedemonians having the Gouernment of their Commonwealth, almost for the space of three yeares, after that Cleomenes had beene chased away, they neuer thought of chusing a King: But when they had newes of his death, they had an humour to chuse one: whereof the first Authors of this practise, were the heads of the sedition, who B had made the league with the Etoliens. Wherefore they elected (according to their lawes and customes) for one of their Kings, one named Agesipoles, being yet very young, the sonne of Agesipoles, who was sonne to Cleombrotus. It happened that he raigned at such time, as Leonides was deposed from the Magistracie: for that hee was the necrest of that race. And they gaue him for Tutor Cleamenes, the fonne of Cleambre. ins, and brother to Agesipales. And although that Archidamus had two sonnes by the daughter of Hippomedon, who was sonne to Eude-

mides: and Hippomedon living still, who was sonne to Agestlans, and Nephew to Endemides: and that there were many others of the same C blood, yet they made choise for their King, (making no account of the rest nor of their race) of Licurgus, who was of another house, and had Licurgusche no expectance to raigne. In truth it was faid, that he was of the race of feaking. Hercules, and created King of Sparta, in gluing to every one of the Magistrates fixe hundred Crownes.

Thus you fee that all wicked things have alwayes beene fet to faile. But it was not long but the heads of this crime suffered the punishment of their folly and ouer-weening. Machate advertised of that which had beene done at Lacedemon, returnes againe to Sparta, and perswades the Kings and Magistrates to make warre against the Acheins, saying, that D by this meanes, the ambition of those Latedemonians, which held the contrary party, and fled the alliance of the Esoliens, might be eafily supprest. When as the Kings and Magistrates were perswaded by his Marchatepres words, he returned into Etolia, having done what he defired by the fol-ly of the Lacedomonians. Afterwards Liana has the defired by the fol-enterprize. ly of the Lacedemonians. Afterwards Lieurgm leuying mercenary men, and affembling the people of the Citie, enters into the limits of the Argines: whom he affailes vnprouided, expecting no fuch vlage from the Lacedemonians: And suddainly takes Polychne, Parsie, Lence, Cyphiai Townestaken

Carinenes. Timee.

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Machate fent

from the Eto.

liens to the La-

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and some other of their Burroughes, putting all the Countrey to fire and fword. These things being done, the Lacedemonians declared warre against the Acheins. And in the meane time Machate went to the other neighbour Townes, perswading them as he had done the Lacedemoni-By this meanes the Btoliens (to whom all things succeeded happily) vndertooke the warre boldly. Contrariwise, all things were auerle to the Aecheins. For King Philip (in whom they chiefely relied) did but then leuie men: the Epirotes had not yet begun the warre with the Etoliens, and the Messens lived in peace. The Etoliens having drawne vnto them the Elienses, and Lacedemonians, prest the Acheins of all sides. It happened that Arasel had left the government, and his some Arate was chosen chiefe of the Acheins, and that Scope was Captaine Generall of the Etolien Army, but he was not to stay long in it: for the Etoliens at that time made their election, after the middest of September, and the Acheins about the beginning of May.

Summer being past, when as young Arate had undertaken the gouernment, all the warres in a manner had one beginning. For Hanibal prepared at that time for the fiege of Sagons: The Romans fent Lucius Emilius into Sclauonia against Demetrius of Phare: Antiochus began the warre in Syria, by the meanes of Ptolomais and Antyrus, which were de- B. linered vnto him in treason by Theodotus : and Ptolomy against Antiochus. Licargus to follow Cleamens, befigged Ashence, a Towns of the Mega-lopolitains. The Acheins leuied both Horse and Foote. Philip parted from Macedon with his Army, having about tenne thousand Leginaries. and five thousand men arm'd with Targets, and about eight hundred Horse. This was the proparation for warre at that time. The Rhodiens made warre at the same time against the Constantinopolitains for some fuch causes. The Constantinopolitains inhabit a City strong by scituation. The feituation and wonderfull commodious to finde all things that may give content vnto man: For it is so well seated upon the Gulse of Pontus, as no Marchant can enter nor goe forth, but at the mercy of Conffantinople. And as the Pontique Sca, brings any things necessary for man, the Constantimodelitains are the Masters: for the Countries there-abouts supplies them with great aboundance of Leather for their common vie and a great multitude of Stags, and they fend to vs honey for daintineffe, wax. flesh salted, and such like things: They draw also from vs other things which abound in our Countries, as Oyles, and all forts of Wines: Somtimes they furnish Wheat, and we doe the like to them.

These are the things whereof the Grecians make vie. or else the year would bee unprofitable vnto them; whereas the Constantinopolitains should shew themselves malicious in allying themselves to the Gaules or to any other barbarous Neighbours: So as the Grecians should be forced to abandon the Pontique Sea, for the straightnesse of the places, and the multitude of Barbarians. Wherefore the Constantinopolitains have great commodities by reason of their scituation, transporting those things whereof they abound, and drawing vnto them what they want without any paine or danger. They are also very profitable to the other Cities of Greece. And therefore the Greeians did honour and

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esteeme them worthy, to whom they not onely give thanks, but they are bound to give them Succours against the Barbarians, as doing good to all men. We have thought good to shew the cause, why this Citie is so happy: for that there are many which know not the nature and property of the place: and it hath beene alwayes our defire, that fuch things might come to the knowledge of many: and that if it might be, they might be visible to the eye, if not, yet at the lest as much as should be possible, they might be comprehended in the vnderstanding.

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The Sea then which they call Pontique, hath in circuit two and twen- The election ty thousand surlongs, or there-abouts, having two mouthes opposite one the Pontique to the other: whereof the one comes from Proponia, and the other Sea. from the blacke Sea, the which hath in circuit eight thousand furlongs. But for that divers great Rivers fall from Affa into it, and more out of Europe, it sometimes flowes into the Pontique Sea by its mouth, and from thence into Propossis. The Mouth of the blacke Sea is called Boffborus ci-Bosphorus Cimeriques, and is thirty furlongs broad, and threescore in miriques.

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As for the mouth of the Pontique Sea, it is called the streight of con-Stantinople, whose length is not in every place equall: for from the Propontis the space betwixt Chalcedon, and Constantinople, containes soureteene furlongs, and from the Pontique Sea, the which they call Fanum, Gituated in Afa (whereas Iafon first as they sacrificed to the twelve Gods, returning from 10016hos) is distant from Europe tenne furlongs. Moreouer, they deliuer two reasons, why the blacke Sea and the Pon-Two causes tique runne continually: whereof the one is well knowne, for that the why the black water encreaseth by the multitude of Rivers which fall continually into Sea and the Pontique run it, and having no other meanes to voide it, it must of necessity encrease, continually, fo as it is forced to passe away by its mouth. The other is, that the bottome is fill'd with aboundance of fand, which the Rivers bring continually into it : fo as the water is forced to swell, and so to passe away. These are the true causes of their course, which neede not the relation of Marchants to purchase credit, but onely of naturall reason, which is the

truest testimony that can be found. But feeing wee are fallen vpon this discourse, wee must not omit any thing, (as many Historiographers doe) to seeke out the secrets of Nature: and wee must vie (as much as possibly wee may) a demonstrative relation, to the end wee may leave nothing in doubt to those which defire to understand. Neither were it fitting in these times, (when as all things have beene discourred) to seeke the testimony of Poets or fabu-D lous Writers in doubtfull things: the which former Historiographers

By this meanes, as Heraclides faith, they have not propounded teftimonies worthy of credit, in doubtfull things, and which are in debate. Wee therefore say that the Pontique Sea fills it selfe continually with fand, which the Rivers bring into it, and that in time it will be made euen with the land. The like we fay of the blacke Sea, fo as the scituation of places continue as wee fee them at this day, and that the caufes of the fand which fall continually into it cease not. For seeing the time

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is infinite, and the bottomes whereof wee speake are enclosed with certaine limits, it is manifest, that by a long succession of time, they would be fill'd up by the descent of that which falls into them, bee it never so little. fo as it continues. And for that the fands which are brought into them, are of no small quantity, but in a manner infinite, it is apparent that what wee fay will soone happen: and wee see it partly already, for that the blacke Sea is in a manner fill'd vp: for, the greatest depth hath not aboue five fathome, or seaven at the most, wherefore they cannot faile without great Ships, vnlesse the Marriners towe them off by their Masts. And although in the beginning the blacke Sea was like vnto the A Pontique in talte, as the Ancients confesse, Yet it is now a very sweete Marish: for that the sea hath beene surmounted by aboundance of fands, and the many sweete Rivers which fall into it. The like will happen to the Pontique, and begins already: But it cannot be so easily discovered by reason of the great depth. And yet if we shall observe it well, we shall finde it evident: for there are made within it by the substance (which by the descent is carryed, for that the Danome enters by many mouthes) hills which the Marriners call Shelfes, a daies journey from the shore: where many times in the night they suffer Shipwracke.

The shelfes in the Sta.

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Behold the cause why these Shelfes are rather made farre within the Sea, then neere the shore: for the greater force the River hath in their course, driving the waves into the least is necessary that the fand and other substance should be carried farre into it : And whereas the violency of the Rivers ceafeth by reason of the depth of the Sea rather then by a naturall reason, all the sands sinke and findes a bottome where it staves. Wherefore it happens that the shelfes of swiftest Rivers are found farthest into the Sea, and their depth neere vnto the shore; where as they which have a flow course, are not farre from the mouth. Finally, wee must not wonder at the great quantity of wood, stone, and fand, which is carried into the Pontique Sea: for that many times wee fee a torrent or land flood overflowe a great Countrey in a floor time. carrying away earth and stone. So as it sometimes happens, there is fuch an alteration made of a great Countrey, as in feeing it foone after, we doe scarce know it. Wherefore wee must not wonder, if so many and fuch great Rivers fall continually into the Pontique Sea, in the end fill it vp: for this is not onely likely, but also necessary, if wee will diligently examine the reason, the likelihood it should proue so, is great, for as much as the Pontique Sea differs from ours, for that the blacke Sea is sweeter. Wherefore it followes, that when as the Pontique D Sea hath past as much more time as the blacke, for that it is of a greater depth, it will be sweet and moorish like vnto it : and the sooner, for that there are more Rivers, and greater fallen into it. Wee have spoken these things for those which thinke that the Pontique Sea cannot bee fill'dvp, nor become moorish, being now a full Sea. Wee have likewife done it, for that Saylors report such variety of lyes, to the end that like children we should not alwayes give credit vnto them, for that wee have not visited the places: and that having some knowledge of the tructh.

rrueth, we may discouer whether that which they relate be true or false. But let vs returne to the commodity of the scituation of Constantinople, as the length of the Sea, which ioynes the Pontique, and the Propontis hath fixe score furlongs, and that FANAM limits the part which is from the Pontique Sea, and Constantinople.

On the other which is from the Proponies, there stands a Temple betwist both, which they call the refuge of Europe, feated vpon a Promontory on the mouth of the Pontique Sea, and is diftant from Afia fine furlongs. It is scituated vpon the greatest streight of the Sea, where as King Darius made a Bridge as they report, at such time as hee King Darius. A made a descent against the Sythians. From the Pontique Sea vnto this place the Waues runne equally, for that the shores of either side are of one distance. But when it comes to the refuge of Europe, where. (as we haue said) the Sea is narrowest, the Water of the Pontique Sea Europe. beats violently vpon the opposite Country, and those places of Asia which are right against it : Then it doubles its course, against the Promontory of Europeneere vato the Altars; and then it falls into the Country which the inhabitants call Oxe. This stands in Asia whereas The Country To (having past the Sea first) staied, as fables report. Yet in the end of the Oke. it takes its course to Constantinople, having bin beaten backe by the Oxe. Whereas dispersing it selfe about the City, it partly divides it sylfe, and seperates that place which they call the Horne; and on the other fide it flowes againe in its owne course. Yet this violence cannot passe into that Country which is right against it, where Calcedon stands: For where as it makes so many turnings here and there, and that the Gulfe is of no small breadth, it failes in a manner in this place, pasfing to the opposite part, not in a direct Line but bending : So as leauing Calcedon, it takes its course by the Gulfe. This drawes so many Commodities to the Conflantinopolitains, and the contrary to the Calcedonians. And although it be apparent that the scituation of these C two Cities are equally commodious, yet the paffage is difficult for those which will saile to Calcedon. Contrariwise they are carried to Conflantinople by the violence of the Waves : So as it feemes that they which will goe from Calcedon to Constantinople, cannot Saile directly thither by reason of the Violent course of the streame: And therefore they recourred the Oxe, and the Towne which they call & bry sopolis, from whence they are afterwards Transported by force vnto Con- confopolities

Finally the Constantinopolitans have a good commodity to Saileany D way, whither they bend to Hellesponse with a Southerly Winde, or else from the Pontique Sca to Hellesponse. You must vnderstand that the commodition of the commodities of the commodities of the commodities of the commodities of the commodi the direct and common courle from Constantinople to the streights of timple by the Proponets, is by Abydes and Seftes; and in like manner from the fireights Sea of Abydes to Constantinople. But it fals out otherwise with the Calcedonians, for the reasons which we have mentioned, and for the distance of the Region of the Gyniceneins ; for it is a difficult thing for them which Saile from Hallesponse to Calcedon, to keepe the Coast of Europe, and in approaching the Country necrevato Constantinople, to turne vato Cal-Palle

The continual!

constantinopoli- Now we will show the discommodities which the City is to suffer tains with the by reason of the firme Land. Thrase enuirons the Country of Con-Hantinople in such fort, as it imbraceth it from Sca to Sca. So as they A are in perpetuall Watre with the Thracians : For although they get a Battaile or two against this cruell and barbarous Nation, yet they cannot quench the Wars, the multitude of people and Princes is so great: For that after they have gotten Victory over one, there doth suddainly arise three other mighty Princes, who ouer-runne the Country for spoile: Neither can they doe any thing to have an accord, or to pacific the Warre by paying of Tribute; for presently they find their Enemies multiplied. And therefore they are wasted and consumed with a continuall and cruell Warre. But what can you finde more disloyall then a neighbour enemy? Nor a Warre more dangerous then with a barbarous Nation? And with all these miseries wherewith they are oppressed by Land, they are moreover tormented with Tantalus paine, as the Poets feigne: For the Barbarians (confidering that they have a fertile Region) over run the Country and spoile it, after that the Land hath bin well manured, and that the fruite which is very beautifull, and in abundance, is in Scason.

The Constantinopolitains seeing so great a spoile of their goods, and the loffe of their labour and charges, are wonderfully grieued. Yet bearing this War with the Thracians by a Custom e, they alwaies held cheir auncient accord with the Grecians. But when as the Gaules beganne to be their neighbours, vnder the Conduct of King Comentaire. they were in great danger. You must understand that the Gaules which Bremmus Chiefe had made Warre vader the leading of Bremmus, and had escaped a great danger at Delphos, past not into Asia when as they came to Hellesponse: But allured with the commodity of the place, they staied neere vnto Constantinople, whereas after they vanquished the Thracians, and built The Thrasians Tylethe Royall, they made Warre against them of Constantinople. vanquished by Who at the beginning pacified their fury with presents, when as they first assailed them under King Comontoire, in giving them sometimes thirty thouland, another time fifty thouland, and sometimes a hun-

the Ganles.

dred thousand Crownes, to the end they should not ouer runne their Anabielute de- Country. Finally, they were forced to give them foure score thoufeate of the fand Crownes yearely untill the time of Clyare, at what time the Gaules Caules Empire. Empire had an end, and this Nation was wholly vanquished and extind by the Thracians. Their Treasure being at that time exhausted by reason of these Tributes, they sent first an Embassie into Greece to demaund their affistance. But for that most of the Grecians made no account of it, they resolved to take a Tole vpon all these which sould

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passe into the Blacke Sea. The which all the rest disliking for the no. A Tole impo-

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uelty of the thing, they blamed the Rhodiens for suffering it, as being that sailed into This was the beginning and Fountaine of the Warre which were by Configurationare now to describe. The Rhodiens mooued, aswell with their owne P4. loffe as with that of their neighbours, having first called their Allies, fent an Embaffie to Constantinople to abollish the Tole. VVhoiperforming their Voyage according to their Charge, could not perfwade the Commons: For that Hecatondore and Olympiodore (who had then the Government of the Common weals) opposed themselves to an A the Gouernment of the Common weale) opposed themselves: So as they returned without effect. Soone after they fent to declare VVarre vnto them for the afore-said causes. Presently after the Rhodiens sent

Embassadours to Prusias, to perswade him to make Warre against the Prusias. Constantinopolisains : for they knew well hee was offended with them

for certaine causes. The Constantinopolitains in like manner solicited attalni and Attalus and Acheus by many Embassies, to succour them against the Achens,

Rhodiens. It is true that Attalus was at liberty, but hee was much op" pressed with pouerty : for that Acheus had forced him to retire himselfe within the liberties of his Fathers Empire. Finally Acheu, who tear-B med himselfe Lord of all the Countrey which lies on this side Tauris, and publishing himselfe for King, promised succours vato the Constan. tinopolitains, which gaue them occasion of great hope, and terrified very much the Rhodiens and Prusias : For Acheus was allied vnto Antio. chus, who raigned in Syria, and had attained to this Principallity by fuch or the like meanes.

After the death of Seleucus father vnto Antiochus, and that his The meantsof Sonne Seleucus the eldest of the brethren, had succeeded in the Realme, debeurraigus. Achems past the Mountaine of Tauris with him in regard of his kindred, about two yeares before the time whereof wee now speake. For as C foone as Selenens was King, and hearing that Astalus had taken the whole Country which lies on this fide Mount Tauris, confidering that hee must give order to his Affaires, passeth the Mountaine with a great Army : VVhere within few dayes after hee was flaine by Apaturing Gaule, and Nicanor. Achem resoluing to reuenge the death of his kinfman, kills them presently. And then he gouernes the Army and all other affaires with great V.Visedome and Courage. For when as the opportunity of the time, and the generall confent of all the Souldiers. perswaded him to take the Crowne , yet hee would not doe it, but kept the Realme for the younger Brother Antiochus : and gouerning all o. D ther matters carefull, he resolved to subdue the whole Country which is on this fide Tauris. But when as all things had succeeded happily, and that in the end he had left nothing but Pergamus to Assalus, hee acheut caufeth presently changed his minde, and caused himselfe to bee called their himselfe to be King, being growne proud with the Victories which hee had obtained called King,

contrary vnto his Hope. So as it fell out that his name was more

feared, by the Inhabitants on this fide Tanris, then of any other King Wherat the Constantinopolitains being moued, they made no difficulty

or Prince.

to under-take a Warre against the Rhodiens and Prusias: Who acquied them, that when they had promised to set up his Images, yet they afterwards forgot it thorough negligence : And withall, hee was much more incensed, for that they had done what possibly they could to pacifie the Warre which was kindled betwixt Achem and Attalus : For that every manknew that their peace was dangerous to him for many Reasons. Finally, hee obieced against them, that whereas they had fent an Embassie to Analus, at the Games which he had made in the honour of Minerua, they had not fent any one vnto him when hee gaues thankes vnto the Gods. For which rea- A fons (being incenfed) hee willingly embraced the Rhodiens party against them of Constantinople. And therefore hee agreed with their Embassadours that they should send foorth a very strong Fleete, to assaile the Constantinopolitains by Sea, promising likewise to inuade them by Land with no leffe forces then they should. This was the the beginning, and the causes of the Warre which the Rhodiens made a-

gainst the Constantinopolitains.

They also at the first entred into it with great Courage, hoping that Achem would succour them, according vnto his promise. They had also called Thibete of Macedony, whom they opposed against B Profias: to take from him the meanes to make VVarre against ano. thei, being much troubled for the defence of his owne. But Prufine parting with great rage and fury against the Constantinopolitains. hee presently tooke Fanum, a place very strong by Nature, and seated by Prusiu from vpon the mouth of the Pontique Lea, which they of Constantinople had lately purchased for a great summe of money, mooned with the opportunity of the place; to the end that no man might enter or goe foorth of the Pontique Sea but by their fauour. Moreouer he put all the Countrey of Afia (which the Constantinopolitains had long helde) to fire and Sword. On the other fide the Rhodiens having made fixe shippes, and taken foure from their Allies, whereof they made xene-Phante Commaunder, they failed voto Hellesponte with an Army of ten faile of very strong Shippes. And having left nine neere vnto Sefte, for the defence of the entry into the Pontique Sea, the Commaunder hauing a good VVinde failed with the tenth vnto Constantinople to view their Countenance: And whither at this first beginning of the VVarre they would be better aduited. But finding them ill affeoted, hee retited vato his whole Army with the which hee returned to Rhodes.

In the meane time the Constantinopolitains fent Embaffies, some vnto Achem, intreating him to hasten his Succours : Others into Macedony to draw downe Thibese; for it seemed that the Realme of Bythinia did as rightly belong to Thibete as to Prufin, for that hee was his Vncle. The Rhodiens being aduertised of the obkinacy of the Conflantinopolia sains vied Wisedome and Policy : For when they understood that all their Hope was in Achem, whose Father Prolomy kept in Prison at Alexandria, and that Achem leaving all other Affaires what soeuer, was carefull of his deliuery, they thought good to fend an Embaffic to

the Confantirepolitains.

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Ptolomy, and to intreate him with great Affection, to deliver vato them the father of Acheus : to the end that by this meanes they flould make himbound vnto them. Ptolomy after he had heard the Emballat dours, did not feeme very willing to deliner Andremochus, hosping to make vie of him at neede t for that hee was not yet well pacis fied with Antiochin, and that Achem having leazed uppon the Realme without any contradiction, and farre extended his power! For Andremechus was Father vnto Acheus; and brothen to Laedices Wife to Selenous. Yet to please the Rhodieus hee delivers him voto A them, to restore him vnto his Sonne if they thought good. The Rhodiens by this meanes having done according to their owne defires. and reconciling themselves vnto Acheus by some other meanes, they did frustrate the Constantinopolitains of their principall hope. There fell out also another accident which troubled them very much : For The Death of Thibete whom they had drawn out of Macedony (as we have faid) died Thibete. fuddainly of ficknesse. For which accidents the Constantinopolitains began to faint.

Contrariwise Pruside having a greater hope of his Enterprize, parted from Affa to make Warre, and leuied men in Thrace, preffing the B Constantinopolitains so neere, as they durk not iffue or fally out of the Gates, which looked towards Europe. Wherefore being thus destitute of all hope, and suffering all the injuries of Watte, they fought and invented some honest meanes to be freed. And therefore when as Canare King of the Gaules approached neere vnto the City. labouring by all meanes to pacific this Warre, both they and Prufias Canare King of referred themselues vnto him for all their Quartells. Whereof the Rhodiens being aductifed, and desiring to bring their Resolution to a finall end , they fent Aridix, and Polemocle to Constantinople with three Triremes, meaning (as they commonly fay) to fend them peace or C Warre.

After the comming of this Embaffie vnto Constantinople, there was an Accord made with the Rhodiens; that the Confrantinopolitains should An accord be; not take Tole of any one that fail'd into the Pontique Sea. The twintthe conwhich if they performed, the Rhodiens and their Allies would taske and the Rho. a firme peace with them. And as Prufias they concluded and agreed diess. Vppon these Conditions: that Prusias and the Constantinopolitains An accord should liue in Peace and Amity, and neuer heereafter make Warre made with one against another. And that Profias should make restitution of all Profias. the Provinces, Townes, People, and Slaves, without any recompence, in the like manner hee should doe of the Shippes, and other Booty which hee had taken from them in the beginning of the Warre. Moreouer the Carpenters VVorke, Tiles, and remainder of Houses, which hee had transported from Fanum, (for Prusias fearing the comming of Thibete, had razed all the Burroughes whereinto the Enemy might retire himselfe:) and that finally hee should bind himselfe with all the Souldiers of Bythinea, to restore vnto the Inhabitants of Mysica, (which are under the obedience of the Constantinopolitains) all they had

An Embassie fent by the Rhodien: to ftelen Ti

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taken from them.

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This was the beginning and ending of the Warre of Prusias and the Rhodiens against the Constantinepolitains. At that time the Gnofiens fent an Embassic to the Rhodiens, to draw from them three or foure well built Triremes, with the which Polemocle, had lately made his Voyage, with three other stately Vessels of Warre, against those which lately had Revolted against them. The which being done, when as the Army arrived at Candy, the Eleuterneins doubting that some few daies before Polemocle had flaine Timarche their Burgeffe to please the Gnossens, made Warre against the Rhodiens, after they had made their complaint. A little before the Lyeiens had so many seuerall A

Candy in & man

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Finally all Candy was in Combustion. The Gnoficus and Gorsiniser reduced all ens making Warre with one Councell and confent, reducing all the under the obe- Iland under their obedience, except the Lyciens Towne : For the Gnossens and taking whereof they did their vemost power and indeauours, thinkking in the end to rane and ruine it quite: To the end it might ferue for an Example to other Cities, to terrific them from a Reuolt: For that it alone would not receive them for their Lords. In the beginning all they of Candy made Warre against the Lyciens, but they beganne presently to fall into Discorde, vpon a very light cause: The which n happens often with that Nation. So as the Polyreneins, the Certains, the Lampeins, and moreover the Moreins, and the Arcadians held the Lyciens party, forfaking the alliance of the Gnofiens. The Gortimens were in divers opinions: The most aged held the Guosiens party: and the young men that of the Lyciens, The Gnofiens feeing the will of their Allies thus changed, and that the Affaires went otherwise then they formerly expected, they drew a thouland men from Etolia by the right of Alliance. Which being done, the most aged of the Gertiniens scazed suddainly vpon the Fort, drawing in the Guesiens and Bioliens, and delivered them the Towne, chasing away the party of the young men, and killing some most cruelty.

The Lysiens had by chance at that time made a Roade into the Eacmies Country, leaving no forces within the Towne, whereof the Gneeiens being advertised by their Spies, they tooke it vofutnished of any forces, and fent the Women and Children to Gnofon. And when they had burnt and razed it with fury, they retired. The Lyciens returning, were so amazed when they saw all in fire and ruine, as no man durst enter into the Towne. But going about it in troupes, they lamented their Countrey and Fortune. From thence turning head, they returned to the Lampeins, who received them louingly and with great affection: Who being Fugitiues and strangers, were in one day D admitted Burgesses, and made Warre against the Gnosiens with the

Behold how Lycia a Collony of the Lacedemonians, and the most auncient of Candy, was suddainly and miserably ruined. The Polyreneins, Lampeins, with all their other Allies, seeing the Gnosiems to be in League with the Etoliens, and the Etoliens to be enemies to Philip and the Acheins, sent an Embassie to the King and the Acheins, to make a

League with them," and to draw succours from them. "Who received them and fent them foure hundred Sclauenians . vader the Clomb maund of Plator, and about a hundred Phoceins, who at their arrivall maund of Plator, and about a nuncica roverns, who at their arrival did greatly affilt the Polyreneins allied to the Achiens. For within a fhort the Sclauoni. time, their forces being increased, they forced the Eleuserneins, Cy. aus. doniates, Aptereins, and divers others being shut vo within their Wals, to abandon the Gnosiens alliance, and to imbrace their party: Which things being effected the Polyreneins and their Allies feat five hundred Candyots to Philip and the Acheins. Not long before the Gna-A fiens had fent a thousand to the Etoliens. Thus the Warre was mannaged for the lone one of another. The banished men among the Gortiniens surprized the Port of the Pheastins and that of the Gertiniens, from whence they made many fallies against them of the Towne. And this was the estate of the affaires of Candy. At the fame time Methridates made Warreagainft the Synopenfes, Mithidates.

which was in a manner the beginning and cause of his mil-fortuee. And when as they required fuccours of the Rhodiens, they made choise of The Rhodiens three men for this businesse: To whom there was given foure and succour the sy-"twenty thousand five hundred pounds, to furnish the Synopenses with popenses. n necessary prouision for the War. They which had this Commission. made prouision of ten thousand Goate skinnes fill'd with Wine, of thirty fixe thousand pound weight of Ropes made with Haire, and ten 1 thousand made with sinewes, a thousand Armes complexe, three thousand pieces of gold coyned, foure Merchants ships, with Crossbowes and other Engines of battery in great number. The Synopenfee having received all this provision, returned to Synope. They were in great feare leaft that Methridates should besiege them both by Sen and Land. Synope is seated on the right side of the Pontique Sen, The Scienation where as the River of Phasis enters into the Sea, and likewise vppon of Sympe. a Cape which stretcheth farre into the Sea: The necke whereof is closed in by the Towne, which ioynes vnto Asia, and hath in length about two Furlongs: The rest of the Cape advanceth it selfe into the Sea, which is a flat Countrey and the approaches very eafit. and contrariwife very difficult and inacceffible, to those which come from the Sea, neither hath it any passages. The Synopenses fearing that Methridates should besiege the Towne, not onely on that side which ioynes to Asia, but likewise on the other, drawing his Army to Land, they did carefully fortifie that part which is inuitoned by the Sea, leaving a good Guard there to keep the Enemy from landing: D for the place is of a small Circuit, and requires no great guard. This is all which past at that time in Synope.

King Philip parting with his Army from Macedony (for there wee left our former Discourse) caused it to march by Thesaly and Eperue, making hast to passe by those Regions into Etolia. Alexander and diexanders Derimache resolving at the same time to take Egirus, having drawne Dorimache, together twelve hundred Esoliens at Ocanthy, which is one of their Egyus. Townes, opposite vnto that whereof wee now speake, and their Ocumber. thippes being ready to paffe, they only attended an opportunity to put

The Lyciens Towns razed

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frands.

their enterprize in Execution. It happened that an Etolian having lived long at Egire, and finding that the Guard at the Gate kept no good Watch by reason of their Drunkennesse, hee acquaints Dorimathe therewith, foliciting him to take the Towne by night: he being a The scituation man accustomed vitto such Actions. Egire is a Towne of Morea, scituated necre vnto the Gulfe of Corinthe, betwixt Egia and Sieyon, of Egire. vpon a certaine Hill which is rough and difficult, drawing towards Parmafe, and about seauen Furlongs distant from the Sea. When the time was come, Derimache having imbarqued his Army, and provided carefully for all things necessary, he came before the breake A of day to a River which runs neere vnto the Hill whereon the Towne

> From thence, he with Alexander and Archidamus the sonne of Pantaleon, accompanied with a great number of Esoliens, marcht directly vnto the Towne, along the way which leads to Egia. The Fugitives was gone before with twenty of their best foote-men, for the knowledge he had of the places: And had gotten the Walls by Rockes which feemed inacceffible: Where as entring the Towne by a fincke, he found the Guards a fleepe: Who being flaine, and having broken the barres of the Gate without discouery, they made way B for the Etoliens, who entred with great fury, and carried themfelues simply and without discretion, which was an occasion of the Egirates Victory, and of their defeate and shame. For thinking that all had beene lost for the Egirates, they suddainly Armed, and put themselves in Battaile within the Towne, where they staied for a certaine time. But at the breake of day enery manthought of his owne private profit and gaine : And dispersing themselves throughout the whole Towne, they fell vppon the Burgesses houses, and rifled their goods: Finally they had no care at all but of spoile and Rapine.

The Egirates mooued at this strange accident, some fled out of the Towne amazed with feare: whose houses the Enemies had forced. for that the Etoliens were apparently mafters of the Towne. But they who hearing the found of the Trumpet, were gone foorth with their fernants to aide and fuccour the City, retired vinto the Fort: Wherefore their number and force augmented continually, and the Ereliens grew weaker : For that the Egirates repaired Still to the Fort. and the others difperfed themselves in houses for spoile. And although that Dorimache saw the apparent danger : yet without any amazement, he affaults the Fort with a wonderfull Resolution, imagining that they which were retired into it, being amazed at his comming, would presently yelld vato the Esoliens. But the Egirates incouraging one another defended the Fort, with incredible resolution and assu-

By this meanes the Combat was furious of either fide. But for that the Fort was not inclosed with wals, they fought man to man; and the Combat for a time was furious and equall: For that the one fought for their Country and children and the other for their lives. But the Etoliens

in the end beganto flie shamefully : whom the Egirate (growing more The Etoliens couragious) purfued: fo as a great part of the Etoliens died in fallying defeated by the out at the Gate, oppressing one another in the throng. Alexander was alexander flaine fighting valliantly. Dorimache ftriuing to get forth, died in the flaine. presse. The rest were presently flaine, or kill'd themselues falling in Doringche smeto Pits. There were few faued, who abandoned their Armes, and thered. fled to the ships. By this meanes the Egirates by their incredible courage recouered their Countrey in a manner loft by negligence.

At the same time Euripides, (who had beene fent by the Etolieus to be Chiefe of the Elienses, who after he had ouer-run the Countries of the Dimenses, Pharences and Tritenses) tooke his way through the Elienses Countrey, chasing before him a great Booty, whereof Micchus of Dime being aduertifed, who by chance was at that time subrogated in the place of the Commander of the Acheins, and following the Enemy vponthe retreate, with the helpe of the Dimenfes, Pharenfes, and Tritenfes, fell vnaduisedly into their Ambuthes, and was de ted. feated with the great loffe of his men : whereof there died forty Foot and there were two hundred taken. Euripides glorious of this good The Caffle of fortune, soone after went againe to Field, and tooke a Castle from Mure taken by the Dimenfes, which was of consequence, the which the people of the Enripides. Countrey called Mure : and they fay, that Hercules built it in old time, making Warre against the Elienses, to vie it as a Fort, and retreate in the time of Warre.

The Dimenses, Pharenses, and Tritenses having made this losse, and fearing for the future by the taking of the Castle by Euripides, they first fent Letters to the Chiefe of the Acheins, to aduertise them of their misfortune, and to demand fuccours against the Etoliens. And afterwards they fent some of the Chiefe of their Towne in Embassie. Arasecould not raze any mercenary Souldiers, for that during the Warre of Cleomenes, the Acheins had payed them ill, and withall hee man-A naged the affaires fearefully and without confideration. And therefore Lyourgus tooke Athenet, a Towne of the Megalopolitains : the like Bari- Abenetaken pides did (besides the former prize) to Gorgon and Telphosia. The by Lieurgus, Dimenses, Pharenses, and Trisenses being frustrate of the hope they had in the Chiefe of the Acheins, resolued among themselves not to contribute any more money, to supply the necessities of their Warre: And that they would leuie at their owne charge about three hundred Foote, and fifty Horse to desend their Countrey. Whereby they seemed to haue taken good order for their private affaires, but they had no great D respect to the profit of a Comminalty : For they have given avery bad example to others, to make a new enterprize vpon any occasion; whereof the blame may well be layd voon the Commander, who by his floth and negligence had frustrated his men of their expectance.

It is a common course, that all they which are in danger, hold that Friend(hip is to be entertained and kept, fo long as there is any hope to draw fuccours from them : and when that cealeth, then they are to prouide for their owne affaires. And therefore the Dimenfes, Pharenfes, and Trisenfes are to be pardoned, for that in the extreame danger

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cheto the Fort

of Egire.

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of their Townes. they had leuied men. confidering the negligence of the Chiefe of the Acheins. But whereas they would not furnish monew for the common affaires of the league, that is not excusable; For as it was not fit to neglect their owne affaires, so it was a base and disgracefull thing to omit that which concernes the preferuation of a common league: seeing they wanted not Victuals according to the common conventions: and moreover they had beene Authours of the league with the Acheins. And this was the efface of the affaires of Morea.

Philips Army.

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King Philip had past Thessaly, and was in Epirus: whereas taking a number of Epirotes, with the Macedonians he brought with him, and A three hundred Slingers out of Acheia, with a hundred Candiets which had beene fent by the Messeniens, hee comes vnto the Countrey of the Ambraciates: whereas if hee had entred presently into the heart of Eto. lia, the Warre might have had an end. But for that hee was solicited by the Epiretes to force Ambracia first , he gaue the Etoliens meanes to relift, and prouide that which was necessary fortheir defence. But the Epirotes preferring their private interest before the common profit of the Allies, having a great defire to make Ambracia subject, perfwaded Philip to befiege it, and to take it before he past: For they conceined that the Towne of Ambracia would beevery beneficiall vnto R vnto them, if they might take from the Btoliens, and that it would casily fall into their hands. You must understand that Ambracia is a place frong by nature, well fortified with double walles, and fo enuironed with Moares and Marishes, as there is but one narrow passage by Land, made by Art. Moreouer, it lookes towards the Towne, and the Province of the Ambraciates. Philip at the perswasion of the Epiroses, plants his Campe necre vnto Ambracia, making prouision of that which was necessary for the Siege.

The scituation s.f Ambracia.

At the same time Scope drawing together a great number of Esoliens, Scope makes an and passing thorough Thessay, enters into Macedony, and puts all Linaurson to fire and sword which lies neere vnto Mount Pierle, and drawes towards Die, making a great spoile. And for that the Inhabi-rants of the Countrey were fied, he razed the houses, and places for Games: and not content therewith, he let fire on the Cloifters built neere vnto the Temple with great charge; moreouer, he ruined whatfocuer was erected there for ornament or for vie : Finally, he beate in peeces all the Images of Kings. Thus Scope in the beginning and first fury of the War, having not onely assaulted Men, but cuenthe Gods themselves, returned into Etolia; not as a Church-robber, or execrable to the immortall Gods, but he was honoured as a man of merit, D and a good feruant to the Common wealth: and withall he gave great hope to the Eteliens for the time to come. For they conceived that by this meanes no man durst presume to enter as an enemy into their Countrey, and contrariwife they might eafily run and spoile not onely offerea, as they had beene accustomed, but also Theffaly and Macedony Ambiacia taken Philip aduertised of these thing which had beene done in Macadony, and fuffring for the ignorance and concroulnesse of the Eproces, held Ambracia belieged: whereas making vie of all Engins of Battery, he tooke

ir within forty daies, where leaving a garrison, having first taken the oath he fatisfied the will of the Epirotes, to whom Ambrasia wasdelinered. After these things he raiseth his Campe, and marcheth directly by the next valley, making hafte to passe the Gulfe of Ambracia, the which is very narrow, necre vnto the Temple of Acarmania, which they call Antia. This Guife comes from the Sea of Sicily betwint Epirus The Guile et and Acarnania, with a very narrow entry, being scarce fixe hundred pa- Ambracia. ces broad. But when as it dilates it selfe towards the Land, it is in a manner a hundred Eurlongs broad, and three hundred in length, be-A ginning at the Sea of Sicily. It divides Epirus from Acarmania the one lying directly towards the North, and Atarnania directly towards the South. Having past this Gulse with his Army, and entring into de carnania, he came to a Towne of Etolia which they call Pottia, lea- Pottiataken by ding with him two thousand Foote, and two hundred Horse of Care Composition. nania. And planting his Campe about the Towne, and giving many sharpe affaults, he tooke it the third day after his comming by composition, and left a Garrison of Etoliens therein taking their Oath. The Night following fifteene hundred Esoliens thinking that all things had beene fafe, came to succour their fellowes. The King advertised of ded Epites their comming, layed an Ambush, and slew the greatest parce. The rest deseated by: were taken, except some few which escaped by flight. After this hee Thuir. diffributed Wheat to the Souldiers for a Moneth, for hee had gotten a great quantity in this Towne: Then he marcheth to the Region of the sereienses, and plants his Campeneere to the River of Acheloe, about ten furlongs from the Towne: And from thence ouer-running the Prouince, hee pursall to fire and fword, for that no man durft fhew

At the same time the Acheins more tormented with the Warrethen the rest, and aduertised that the King was not farre off, they fent an Embaffie vnto him to demand fuccours. The Embaffadours met the C King at Straton, where acquainting him with their necessities according to their charge, they intreate him to give them succours, and perswade him by many reasons, that in passing the Role, he should take his way thorough the Countrey of the Eliences. Hauing heard them. the King sent them backe, promising to consider thereon : who raising his Campe, marcht to Metropolis and Conope. Whereof the Ecoliens being aduertifed, they abandoned the Towne, and retired to the Fort. Metropolista. When as Philip had fet fire on the Towne, proceeding in his courfe, he ken and burne, drew to Conope. There the Etolien Horse-men had made a head, to An assembly D encounter him at the passage of a River, twenty Furlongs distant from of the Erelieur the Towne, to stop his passage, or to fight with him if he past.

Philip advertised of their enterprize, commands those that were ar- Passage of a med with Targets to enter the River first, and that keeping close toge-River. ther, they should striue to passe in Battaile. Having obeyed him, the Esoliens having skirmished in vaine with the first Troupe, for that it kept close together, and afterwards with the second and the third, in the end they retired to the Towne, despairing of their Enterprize. From that time the Eteliens Army kept the Townes: but Philip ouer-running

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Ithoria very Groug.

Peania taken

by affault.

the Province at his pleasure, spoiled Iskoria it selfe. It was a place scated upon the passage, of great strength both by Nature and Art: the which the Garrison abandoned upon his approach. The King razed it to the ground. Finally, he ruined all reducing under his obedience many Townes which were strong by scituation and fortification: demol-Lishing all the Cassles, whereof there were a great number in the Countrey. Then abating his fury, he gaue leaue vnto his men to run where they pleased for their owne gaine. After which he led his Army full of wealth towards the Eniades, and layed Siege to Reania, resoluing to take it by affault: The which he did after many attempts, for although A the Towne were not very bigge, having but a thouland paces in circuit : yet it was not inferiour to the rest in the strength of Walles. Towers and Houses. He razed the Walles to the ground, and ruined the Houses, commanding to carry away the Timber and Tiles to the Eni-

ades by Water.

The Etoliens first began to fortifie the Fort of the Geniades to defend it, rampring the Walles, making of Ditches, and doing all things necessary for the fortification of a Towne. But being aduertised of Philips approach, they fled for feare. Philip taking this Towne without any relistance, led his Army into Calydonia, to a certaine Towne which R was held very strong, called Class, the which was well rampred with Walles, and all manner of fortifications. Attalm had furnished the E. soliens with munition to defend it. But the Macedonians taking it by force . they ouer-ran and spoiled all Calydonia, and then returned vnto the Eniades. Whereas Philip confidering the opportunity of the place, as well for other affaires, as for his passage into Morea, resolued to repaire the Walles. For the Enjades are Maritime opposite to Acarna. mis by the Sca which ioynes vnto the Etolieus, neere vnto the mouth of the Gulfe of Corinthe. It is a Citty scituated in Morea, right against the Bankes of the Dimeens, and neighbour to the Countrey neere vnto Araxic, distant onely a hundred Farlongs. Which things Philip confidering, hee fortified the Fort apart, and joyned vato it the Port and Arfenall with a Wall, making vie of the materials which were brought from Peania.

the Fort of the Eniades.

> Whilest that Philip was busie about this worke, hee received Letters from Macedony, by the which they did advertise him that the Dardanians doubting of his Voyage into Morea, made hafte to leuie men. and to make preparations for Warre, to fall fuddainly upon Macedony. After which newes resoluing to succour it speedily, hee sent backethe Acheins Embassadours with this answere, that as soone as hee had giuen order for his affaires of Macedony, hee would have nothing in fo great recommendation, as to come to their aide with all his forces. After this hee returned speedily with his Army by those Countries where hee had formerly past. And as he past the Gulfe of Ambracia, parting from Acarnania to Epiras, Demetrius of Phare (whom the Remans had chased out of Sclanonia) met him. Whom the King (imbracing him with great courtefic) caused to saile to Corinthe, and from thence to march into Macedony by Thesaly. Where drawing to Epirus,

he presently transported himselfe into Macedony, to the Towne of Pella. But when the Dardanians were aductifed by some sugiriue Thracians of the Kings comming, they presently dissolved their Army, being terrified with feare, notwithstanding they were neere voto Macedony. Philip advertised of the retreate of the Dardanians, gaue leave vnto his The retreate of Souldiers to gather new Corne, and every man to retire into his Counist the Dardanians trev. For his part he went into The Roll of Control without doing trey. For his part he went into Theffaly, and spent the rest of the Surn- any thing. mer in Lariffa.

At the same time Panlus Emilius triumphed at Rome, after his re-A turne from Sclauonia. Hannibal after the taking of Sagont, had fent his Army to winter. The Romans advertised of the razing of Sagons, sent an Embassie to Carthage, demanding Hannibal: and made their preparations for Warre, Publius Cornelius and Titus Sempronius being then created Confuls: Of which affaires wee have spoken in the precedent Booke. But we now make a briefe repetition, to refresh the memory: to the end that (as we have promifed) all the actions may be prefent to the eyes of the Readers. The first yeere of this Olympiade is past. And when as the day of the Election which the Etoliens make, was come, they made choice of Dorimache for Generall of the Warre, Dorimache cho B Who being feized of the Magistracy, he drew together a great num- fen Generall the Erolling. ber of Souldiers, and falling vpon the high Countrey of Epirus, hee made a most crueil spoile : so as it seemed, hee did it rather to ruine the Epiroses, then for his owne profit. Then paffing the Temple of Inpiser Dodonce; he set fire of the Cloisters, and ruined all its beauty : and

finally, he demollished it. Behold how the Etoliens cannot observe any meane either in peace or warre, so as both in the one and the other they violate the common conversation of men, and in a manner the Law of Nature. When as Derimache had committed all these mischiefes and many greater, hee C returned into his Country. But whilest that Winter lasted, and that enery man despaired of the comming of Philip by reason of theroughnesse of the time, and hardnesse of the Winter, the King taking three thousand men with Bucklers, and two thousand with Targets, with three hundred Candiots, and about foure hundred Hotfe, parted from Larifa: and taking his way by Thefaly, he came to Negrepost : and from thence paffing by Beecia and Megara, in the midft of December he ariued at Corinthe, making his voyage fo fecretly, as no man of Morea discouered it : then keeping the Gates of Corint be shut, and fetting Watches upon the wayes, the day following hee fent to Si-D gen for old Arete. He then advertised the Chiefe of the Acheine and Townes, of the time and place when they should be ready and in order. These things thus ordered, he continued his voyage as he had resolued, and seated his Campe neere to Diescore, a Towne of Philiafia.

At the same time Euripides parting from Psophis accompanied with two Legions of Eliences, Pirats at Sea, and some voluntaries, so as all together made two thousand two hundred Foote, and about a hundred Horse, tooke his way by Phenice and Stymphalia, being ignorant

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syoniens. It fell out the Night that Philip camped neere vnto Dioscore, that Euripides passing further at the breake of day, entred into the Countrey of the Sicyoniens, and that some Candiers which were with Philip, abandoning their Enfighes, and going to forrage met him. By whose meanes knowing that the : Macedonians were neere, hee drew his army out of the Countrey, hoping that after he had past the Country of Stymphalia, he might eafily defeate the Macedonians in places of The retreate of advantage. Phillip having no advertisement; raised his Campe the next day at the Sun-rifing, as he had refolued, to take his way under A Seymphalia towards the Caphires: for there he had appointed the ... cheins to meete in Armes.

that Philip was in field, and desirous to spoile the Countrey of the Si-

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The Mountaine of Ape**aure**

Thy flight of Euripides.

When the Macedonian Scouts were come to the top of the Mountaine, which the Countrey-men call Apeaure, about ten Furlongs distant from the Stymphalins Towne, it happened by chance that the Scouts of the Eliences arrived there also. The which Euripides perceiving, and amazed at the disaduantage of the place and time, hee flies with some of them, and recovers Sophis by Groves which lay dispierced. The rest of the Eliences Troupe being amazed, as well for that they were abandoned by their Commander, as for the newnesse of the accident, B were for a time in suspence what they had to doc. But conceiving afterwards that they were Megalopolitains, to see the manner of their Harnesse (for the Macedonians carried Helmets) they marcht in Battaile, keeping good order for a time without any despaire. But when the Macedonians began to approach, (knowing then the truth) they abandoned their Armes, and fled. There were about twelve hundred taken aliue by the Enemy: the rest were saine, some by the Macedoni. ans like Sheepe, others falling downe the Rocks, fo as there escaped not a hundred. Philip continued his course, and sent the spoiles and Prisoners to Corinthe. This seemed very strange to them of Morea; to whom the newes of the Victory, and of Philips arrivall came at one

Arate joynes with Philip.

When the King had past by Arcadia, having suffred much vpon the way by Snow, and the difficulty of the Countrey, hee arrived at mid night at Caphies on the third day. Where after hee had refresh'e himselfe three daies, and that Arate the younger had loyned with him with his Trouges, so as the whole Army consisted of ten thousand men, hee arrived at Pfophis, passing by Cliteria, and made great prouision of Darts and Ladders taken out of the Townes where hee past. The seituation Psophis is a very ancient Towne of the Areadians, scituated in the midst of Morea, joyning to Arcadia vpon the West, and neere to the Countrey of the Eliences, who at that time had the government. Where Philip arrived the third day after his departure from Caphies, and fea. ted his Campe vponthe Mountaines which are opposite, from whence he might discouer the Towne and Countrey round about without danger. Where viewing the Rrength, he was for a time in suspence : for towards the West there ran a swift Torrent along the walls: the which for the most part of Winter, was not to be waded thorough, so as no

man enters that way. And vpon the East it hath the River of Eriman. The River of the, which is great and violent: Of which the Poets and Historiogra- Erimanite, phers tell many tales. Moreouer, the Torrent (whereof we have spoken) defends and affires the third part towards the South. In regard of the fourth which lookes towards the North, it hath aboue it a Mountaine which is steepe and difficult, and seruesthem for a good Fort. By this meanes the Towne is defended on three fides by water. and on the fourth by the Mountaine: And moreover it is environed with good wills, made with great Art. Finally, there was a Garrison of Eli-A enfes, with that which Euripides had brought with him in his flight.

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All these things considered, Philip was partly distasted to force it, for the difficulty thereof. And partly inflamed to beliege it, for the opportunity of the place. For hee confidered that as this Towne was an anoyance to the Acheins and Arcadians (for that it was an affored Fort and fafe retreate for Warre to the Elienses) so if it might bee taken, it would bee to them of great consequence, and a retreate to the Carcadians for the Warre. Wherefore in the end following this adnice. hee fent vnto the Macedonians, that they should bee ready the next day in the morning, and in Armes after they had fed. Then paf-B fing the Bridge of Erimanthe without any opposition, considering the strangenesse and greatnesse of the accident, hee came boldly, and log'dat the foote of the Wall. Whereat Enripides and the Chiefe of the Towne were in great doubt what to doe : for they immagined that the Macedonians had no conceite to bee able to force this strong Towne, and that they should not bee able to continue the Siegelong during that season. Wherefore when as they saw no likelyhood of any Treason within the Towne, the greatest part run to the walles to defend them.

The Voluntaries of the Elienses made a fally vpon the Enemy by the Analy of the C Gate which lookes directly to the Campe. But when as Philip had ap-Elienfer you pointed men to set vp Ladders in three places, and a sufficient number the matedonic of Macedonians for either of them, hee gaue warning for the affault. 481. Which done, they allfell to fighting with wonderfull fury. The befire. ged in the beginning defended themselues valiantly, and overthrew many which laboured to scale the walls. But when as their Darts and o. ther munition failed them, as to men which had run hastily to the walls: and withall the Macedonians retired not, but after the fall of one, the next ascended the Ladder, in the end they fled, and retired to the Fort. Then the Macedonians of the Kings Troupe recourred the wall. On the other side the Candioss who fought with those which made their fally from the upper part of the Towne, forced them in the end to flie, abandoning their Armes basely : And pursuing them with great fury, they slew ma. ny voon the way, and entred the Towne with them : fo as it was taken in divers places at one instant. All the Burgesses retired into the Fort Pophateken with their Wines and Children. Thelike did Euripides, with the reft which had escaped the danger. The Macedomans being gotted. they spoyled both publique and private houses, and afterwards kept themselves quiet within the Towne. They which held the $\mathbf{D} \mathbf{d}$

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A composition of Pfopbis and

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Fort, being without victuals and other munition, they began to thinke of yeelding, fore-leeing the future. Whereupon they fent a trumpet to the King: and having obtained a passe-port for an Embassie, they sent the Princes of the Towne with Euripides to Philip, who compounded with the King, that in yeelding him the place, the Burgeffes and strangers might retire in safety. This done, they returned againe to the Fort according to the Kings command, not to depart before hee had retired his Army out of the Towne, left falling into the Souldiers hands, they might bee spoiled. The King stayed some dayes there by A reason of the roughnesse of the weather : during the which hee calls to. gether the Acheins which were in the Army, and made a long speech vnto them of the scituation of the Town, and of its opportunity for the prefent War, putting them in mind of the loue he bare them: Finally, he gaue them the Towne, to the end they should know plainely, that hee was refolued to please them in all things, and not to forget the affection and diligence which was requifite in their affaires.

After which Speech, when as the Acheins had given him thanks for his love and good-will, Philip leaves the Company, and drawing his Army presently together, he marcht directly to Lassion. The Psophi. B ens leaving the Fort, came into the Towne, and every man returned to his house. Euripides retired with his men first to Corinthe, and afterwards into Etolia. The Chiefe of the Acheins which were there prefent, gaue the guard of the Fort to Proflae a Sycionian with a sufficient Garrison, and made Pythias Pellenense Gouernour of the Towne. And

this was the end of the Plophiens Warre.

Laffion saken.

Philip gines

debeins.

Straton.

When the Garrison of Lassien which consisted of Elienses, being (formerly aduertised of that which had happened at P sophis) faw the Macedonians, they abandoned the Towne, as amazed at fo strange an accident. So as Philip tookeit as soone as hee saw it. The which he likewise gaue to the Acheins, according to the loue and affection C which hee bare them. Hee likewise gaue Straton to the Telpulsiens, which the Elienses had taken. This done, the fift day after hee arriued at Olympia: where after he had facrificed to the Gods, and made a solemne Banquet to all the Captaines, and refresht his men for the space of three dayes, hee marcht, and entring the Countrey of the Elienses, hee abandoned it to his Souldiers; Then planting his Campe neere to Artimifes, hee returned soone after to Dioscoria, bringing a great Booty from thence. Then making many Roads into the Countrey, there were a great number of men taken. Many also retired into the neighbour Townes, and into places of ftrength : For the Region of the Elienses is very fertile amongst the rest of Morea, in people and abundance of wealth: for that the greatest part of the Countrey people are given to tillage, imploying their time in labour, vnto the second and third generation : And all tough they bee otherwise rich, yet they enter not into Townes. The which happens, for that the principall of the Townes have the Labourers in recommendation, and are very carefull that they may not be oppressed with the want of any thing of that which is requifite and necessary for them,

and that no man should do them wrong. In my opinion the ancients haue so ordained it, for that in old aime the multitude was commonly giuen to tillage, or rather for that they led a holy and religious life, when as with the confent of all the Grecians, they lived in fafety, free from all inconveniences and trouble of Warre, for the Combate which was made at the Olympicke Games. But when by the controuerste of the Arcadians, concerning Lassianiand Pifa, they were forced to vindertake War for the defence of their Countrey, and to leave their first manner of living, they cared no more to refume that ancient and heredita-A ry liberty giuen them by the Grecians, remaining in the same estate, and making a bad discourse of the time to come. For if any may have from the Grecians (in obseruing right and inflice) peace and quietnesse for euer, which is a thing which wee all demand of the immortall Gods, and for the which wee endure any thing, and which all the world confesset to bee an vindoubted good, and yet they contemne it. and doe not esteeme it, or hold some other thing in greater recommendation, are not they to be held fooles and mad men? But fome one will say vnto mee, that they which shall hold this course of life, shall not be able to defend themselves, when they shall be oppress with War, or some other outrage. This without doubt happens seldome, and if it doth, they may be defended and relieued by all the Greeians. And if it be a particular offence it will be no difficult thing to leuie men with the money which they have gathered together by long peace and reft. But now fearing that which happens seldome, and beyond all humane consideration, they consume themselves and their Countrey in continuali Warre and troubles Wee have thought good to relate these things of the Elienfes; for there was neuer time, when as a greater opportunity was offred, to recouer this liberty from all the Greener, then at this day. The people then as wee have faid, dwelt in all affurance. Wherefore there were taken by the Macedonians a great number of men, although that many were retired in ftrong places. For there was assembled a great multitude of men and Cattell, with other wealth in a neere Burrough, which they call Thalame : for that the Countrey about it is very streight, the approach is difficult, and the Burrough very steepy, and in a manner inaccessible. Philip aduertised of this great asfembly, and being loath to leave any thing which hee would not undertake, recouers the places of advantage, to enter it with his Mercenaries : and marcheth in person by the streights of the Countrey with the men which bare Targets, and were lightly armed, leaving the Baggage, and D the greatest part of his Army in the Campe, and came vnto the Burrough finding no reliftance.

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They which were therein, amazed at the greatnesse of this accident, and ill furnished for the war, and without experience : having moreover many unprofitable persons for their age, yeelded presently: Among the Tholane which were two hundred Souldiers of divers nations, whereof Amphi-yeelds. damus Chiefe of the Elienfes had the charge. Philip having made booty of all things, as of fine thousand men, and of an infinite number of Cattell, returned presently to the Campe. And when as afterwards

the Souldiers feemed ynprofitable vnto him for the Warre , being thus laden with spoiles, he raised his Campe and returned to Olympia.

Appelles Timor

policy of ap.

Appelles was one of the Tutors which was left to Philip in his infancy by Antigonia, and had then great authority, and fauour with the King. Who beginning to practife with himselfe, by what meanes hee might reduce the Nation of the Acheins, to the same estate wherein the Theffalians were, he bethought himselfe of a notable sillang. You must vnderstand that the Thessalians seemed to live vnder their owne Lawes, and to differ much from the Macedonians & onely they endured all things like vnto them, and obeyed the will of the King. Where- A fore Appelles tending hereumo, began to try the hearts of those that The malicious were in the Campe. And at the first hee commanded the Macedonians, that if by chance the Acheins should take any place before them, they should alwayes chase them away, and strip them of their Booty. Afterwards he caused some to be whipt by the hangman for small offences: And if any one questioned this kind of outrage, or did succour them that were beaten, they were put in prison, hoping by this meanes to accustome the Acheins to endure patiently what should please the King. Finally, when as some young men Acheins were affembled and come to Arate, relating vnto him the practife of Appelles. Arate confidering that B this must be preuented in the beginning, he came to Philip, and accompanied with these young men, deliuered all things in order. Who being heard, Philip wisht him to take no further care, and that hereafter they should not be so intreated. He gives charge to Appelles not to decree a. ny things against the Acheins without the aduice of their Commander. of Philip was held excellent in Eloquence and sweetnes of speech to perswade his Souldiers, and of great wiscdome and courage in the profes. fion of Armes, not onely in the judgement of Souldiers, but of all Morea: neither wasit easie to finde a King which had so many gifts of Nature. He was a man of great diligence, memory, and of a good afpect, and held him worthy of an Empire, in whom there was a royall power, a great force, and an incredible courage in actions of Warre, and as he layd the foundation of his Empire by fo many great virtues, it is hard to fay for what reason he was in the end so permerted, and made an execrable and wicked Tyrant of a good and iuft King. Wherefore leaving this to another feason, we will returne to our discourse. Philip patting from Olympia with his Army, came first to Pharia.

Succours fent succours vnto the Elienses at their request, whilest they ruined their to the Elienfes

Philides, who passing by the Countrey of the Elienses, after that he had taken about fine hundred voluntaries of theirs, and a thousand men of the City with the Tarentines, he came into Triphalia to succour the Allies. It is scituated in Morea, betwirt the Regions of the Elienses The Contraction and Messeniens, having drawne its name from Triphalia in Arand its lowner cadia. Finally, it lookes towards the Sea of Lybia loyning to Acheia

then to Erea, where the Booty was fold, whereof wee haue spoken.

Hee made a Bridge vpon Alphia, meaning to passe from thence into

Countrey: being about fixe hundred Etoliens under the command of

Triphalia. At the same time Dorimache chiefe of the Etoliens, sent D

vpon the West. Wherein are comprehended the Townes of Samicon, Lepres, Hygianne, Typanea, Pyrgon, Epion, Bolac, Tylangion, and Phrixe. The which as the Elyenses held before, fo as they had also taken the Towne of the Alphirences, which formerly did belong to Arcadia, by the meanes of Alliades the Megalopolisaine. who deliuered it vnto them in exchange, at fuch time as hee was King. As soone as Phylides was entred into Tripbalia, he sent the Eliences to Lepreon, and the Mercenaries to Alphira: and he remained at Tipanes.

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having the Esoliens with him.

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Philip leaving the Baggage, having past the Bridge of Alphia, which runs along the walls of Erea, he came to Alphira, which is feated vpon of Alphira. a certaine Mountaine full of Caues and Pits round about it, and hath aboue ren Furlongs in ascent. Finally, it hath a Fort vpon the top of it, and the Image of Minerus made of Copper, much differing from others in greatnesse and beauty: The people of the Countrey know not The Image of who made it, nor at whose charge, nor at what time it hath beene erected. All the World holds for certaine, that it is the most excellent worke among all those which Hecatodorus and Soffrases have made. The next Morning being cleare and bright, Philip commands many R Ladders to be brought, before the which he had Troupes of aduenturers, and then the Macedonians, commanding them all at the Sun-rifing, to make haste to creepe up the Mountaines, and to assaile the philip assailes Towne. Which being performed, the Alphirenfes ran all to a place Alphire. where they faw the Macedonians vie the greatest force. In the meane time Philip having with him the choice of all the Troupes, was come fecretly to the wall by a difficult Countrey. And when as the Souldiers affailed the Towne of all fides, and scaled it, Philip commanded to doe the like vnto the Fort which was neere the Fortresse : the which hee x tooke suddainly being unfurnished of Souldiers. When as the Alphiren-C fes faw it on fire from their walles, they were terrified with this new

danger, fearing that if the Macedonians should take the Fortresse, there

were no meanes of fafety, they retired fuddainly, abandoning the walls.

the Macedonians tooke presently with the Towne. Afterwards they

which held the Fortreffe, yeelded it to Philip, to have their lives faued.

according to the Composition which they had made with him. After these actions, the people of Triphalia being amazed, were carefull of their fafeties : Philides also parting from Typanes, after he had ranfack'd and spoil'd some houses, retired to Lopira. Behold the recome pence which the Etoliens at that time made vnto their Allies : fo as they D not onely abandoned them in their greatest extremity, but made them fuffer things which were scarce fit to be endured by an Enemy. The Ty. The Typaneates paneases yeelded the Towne presently to Philip: the which they of Hip! yeels vntq pane did in like manner. In the meane time the Phialences having newes of that which past in Triphalia, being in Armes, tooke a place neere vnto Polimarche, detecking the alliance of the Etoliens. The Etolien Pirates who by chance were in that Towne in regard of the Meseniens, laboured in the beginning to relift the Phialences. But when they were aduertifed that the whole Towns was of one accord, they gaue

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ouer their enterprize, and truffing vp their Baggage, departed. The The Phialences Phialences sent an Embassic to Philip, and submitted themselves and yield to Philip. their Towne under his obedience. This being done, the Lepreases gaining a place of aduantage within their Towne. resolued to chase away the Garrison of Eliences, Etoliens, and Lacedemonians. Philides in the beginning was nothing moued herewith, but continued still within the Towne. But when the King had fent Taurien with a part of his Army against him, and comming in person with the rest to Lepreon, Philides and his Company hearing the newes, began to faint. Contrariwile the Lepteates growing more resolute, did an act worthy of me- A against the Eto- mory: For having within their Townea thousand Eliences, fifteene hundred Etoliens, and two hundred Lacedemonians, Voluntaries, holding moreouer the Fort, yet their courage was so great, as they resolued not to forget the fafety of their Countrey in fo great a danger.

But when as Philides saw the Lepreates to prosecute what they had begun with fuch courage, and the Macedonians to approach neere vnto the Towne, he fled with the Elienses and Lacedemonians, having no more hope of fafety. So as the Lacedemonians taking their way by Mesena, returned to their houses, and the Etoliens went to Samice with their Commander Philides. The Lepreates being Masters of the R Towne, sent an Embassie to the King to yeeld it vnto him. Who be-

ing heard, the King sent part of his Army thither, and pursuing Philides for a time, with those that were lightly armed, hee tooke all the Baggage, and Philides faued himselfe within a Castle. There the King planted his Campe, and made shew to be lege the Towne, caufing the rest of his Army to come from Lepreon : wherewith the Esokens and Elienfes being amazed, as having nothing wherewith to defend the Siege but their hands, began to parley for their safeties. Who going forth vpon the Kings word, retired to Elis. The King was prefently Lord of Samice. Afterwards divers others came to submit them-Townes which selves, so as he tooke Phrixe, Tylangion, Epiron, Bolac, Pyrgon and C yeeldto shilip. Epicalion. After which he returned to Lepreon, having in fixe dayes

made all Tryphalia subiect. There he made remonstrances to the Lepreares according to the time, and put a sufficient Garrison into the Fortihe led his Army to Erea, leaving Ladix of Agarnania, Gouernour of Tryphalia: Being arrived there, he divided the spoile among the Souldiers, and having made provision of victuals, he tooke his way to Megalopolis in the heart of Winter.

When as Philip was in Trypbalia, Chylon the Lacedemonian immagining that the Crowne of the City belonged vnto him, and being discontented at the insolency of the Magistrates in choosing Lycurgue, he began to plot an enterprize of revolte. Hoping therefore to gaine the love and favour of the people, if doing like vnto Cleamenes, haput them in hope to divide the Lands againe, hee doth his indeauour to bring it to effect. And communicating his practice to his Friends, he had 200. Confederates of his enterprize. But knowing that Lycurgus and the Magistrates which had made him King, would make a great opposition, he fludied first how to preuent it. When as by chance all the Magistrates

fupt together, he affailes them by surprize, and kills them cruelly. Behold how Fortune prepared a punishment worthy the deedes which man Magistrats they had committed. Beleeue me, there is not any man but will fay flaine by coylon. that they had well deserved to be punished by him, and for the cause for which they suffered. As soone as chylon had done this Execution, he transports himselfe to Lycurgus house: And although he were there, yet he could not come at him; for hee was preserved by his Houshold Seruants and by his neighbours, and retired vnto Pellene by vnknowne wayes. Chylon frustrated of so great an opportunity, being wonder. A fully discontented, was forced to doe that which necessity required;

and transporting himselfe to the place, he seazed upon all his enemies, and gaue courage to his friends, labouring to induce the rest to revolt. But when as he saw no man to like of it, and that the Citty was in mutiny against him, fearing what might happen, steales away from thence, and comes into Acheia alone, being chased out of his Countrey. The Lacedemonians fearing the descent of King Philip, retired with what soeuer they had in the fields into their Townes : and fortified

them with men and all forts of munition, razing to the ground Athence of the Megalopolisains: For that it feemed a very convenient place for

It is certaine that whilest the Lacedemonians maintained their good gouernment, according to the Lawes of Lyengus, they were growne The Latederee very great vnto the Warre of Leuctres. Since which time they befortunate after ganne to feele the crosses of Fortune, and their government grew they had left worse, being full of many discommodities and intestine Seditions, with the Lawes of Banishments and ruines vntill the Tyranny of Nabydane: whose name they could not endure. These are things which have been related by many and are well knowne, fince that Cleomenes ruined the gouernement of the Country, wheteof wee will speake heereafter when opportunity shall require. Philip passing by Megalopolis with his Army, drew to Arges by the Country of Tegetane, and there past the remain-der of the Winter: purchasing a wonderfull renowne of all the World, aswell for his course of life, as for the things which he had done in this Warre, beyond the strength of his age. Appelles who (notwithstanding the Kings Commaundment) defisted not from his designe, labour lists in his continuous control in the control of the c red by little and little to make the Acheins subject. And when he found terprize. that Arate and the rest that were with him, were opposite vinto his ends, and that the King had them in great Reputation, especially olde Arate, for that he was in great Authority among the Acheins, and An-D tigonat, and was moreouer a good and diferente man, he beganne to Traduce him with injuries. Then hee inquires what men there were in Acheiaiof a contrary faction to Arate, aifd drawes them voto him. To whom hee gines a curteous and gracious reception, drawing them by perswasions to his friendship, and afterwards recommended them in perticular to the King? he gave him to understand that if hee fattout red the party of Agas, hee should entry the Acheins, according to the Contractof the League : But if vling his Councell he recented the others into kiendship, hee should dispose of all Mored at his pleasure.

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Aperate choicn chiese of the Acbeins.

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Moreover the time of the Election approaching, hee had an intent to cause one of the other Faction to be chosen. Wherefore hee beganne to solicite the King to be at Egia at the Common Assembly of the cheins, as if he meant to goe from thence into the Elienses Countrey. The King perswaded by his Words, came vnto Egia at the prefixed time: Where Appelles amazing the aduerle party, in the end prevailed with great difficulty. By this meanes Eperate was chosen Chiefe of the Acheins, and Tymoxenes quite reieded, whom Arate had

After thesethings Philip drawing his Army from Egira, and mar- A ching by Paires and Dimes, hee went to a Castle, which the Countrey-men call Mur, scituated in the Dimenses Country, and lately taken by Enripides, as wee haue formerly faid. As hee hafted with great heate to yeild it to the Dimenfes, having his Army ready in Battaile, the Garrison of Elienses was so amazed, as they presently yeided themselves and the Castle, the which is not great in Circuit, but very strong by Scituation and Walles: For it had but two furlongs in Compasse, but the VValls had not lesse then seauen Fathomes and a halfe in height. Philip delivering it to the Dimenses presently, hee oper-ranne the Province to spoile it : After which he put all to fire and B Sword, and returned to Dime, laden with great spoiles. Apelles supposed that hee had effected part of his dessigne, for that the chiefe had beene chosen according to his defire, hee chargeth Arate againe. desiring to him into disgrace with the King; and raiseth a slander vpon him vpon these causes.

amphidamus Chiefe of the Elienses in the Burrough which they call Thalame, being taken and fent with the other Prisoners, came to Olympia: And there hee beganne to feeke (by the meanes of fome) to fpeake vnto the King: To whom when hee was brought, hee told him that it was in his power to make the Elienses imbrace his Alliance and Friendship. The King perswaded with his Words, let him goe without ransome, with a Charge to tell the Blien(es, that if they would entertaine his Alliance, hee would deliner all their Prisoners without ransome, and that hee would preserve their Province from danger. fuffering them merconer to live in liberty, and that hee would give them no Garrisons, nor pretend any Tribute, but would suffer them to leuie mercenary men where their Affaires required. The Elienfes hearing these offers, would not accept of them, although they were great and profitable.

The flander

Appelles making this the occasion of his flander, goes to Philip, telling him that Arase and his Confederates kept no true Friendshippe with the Macedonians, nor entertained the League fincerely : For it was certaine they had beene the cause that the Elienses had not accepted the Conditions of the Alliance which had beene offered them: For at that time when as hee fent Amphidamin to Olympia, they had vied speeches secretly vnto him, that it was not for the good and benefit of Morea, that Philip should be Lord of the Elienses, and by this meanes the Elienfer, disdayning the conditions of Peace, observed their League

with the Etoliens , and indured the Macedonians Warre. This Speech being ended, Philip caused Arase with the Acheins to be called, and Commaunds Appelles to speake the fame Words in their Presence, the which hee performed boldly and without bluffing : Finally, the King of Appelles a fpeaking nor any thing; thee faid moreouer vnto them: And for that gaint Arate & Arate the King hath found you ingratefull and deceitfull, hee hath re- the acheins. folued to returne into Macedony, having first called the Acheins, and acquainted them with the occasion. Whereunto warse answered: The Answere The King, faydhee, ought not to beleeve lightly; but to consider well of the businesse, when they speake any thing against his Allies and Friends, before hee give credite to a slander. This is proper for a King , and very profitable in all things. And therefore in this flander you must call them that heard the VVords, and let Appelles enter with them, and omit nothing that may bee necessary to discouer the Truch, before it be reuealed to the Affembly of the Acheins. This ansivere was pleasing vinto the King, saying, That he would diligently fearch out the trueth, they then departed.

But within few dayes after, when as Appelles could not finde any proofe of those things which hee had objected, there was by chance a great testimony found of Arate his innocency : For whilst that Phillip B ruined the Province, the Elienfes having some suspition of Amphidamus, had resolued to take him, and to fend him bound into Etelia. The which Amphidamus discouering, hee steales away secretly, and comes first to Olympia: But having certayne newes that Philip stayed at Dyme to divide the Spoile, he went speedily vnto him. As soone as Arate had newes of the banishment of Amphidamus from his owne Countrey, hee was wonderfull joyfull, knowing that hee had not committed any thing against the Macedonians, and goes vnto the King, intreating him to call Amphidamus: For hee was the man that could give best satisfaction in those things wherewith hee was charged, C to whom the Words had beene spoken: And that moreouer he would willingly deliuer the trueth, feeing that for the love of Philip hee had 1 ene Banished his Natiue Countrey, and that all his hope confisted

in him onely.

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At whose words the King was mooued, and calling for Amphidamus hee found that Appelles had fallly flandered him. Wherefore after that day hee held Arate in greater esteeme and favour, but disliked the practife of Appelles; although hee were forced to indure this and many other things for the great Authority which hee held. But Ap. Tairion difpot-1) pelles changed not his humour: Hee deprived Taurion of the governe verment of ment of Mores, not taxing him with any offence, but commending Mores. and holding him worthy to bee in the Campe about the King, for that hee desired to put another in his place. Behold a new invention of the conditions flander to wrong any one, not in blaming him but in commending him. There is also found (but principally among Courtiers) a malicious diligence accompanied with Enuy and fraud, by a mutual Icalousie Alexander and extreame Auarice.

Hee did likewise indeauour to disappoynt Alexander the Chamber- to King and.

laine, and affected the care of the Kings Person for himselfe, and sinally to breake all the Order which Antigonia had left. Who had duly performed his duty in the Gouernment of his Realme and Sonne during his life: And dying hee prouided wisely for the future: For he left a Will, by the which hee set downean order what the Macedonians should doe, and what charges they should execute, labouring to take away all occasions of Ambition and Discord, which might rise in Court. Hee appointed Appelles to be Tutour to his Sonne, who had been eat the Warre with him: And hee made Leonce Chiefe of the Souldiers which carried Targets, and Megalee Chancellor, and Tan-rion Gouernour of Mores.

It is true, that Appelles at that time held Leonce and Megalee in his Subication, and was refolued to chase away Alexander and Taurion: To the end hee might supply their places in Person, or by his Creatures. The which vindoubtedly hee had done, if Arate had not preuented it. But now hee suffers the paine of his folly and Couetousnesse: For within a short time after hee suffered that, which hee laboured with all his power to doe vinto others. But wee will forbeare at this present to deliver the causes, making an end of this Booke, and we will endeauour in the following Booke to set down e every thing in its place.

After this Philip came to Argos, where hee past the remainder of the Winter with his friends, and sent backe his Army into Macedons.

The end of the Fourth Booke of Polybius.



The

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FIFTH BOOKE OF the History of POLYBIVS.

He Yeare of Arate his Government being ended about May (for so the Acheins measure the time) he left it, and Epirate tooke Epirate Chiefe it: And Dorimache was then Chiefe of the and Dorimache Etoliens. At the same time Summer be- of the Etoliens, ginning, Hannibal was parted from Carthage with his Army, for that the Warre grew hote betwint the Romans and the

A feat Titus Sempronius with an Army into Affricke, and Publius Cornellus into Spaine: Antiochus and Prolomy hauing no more hope to decide their Controuerfie concerning Syria, neither by Embassies nor meetings, had begunne the Warre. And then King Philip prost with want of Vistuals and money for his Army, caused the Acheins to assemble by their Magistrates. But when as the people were met at Egia, according to the custome of the Countrey, the King seeing Armemuch discontented for the affront which hee had received from Appelles, at the time of the Election, and that Eperate was distained as a scorne, knowing also the treachery of Appelles and Leones, he beganne againe to turne his affection to Arate. And after that hee had perswaded the Magistrates to teserre their Diet to Siepon, hee spake curteously to olde and young Arate, and perswaded them to continue in

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Mony & Corne deliucred to Philip by the Acbeins,

their first affection, charging Appelles with all that had beene done. Whereunto they confenting, hee presently after his entry into the Assembly, obtained by their fauour whatsoeuer was necessary for his present affaires: for it was ordred by the Acheins that they should pay vnto the King thirty thousand Crownes: That is to say, three moneths pay for the Souldiers; and threefcore and eleanen mines of Wheate, (euerv mine being valued at fine Quarters, a Combe and a Bushell of London measure) and withall as long as Philip should remaine in Morea, he should have fixe thousand two hundred Crownes monethly. Which being done. the Acheins returned enery man to his Towne. But win. A ter being past, and the Troupes returned, the King thought it best to assaile the enemy by Sea: for hee saw well that by this meanes hee might enter their Country, and surprize them on either side, and that they should not bee able to succour one another, as well for the distance that is betwixt them, and for the newnesse of the Warre by Sea, as alfo for that they should bee amazed at the suddaine descent of their Enc. mies: for at that time hee made Warre against the Etoliens . Lacedemonians, and Elienfes.

After this resolution, hee drew together the Acheins Vessels and his

owne at Leche, a Port of Corinibe. Commaunding that in the meane R

time, they should inure the Souldiers to the Oare, wherein the Mace-

donians did him great service. You must vnderstand that they are ex-

cellent men at Land in a pitcht field, and ready at Sea in Combates of

The name of the Macedoni-

> Surprize. Moreouer, they have not their equalls to Rampire and Fortifie: and they complaine not of their paines in such affaires: Finally, they are like vnto the Eacides, whom Hesiodus brings in reloycing more for Warrethen a Banquet. The King stayed at Corinthe with the Macedonians, being busic in the preparation of the Sea Army. Appelles who could not alter the Kings humour and disposition, nor suffer any abatement in his credite, being full of distaine, hee made a Conspira cy with Leonce and Megalee, which was, that they being prefent, thould hinder the Kings enterprizes, when opportunity did ferue; and that for his part he would goe to Chalcie to Stoppe the Victuals that should

The Confpira cy of Appelles

> fently thither, to put it in practife against the King : wherein hee kept his Promise, and forced him to ingage his plate and all the rest of his mooucables. When as the Army at Sca was drawne together, and the Macedonians accustomed to the Oare, and that the Souldiers had received Corne and Money , Philip fet Saile to Corinthe , and arrived three dayes after, p having fixe thousand Macedonians, and twelve Hundred Mercenaries. At what time Dorimache Chiefe of the Etolsens fent Agelans and Scope vnto the Elienses with twelve Hundred Gundyess newly levied. The Blienfer fearing that Philip would come and befrege Cyllene, levied Vol luntaries with all speede, and likewise made a leuy of men within the Citty, doing their indeauours to fortifie Cyllene. Philip advertifed hereof, hee left at Dime the Mercenaries of the Acheins, and the Candyots which hee had with him, and fome Horse men Gaules, and

come to the Kings Army. When he had plotted this hee went pre-

The forces which Philip left at Dyme.

about two thousand foote of the choice of the scheins, for the guard and fafety of the place against the affaults and attempts of the Eliq enses. And as a little before he had Written vnto the Messeniens, Epirotes, Acarnamiens and to Scerdilaide, to meete him in Cephalenia with their Equipage by Sea, hee parts presently from Paires, and failes directly into Cephalenia to the Burrough of Prones. But when he faw it difficult to befiege, and the Countrey streight, hee past on with his whole Army, and came to Palea: Where feeing the Region fertile in Corne, and in all other manner of munition, and fit to feede his Army, he landed his men, and planted his Campe neere vnto the Towne Wals. He also drew his shippes a shore, and inuironed them with deepe Ditches and strong Pallisadoes', fitting for their defence. Hee likewise sent the Macedonians to forrage, and himselfe went to view the Towne: and resoluted to set up his Engines, and to make all necessary preparations to force it, meaning to attend the succours of friends and Allies, and to make the Towne subject to his of edience: As well to depriue the Blienfes of the greatest benefite and commodity they had by Sea (for without doubt they failed into Morea by night, with the Gephalenian thippes, and spoiled the Sea Coasts of the Epirosas and Acarnaniens) as also to prepare this Towne for his Allies, as a retreate in the cucinics Country.

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Now for the Scituation of Cephalenia, it lyes within the shore of the scituation the Corinthian Gulfe, looking towards the Sea of Sycily, and bends of Cophalenia. towards the parts of Morea, which turne towards the North and West, and likewise towards the Province of the Elienses, and the parts of Epirus, Etolia, and Acarnania, which have their aspect towards the South and East. VVherefore he resolued to do what possibly hee might, to Conquerthis Iland, for the place was very convenient to assemble the Allies, and well seated to offend the enemies Townes; and for the defence of those of the League. And when hee faw that all the Quarters of the Towne were inuironed, partly with the Sca, and partly with Recepy Rockes, and that there was onely a little plaine which lookes towards Zacinthe, hee was fully refolued to plant his Battery there, and to prepare and make all things necessary for

In the meane time there arrived fifteene shippes of VV arre sent by scerdilaide, faying, that for the present hee could not furnish and make ready any more, by reason of some mutinies and dissentions D which had lately happened in Sclauonia. There also arrived succours and supplies from the Epirotes, Acarnaniens, and Messeniens, as he had ordained : For the Messeniens maintained the rest of the VVarre freely, after the taking of the Citty of Phigalee. VVhen as the King had prepared and made things necessary for the siege, and the Engines of Battery were appointed in convenient places, hee approaches them to the Towne incouraging and giving heart to his men: By whole meanes after they had mined, they presently opened a Quarter of the VVall, the which was underpropt with great peeces of Timber, fo great is the experience & knowledge of the Macedonians in fuch affaires.

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Then Philip approaching neerer vnto the Wall, hee beganne to summon the belieged to yeilde. But vpon their refusall, they suddainely fet fire on that part of the Wall, and ouer-threw it. This beeing Lemes a Tray- done hee sentthe Souldiers which carried Targets to make the point, being under the Charge of Leence, commanding them to affaile it and enter that way.

Leonce remembring his Conspiracy, and finding an opportunity to put it in execution, perswaded three young men of his followers. which marcht before all his Troupes to the affault of the Towne, that they should hinder the taking thereof, winning the Captaines of their A acquaintance, and Charging very faintly as if they were affraide. By this meanes they were shamefully repulled and beaten off from the affault having many Wounded and foare hurt : Although they might eafily have had the Victory, and have come off with a great deale of honour. The King seeing the searce of the Captaines, and the multitude that were Wounded, raised the siege. And from that time hee affembled his Friends and Allies, holding a Councell of that which hee had to doe for the future.

Embaffadours fent to Philip from the Mef-Centens and A. carnaniens,

In the meanetime Lycurgus entred into Messenia with an Army: And Derimache with halfe the Etoliens, fals into Theffaly : Wherefore R Embassadours come vnto the King from the Coarnamens and Messeniens. He of the Acarnaniens intreated him to make a Descent into the Etoliens Country, to the end hee might draw Dorimache from his Enterprize, and that he would spoile and consume all the Enemies Countries. He of the Meseniens demaunded Succours, shewing that it was but a dayes iourney from Cephalenia unto Messena, a Northerly Winde blowing : And therefore Gorgon fayd that the Voyage would besuddaine and of great profite and gaine. Leonce remembring his Conspiracy, helde for gorgen, seeing plainely that by this meanes. Philip should spendall the Spring in doing nothing: For the Voyage from thence to Messena was casie, but the returne impossible; for the C Winds blew still Northerly.

Wherefore it was apparent that if Philip past with his Army thither, hee should consume the rest of the Spring idlely, and in the meane time the Etoliens ouer-running Thefaly and Epirus, would put all to fire and Sword. This was the reason why hee Councelled this and such like things. But Arate was of a contrary minde and opinion: For hee was of aduice that they should sayle into Etelia, and to make Warre first there: For hee immanined that the time was very fitting and convenient to spoyle and ruine the Province, for that the Etoliens were gone to the Warte with Dorimache. The King fol- D lowed no more the Councell of Leonce in anything, both for that the affaires succeeded ill in the last siege, as for that hee was resolved to imbrace that of Arate, confidering the long experience and praeise he had of his Wisedome: Wherefore hee wrote vnto Eperate Chiefe of the scheins that in holding the Legions suddainely ready, hee should succour and ayde the Messens. And in the meane time he parts from Cephalenia, and two dayes after arrives in the middle of

the night with his Army by Sea at Leucade : And from thence holding his course a long the Sea of Ambracia, the which as wee have formerly fayd, parting from that of Syelly, extends it felfe into Etolia. And when hee was come vnto the Marshes, hee stayed there a little before day, and cause his men to feede and refresh their weary bodies, commanding them to be ready without any Baggage. Then he called his guides and inquires of the places and Townes, and of all things elfe that were necessary.

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At the same time Aristophantes arrived with a good Troupe of carnaniens, having a great defire to revenge the great and many out-A rages, which the Esoliens had done them in former times. Wherefore receiving the Macedonians willingly, they drewe to Armes, not they onely which were bound by the Law, but even many olde men, The Epirotes had no leffe defire to doe the like for many reasons : But they could not affemble in time for the great extent of the Prouince, and the suddaine comming of Philip. Dorimache, as wee have formerly fayd, had halfe the Etoliens with him, and left the reft in feuerall parts of the Countrey to be ready, if any new accident should

happen.

Lib. 5.

The King parting after noone from the Fenns, and having left sufficient force to guard the Baggage, when hee had marcht about three fcore Furlonge, he planted his Campe. Where after hee had ftayed fome certaine space, and had caused his Souldiers to feede, and refresh themselues being formerly wearied, he continued his course: So as marching all night, he arrived before day at the River of Acheloe, betwirt Conope and Strate, feeking to furprize Therese by a way which they did not regard. Leonce and Megalee fore-faw for two reasons that the King would prevaile in his enterprize, and that the Esoliens would haue the worst. The one was, that the Macedonians descent was sud-C daine, and much more speedy then they could immagine: The other, that the Etoliens fearing not that Philip passing by those rough and difficult Countries, would be vnprouided. Wherefore confidering these things, and mindfull of their Conspiracy, they aduised Philip that in seating of his Campe neere to the River of Achelee, he should refresh his Army for the last nights labour: Hoping that by this meanes the Etoliens should have time to sceke for succours, from their friends and Allies.

But Arate holding the time very precious to effect the Kings Refo. D lution, and that Leonice and Megalee like Traytors fought how to ftop and preuent his passage, hee intreates Philip nor to loose to faire an opportunity. Following whole aduife, the King beginning to bee difcontented with Leonce and Megalee, hee proceeded in his journey: And passing the River of Acheloe hee marcht directly vnto Therme with his whole Army, putting all to fire and Sword: On the left hand hee, left the Townes of Strate, Agrinia, and Testia : And uppon the right hand he left Conope, Lysimachia, Tryconia, and Philea. Beeing come to the Towne of Methape, which lyes betwixt Tryconia and the Fenns, . about threescore furlongs distant from Therme, the Etoliens fled.

Where-

Methape taken by Philip.

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Wherefore hee tooke it, and put into it a Garrison of fine hundred men, to the end he might make vie of it for a Retreate, aswell in his passage as in his returne by those streights : For the Countrey especially about the Fennes is Mountainous, difficult, and invironed with thicke Fortests.

The order which Philip held to passe the fireights of

By this meanes the way is very troublefome, and in a manner inacceffible. Then he put the Voluntaries in the foreward, and after them the Selanonians: Then followed the Targeteers and the Leginaries, and in this manner hee marcht thorough the streights, having the Candyots in the Reare, and the Thraciens on the right Wing for A a support. In regard of the left side, the Fennes did fortifie them about thirty Furlongs in length or rather more. When hee had speedily past the streights, and taken the Burrough of Pamphia, and had put a Garrison into it, he proceeded towards Therme, which is not onely difficult and inacceffible, but hath also deep Vallies round about it: so as in some places the way is dangerous and narrow, with an Asfent about thirty furlongs high. The which having soone past, for Therme (poyled that the Macedonians had carried themselues like braue men, hee by the Macedo, came in the dead of the night vnto Therme, a very rich and likewife a faire Towne: Where planting his Gampe, hee abandoned the Countrey and the Houses of Therme to the spoile of the Souldiers, the which were furnished not onely with Corne, and all other manner of munition, but with the richest mooueables of the Etoliens : For cuerv man carried thither the richest stuffe hee had, for that yearely they kept Faires and Feasts there, and they made their Election : And withall they held this place for the fafest and most surest of all the rest, whereunto no man durst approach; being such by Nature, as it seemed to be the Fort of all Etolia.

Wherefore the Houses (considering their long peace) were full of all Wealth, not onely those that were neere vnto the Temple, but in all other places. They rested this night within the Towne, being in- C richt with spoiles. The next day they made choyse of the best, and fet fire of the reft. They also tooke the best Armes, which hung vo in their Cloysters or Galleries, and changed some, setting fire of the reft, being aboue fifteene thousand. You must vnderstand that hitherto they mannaged the Warre inftly, and according to its Lawes. But I know not what to fay of that which followes: For they ruined all the Cloysters and stately Houses, and ouer-threwall the ornaments which had beene made with great care and Charge, calling to minde that which the Esoliens had done, at the Temple of Iupiter Dodones. They not onely confumed the building by fire, but they ruined all the D Walles: And withall they ouer-threw and beate in peeces aboue two thousand Images, yetthey would not touch those which had the figure or inscription of one God. They had grauen uppon the Walles. when as the dexterity of Same, the sonne of Chrifogone (who had beene nurst with the same milke that the King) beganne to shew it selfe, This vulgar Verse:

Thon

Thou feest the God, which will terrifie him with his Dart.

The King and his Friends thought they had done well, and that by meanes they had reuenged with the like recompence the execration which the Etoliens had made, vnto God. But for my owne part, 1 am of another opinion; and enery man may judge whither I have reafon, calling vnto minde the example of Kings of the same Line, and The product not of other Races. When as Intigonus had chased away Cleonic of Antigonus to A nes King of the Lacedemonians and was Lord of Sparta, hee forbare wards the Lato vie any outrage or cruelty to the Lacedemonians, and carried him- cedemonians selse not onely like a moderate and temperate man, but was also gracious vnto his Enemies : And returned into his Countrey leaving the Lacedemonians in their full liberty, doing them many fauours, both in generall and perticular. So as they not onely tearmed him at that time their Benefactor, but likewise after his Death they called him their Sauiour: So as hee not onely purchased Prayse and immortall glory with the Lacedemonians, but likewife withall other Nations, Moreouer Philip who first inlarged the Realme of Macedony, and made the name of his Race great, hee did not winne the Athenians (after that hee had Vanquished them in Cheronia) so much by Armes. as by his milde course of living, and the sweetnesse and gentlenesse of his Nature.

It is true, that hee Vanquissed those that came against him to Battaile : and had wonne the Athenians and their Citty : Not by a continuance of his Choller and indignation against the Vanquished, but in fighting with his Enemies vntill occasion were offered to shew his mild. The surrefices neffe and Vertue : For hee fent vnto the Athenians (who had done him ther of Alexanter of the Arthur Designation of the Athenians) many wrongs) their Prisoners free, and caused such as had beene slaine derto the diber C in the Battaile to bee interred, foliciting the Athenians afterwards, wiana to carry away the bones voto the Sepulchers of their Aunceftors. And afterwards fending backethe fayd bones, and many flaues freed, being lightly attired with Antipater, hee decided a great busineffe by his industry : So as the votamed hearts of the Athenians, being Vanquished by his magnanimity, they were alwaies after obedient vnto him, and ready to fatisfie his defires. What did Alexander, whose alexander the Choller was so great against the Thebanes, as hee made all the Citti-Great. zens flaues: and razed their Citty vnto the ground, reducing fome of their Princes into seruitude, sending others into Banishment, and taking all their Wealth? Yet his rage and fury did not fo farre exceede, as D to force and violate the Temples of the immortall Gods, vfing all possible diligence, to keepe his men from committing any disorder and villany. And when hee past into Asia, to revenge the outrages which the Persians had done voto the Grecians, hee punished the men which had committed them, according to their deferts: but hee touchednot the Temples: Although the Persians had most wronged the

This Philip (hould have confidered, to the end hee should not bee so

The blame of much esteemed, the Heire of the afore-sayd Kings in their Soueraignty, as in life and Conversation. Hee did what possibly hee could in his life time, to shewe himselfe to bee of the blood of Alexander and Philip: But heedid not care to imitate them, nor to doe as they had done. Wherefore leading another course of life, hee also left another opinion of him with all Nations. For as hee laboured to yeeld the like vnto the Esoliens for their outrages, and to purge cuill by cuill, he thought not to offend. Calling to minde the outrages which Scope and Dorimache had done vnto the Temple of Iupiter Dodonee, hee did not perceiue that he committed the like errour, ftraying wonderfully from A The Lawes of reason. It is true that the Lawes of Warre, permit to vie cruelty against enemies, and to ruine and spoile their Castles, and Gardens, Townes, and Burroughes, Shippes, Fruites, and fuch like: To the end that their forces may be weakned, and his owne fortified and augmented. But it is the Act of a furious and man, to ruine those things that are neither any way profitable or commodious vnto himfelfe, nor hurtfull vnto his enemy : As Temples, Cloisters, Images, and fuch like.

Enemy to his totall ruine. It sufficeth onely that the faultes of Delin- R quents may be purged and Corrected; and not to ruine with the vniust those things which have not offended, nor to seeke to destroy and pull downe with the Enemy that which hath committed no outrage. It The pradife of is the practife of a cruell Tyrant, to Raigne in doing euill, forcing The Duty of a

It is not fitting that a good and vertuous man, should persecute his

his people thorough feare, and living in mutuall harred with his Subiccis. But the duty of a King is to doe good vnto all men, gouerning his people without feare, with bounty and Clemency: And living with his Citizens in mutuall love and friendshippe. But wee shall see more plainely the great errour which Philip committed, if wee shall truely consider the opinion which the Esoliens might have had of him, @ if hee had not ruined the Cloisters and Images, nor carried away the Ornaments of the Temple. I conceiue that beeing culpable of the things, which had beene committed at the Temple of Iupiter Dodo. wee, they might have scene plainely that Philip could have done the like, and yet it had beene cruelty, the which notwithstanding in shewe hee had done with reason: And that hee would not imitate and follow their Wickednesse in regard of his Bounty and Magnanimity. they would vindoubtedly have condemned themselves for their faultes, in commending and appropuing Philip with great admiration, for that like a magnanimous King, hee had carried a respect vnto the Gods, and executed his Choller vpon them.

To vanquifban

a Tyrant,

King.

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There is no doubt, but it is better to vanquish an Enemy by mildenemy by mild neffe and Clemency, then by force and might: For by Armes necession ey forceth men to obedience; but mildnesse drawes them to it willingly. By the one faults are corrected with loffe: And by the other offenders amend and reforme themselves without damage. Moreover in the one the Souldiers attribute vnto themselves the greatest part of the glory, which is a great matter: But in curtesie, gentlenesse, and

mildnesse, all the Victory is given vnto the Commander. So as happily considering his age, they will not attribute to Philip the greatest part of those things which he had done, but to those that were in the Warre with him, of which number were carate and Demetrins of Phare. The which would be casie to say vnto him, although he had not beene there present, and that this outrage done vnto the Gods, had beene by the aduice of one of them. It is true, that this was done contrary to the course of Arates life, during the which hee neuer did any thing rashly, nor without consideration : whereas Demetrine did alwayes the contrary. There are likewise particular presumptions thereof, whereof we A will speake when it shall be fit.

Philip then (returning to our discourse) parts from Therme, laden with all spoiles : and returnes the same way he came . causing the Baggage to goe before, with those that were best armed : and placing the Acarnaniens in Rearward with the Mercenaries, he made hafte to passe the freights. He feared that the Enemies relying vpon the aduantage of the place, might charge him in the Reare. The which was presently put in practife, for that the Etoliens hauing drawne together three thouland men, neuer approaching neere vnto Philip, whilest hee held B the high Countrey, made their Ambushes in scattred places under the command of Alexander. But when the Rearward began to march, they entred into Therme, charging them vpon the Taile. When as the al- The Etolien larum was giuen, the Esoliene relying much vpon the aduantage of charge Philips places, purfied them with great courage. But Philip having wifely Rearward, prouided for the future, had left the Sclanonians in Ambush vnder a certaine Hill, with many others that were armed with Targets. Who feeing the pursuite of the Etoliens, they marcht against him with great fury, and presently slew fixe or seauen score, and tooke as many: the

rest saued themselves by infamous and shamefull slight. The Acarnanians and Mercenaries, after they had gotten the victo. ry, they presently set fire on Paphia: and when they had past the paphia burnt, Areights with great speed, they found the Macedonians. Phillip seated his Campe neere vnto Methape, staying for his men. And parting Methaperazed from thence after he had razed is he comes to a Towne called Acres by Philip. from thence after he had razed it, he comes to a Towne called Atres. Then continuing his way for three dayes together, hee wasted the whole Countrey: The day following he planted his Campeneere voto Comope, where he stayed the next day. After which hee march't at the breake of day towards Strate, where hee past the River of Acheloe, and lodged within a Bowes shoote of the Towne, drawing the Inhabitants often to skirmish. For he had beeneaduertised, that there were three thousand Esolien foote within it, and about foure hundred Horse, with fine hundred Candiots. When as no man durst come forth, hee raised his Campe againe, and at the first tooke his way towards the Penns, to recouer his ships. But when as the Reare of his Army began to passe the Towne, a number of Esolien Horse-men make a fally and charge The Etoliens them. They were presently followed by a Troupe of Candiors, and made a fally many Etoliens came to fuccour their Horfe-men, the Acarnaniens being in danger, turned head against the Enemy, and the Combate began

betwixt them. The Victory was long in suspence: Finally, Philip sent the Sclauonians to succour the Mercenaries. Wherefore the Etoliens being vanquished, fled of all sides. Those which the King had sent, purfued the greatest part of them to the Gates and walls of the Towne. whereof there were a hundred flaine in the chase : the rest durst no more shew themselves in Field. By this meanes the Kings Army retired without danger to their ships.

After which Philip planted his Campe, and gaue thankes vnto the Gods for the good fortune which he had obtained according to his defire: And making a Banquet, he inuited all the Captaines. It seemed A true, that he had past by dangerous places, into the which no man before him durst lead an Army. But he not onely past them, but did what he would, and returned without loffe or danger. Moreover, Megalee and Leence (discontented at the Kings good fortune having sworne to Appelles to hinder all his enterprizes: which they could not effect, for that all things succeeded happily to Philip) were present at this Supper fad and penfiue: fo as they discourred easily vnto the King, and to the other assistants what their hearts were. But when the Tables were taken away, and they were well inflamed with their free drinking, they returned to their Tents, seeking for Arate. Whom when they met B vpon the way, they yied many injurious speeches against him, and Leonce docouts began to affault him with stones. But for that much people came of either side to succour them, there grew a great mutiny in the Campe. Philip hearing the Trumpet, fent men to inquire, and to pacifie this tumult. To whom Arate declaring the businesse as it had past, and referring himselfe to the testimony of those that were present, hee returned presently vnto his Tent. Leonce retired secretly out of the presse. Philip causeth Megalee and Crinon to be called, with whom he was much offended. And when as they answered him proudly, that they would neuer cease vntill they had beene reuenged of Arate: The King incen-Crinon condem. fed therewith, condemned them presently in twelve thousand Crownes. King in 12000, and to bee committed to Prifon. Three dayes after he calls for Arate. and intreates him not to care, promifing him to give order for all things when as opportunity shall ferue. Leonce aduertised of the imprisonment of Megalee, came with force to the Kings Tent: immagining that Philip (confidering his youth) would alter his sentence for feare. Being come before the King, he demanded what man was so hardy to lay hand on Megalee, and who had committed him to Prison. But when as the King answered boldly, that hee had done it, Leonce went away amazed, and in a manner fighing.

Philip setting sayle with his Fleete, came presently to Leucade: where after he had appointed men to divide the spoile, he called all his friends to judge Megalee. There Arate laied before them the outrages of Leonce, the great wrongs he suffred in the time of Antigonus, the Conspiracy he made with Appelles, and the hinderance he gaue at Palea: To all which things he produced witnesses. Whereunto when Meganation of Me- lee nor Crinon could not answere any thing, they were condemned by galet and Cris all the affembly. Whereupon Crinon remained a Prisoner: But

Megalee was delivered vpon Leonces caution. This was the estate of Appelles and his Confederates : whose Fortune was not such as they ex. pected f For hoping to tertific Arate, and to doe what they would with the King, and by this meanes to prevaile in their wills, all things fucceeded contrary.

Lib. 5.

In the meane time Lieurgus retires out of the Meffeniens Countrey, hauing done nothing worthy of memory. Afterwards parting from Lacedemon with an Army, he tooke the Towne of Elea, and belieged Licagus takes the Fort, whereinto the Cittizens were retired : where after hee had the Towne of A stayed there some time, and seeing his labout lost, he returned againe to Sparta. And when as the Elienfes over ran the Countrey of the Dimenses, some Horse men which were in Ambush, and come to succour. them, put them cafily to flight, and flew a good number of Gaules, taking Prisoners those of the Townes of Polymede of Egia, Agispolid and Diode of Dime. Derimache was gone in the beginning with an Army onely of Esoliens, thinking that he might fafely ouer-run Thefaly, and by this meanes draw Philip to raise his Siege from Pales. But being aduertised of the preparation of Chrysogenes and Petres to come and fight with him, he durst not enter into the Plaine, but alwayes kept the top of the Mountaines with his Army. And when he had newes of the comming of the Macedonians inco Ecolic, he leaves Thefaly prefently to goe and succour his Countrey : where being aduertised of the Kings retreat, not knowing what to doe, and disappointed in all his enterprizes, he remained fad and discontented.

The King at his departure from Lencade with his Fleete, having spoiled and wasted the Sea coasts, landed at Corinthe with his Army, lea. Philip comesto uing his ships at Leche. Then he sent Letters to all the allied Townes of Corinthe, Morea, to aducttile them of the day when they should come in Armes to Tegee. Which things being thus ordered, without making any long C ftay at Corinthe, he parted with his Army : and paffing by the Countrey of Argos, three dayes after his departure, he came to Tegee : whereas after he had received the Acheins which were there affembled, he proceeded in his course, passing secretly by the Mountaines, he laboured to enter the Countrey of Sparta, before the Lacedemonians should be aduertised. Where having marched foure dayes by the Desarts of the Mountaines, he came to those which were right against the City: Then leaving Manelaie on the right hand, he drew to amycle. The Lacedemonians seeing the Army passe by their Citty, they wondred at this strange accident, and being terrified with this suddaine feare, they knew not what to doe: For they were amazed at the valiant exploits D which they fayd Philip had lately done at Therme, and throughout all Etolia. And there was a certaine bruite amongst them, that Licargus was fent to succour the Etoliens. As for Philips suddaine descent into the Countrey of Sparta, no man had ever thought of it, and the rather for that his age feemed worthy of some contempt. Wherefore matters succeeding contrary to all hope, the world had reason to feare: The great die for Philip mannaging the Warre with greater courage and policy then ligence of his age did hears. he terrified his Brownies. And semaling a make the Philip. his age did beare, he terrified his Enemies. And namely (as we have

rige to Arate.

Megalce and

Crownes.

fayd) he parted from Etolia, and possing the Gulfe of Ambracia in one night, he came to Leucade, where staying two dayes, and parting the third earely in the morning, he arrived two dayes after at Corinihe. hauing spoiled the Sea-coasts of Etolia, and from thence continuing his course, he came within nine dayes to the Mountaines which are right against Sparea, necre vnto Menelase: so as they could hardly belocue it when they faw him. The Lacedemonians then terrified with the greatnesse and newnesse of this accident, knew not what Counceli to take. nor to whom to have recourfe.

The Scituation of Amvale. The Temple of

The Port of

Gythia:

The day following Philip campes necrevato Imyele. It is a place A in the Sparsains Countrey, abounding with all forts of Trees and wealth, twenty Furlongs from Lacedemon : Where the Temple of Apollo Stands. being the most excellent of all the rest of the Province, as well for Art as wealth, being seated in that part of the Towne which locks towards the Sea. Three dayes after when he had spoiled the whole Country, he went to the Castle of Pyrhu, where he stayed two dayes, and wasting the whole Countrey, he put all to fire and sword, and planted his Campe neere vnto Carnia. From whence he suddainly marche to Affina, from whence (after he had attempted in vaine to take it by affault) he raised the Siege, and wasted all the rest of the Countrey, marching B directly to Tenare: From thence enring his way. hee drawes to the Lacedemonians Hauen, which they call Gythia: where there is a fafe Port, about thirty Furlongs from the Citty. Then leaving it on the right hand, he planted his Campe neere to Elea: which is (if we confider it well) the greatest and best Countrey of the Spartains : The which he abandoned to the Souldiers, who put it to fire and sword. Hee also spoiled the Acriens and Lengues, and the whole Countrey of the Boies.

The Messense having received Letters from Philip, were no lesse diligent then the other Allies, who leuied men prefently within their C Townes, and fent the most able voto the King, to the number of two thousand Foote and two hundred Horse. But the length of the way

was the cause they came not to Teger before the Kings departure. And therefore doubting in the beginning what they should doe, fearing likewise that it would seeme, they had willingly made this delay for the suspition they had of them in the beginning, they resolved to enter the Spartains Countrey, to the end they might joyne speedily with the King. Being come vnto the Castle of Olympes, which is seated neere wito the Mountaines of the Argines and Lacedemonians, and had fer themselves downe foolishly and without consideration : for they did D not fortifie themselues neither with Ditches nor Pallisadoes, neither did they choose a convenient place: But relying on the good-will of the Inhabitants, they lodged fimply necre vnto the Walls. Licargus ada

the Caftle of

Qlympes.

uertised of their comming, takes the Mercenaries, and part of the Lace. demonians, and goes directly to the Enemy. Where arriving at the breake of day. he marcheth in Battaile against the Messens : who The Messenius perceiuing him, abandoned all, and fled by heapes into this Cassle. Lieurgus recoucred the greatest part of their Horses and Baggage, but Licurgios.

he tooke not a man : he onely flew eight Horse-men. The Messens after this defeate returned by the Argines Countrey. Lycurgus proud of this good fortune, being returned to sparta, vieth all speed to leule men, and to prepare all things necessary for the Warre, labouring that Philip might not returne by the Spartains Countrey without a Battaile or danger. The King parts with his Army from Elia, spoiling all as he passeth, and brought all backe on the fourth day to Amyele. Lieur from Ellaspois gus having resoluted with his Friends and Captaines to give Battaile to ling allas hee

the Macedonians, goes out of the Citty, and recouers the places about palleth. A Menelate with about two thousand Foote, commanding them of the Citty to be watchfull, and when they should see a signe, they should speedily make fallies by divers places, taking their way towards Eurota, which is a River neere vnto the Citty. These were the actions of Licar. gus and the Lacedemonians at that time.

But to the end that what wee fay, may not seeme obscure by the ignorance of places, wee must declare the nature and scituation: The which we will indeauour to doe throughout our whole worke, alwaics ioynin gplaces knowne to the vnknowne: For the difference of Countryes doe many times deceiue in Warre, as well by Sea as Land. Our defire is, that all men should know not onely the things, but how they were done. And therefore the description of places is necessary in all things, but especially in Warre: neither may we blame the vse of Fens, Seas, and Ilands for fignes: and fometimes of Temples, Mountaines, Townes, and certaine Countries : nor finally the difference of circumstances: For these are things common to all men. It is also the meanes to advertise the Reader of things voknowne, as we have sayd. The scituation of places whereof we speake is this. Although that Lacedemon feemes to ftand in a plaine, yet it hath here and there rough and hilly places : Neere vnto which towards the Eaft, paffeth this River which C they call Erota, the which for the most patt of the yeere is not to be arous. waded thorough, by reason of its great depth. The Mountaines wherein Menelaie stands, are on the other fide of the River towards the Citty which looke towards the Winters East: the which are rough and diffi-

cult and wonderfull high: And bend ouer the Plaine which lies betwixt

the River and the Citty, by the which it takes its course along the soote

of the Mountaines. The King was of necessity to passe that way, having

the Citty on the left hand, and the Lacedemonians ready and in Armes:

And on the right hand the River, and those which were in the Moun-

taines with Licarem. Matters standing in this estate, the Lacedemonians bethought them-D sclues of a stratagem, by the which in breaking of a Damme, they should drowne all the Plaine betwixt the Citty and the foot of the Mountains, fo as neither Horse nor Foote should be able to passe. By this meanes they saw the King should bee forced to lead his Army by the foote of the Mountaines : the which he could not doe without great danger : for that he should be forced to extend his Army in length, and not ve nited and close, and to march a flow pace. Philip seeing this, assembles his Friends, and was of opinion, that he must first chase away Licurgus

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from the places which hee held. Wherefore he takes in his company the Mercenaries, the Targeteers, and the Sclauonians, and began to march directly towards the Mountaines to passe the River. Licargus vaderstanding of the Kings resolution, put his men in Battaile, and perswades them to doe their duties in fighting, and withall hee makes a figne to them of the Citty, as he had promised. Which done, the Souldiers presently fally forth, putting the Horse men on the right wing, When Philip came neere vnto Licurgus, he fent the Mercenaries to give the first charge, of whom the Lacedemonians had the better at the first. by reason of the aduantage of the place and the manner of their Armes. A But when as he had fent the Targeteers with the Selanonians to fuccour the Mercenaries, there was so great an alteration, as the Mercenaries feemed to have the victory in their hands : And the Lacedemenians amazed at the fury of them that were well armed, fled presently, as despairing of their fafety. There died about a hundred men : and some few more taken : the rest recouered the Citty.

Licurges taking his way by inaccessible woods, arrived the night following at the Citty. When as Philip had put a lufficient strength of Sclauonians into the Mountaines, he returned with them that were lightly armed, and the Targeteers to his Army At the fame time Arate bringing B back the Army from Amycle, was not far from the Chy with whom the King (passing the River) joyned, and appointed them that were well armed to make head against the Horse-men at the soot of the Mountaine. When as the Lacedemonian Horse-men had charged the Macedonians, and the targeteers had fought valiantly, and withal the King had performed his duty well, they were in the end repuls'd shamefully to the gates of the City. Afterwards the King past Eurota safely, and was forced to fettle his Campe in the night, at his comming forth of the freights, in a place which was very strong by nature. Finally, the King had an humour to ouer-run the Countrey neere to Lacedemon. In the beginning C of the faid streights vpon the approaches from Teges by the firme Land to Lacedemon, there is a place about two Furlongs distant from the Citty, vnder the which the Riner hath its course : the which imbraceth the Citty and the side of the River, with a steepe and inaccessible Mountaine. The foote of this Mountaine is a flimy and watery Plaine, as well for the entry as the going forth of an Army: fo as who focuer plants his Campe there, in seazing vpon the Hill, seemes to campe safely, and to be in a sure place, in regard of the Towne which is opposite, having under its power the entry and iffue of the streights. Philip having seated his Campe there, he causeth the Baggage to march the next day, D and drawes his Army into the Plaine, in view of the Towne. Where after he had stayed sometime, hee wheeles about like a Bowe, and takes his way towards Teges. And when hee came into the Countrey where that famous Battaile was fought betwixt Antigonus and Cleomenes, he planted his Campe there.

Three dayes after when the places were well viewed, and the Sacrifices performed in two Mountaines, whereof the one is called Olympe, and the other Ena, he went on his way, and came to Tegea, where

he stayed some time to divide the spoile: Then suddainly hee returned to Corinebe with his Army. Thither came Embassadours from Rhodes and chies to the King, to mediate a peace betwirt him and the Eteli. Emballadours from Riolesto ens. To whom the King gining a gracious reception, he told them that he ches. hadlong, and at that present was ready to imbrace a peace, if the Etoliens held it fit, and that they should goe vino them, and consider of the meanes therof. From thence he went to Leche, and prepared himfelfe to imbarke, desiring to decide some pressing affaires at Phocis.

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At the same time Leonce, Megalee, and Peolomy thinking yet to terrifie the King, and by that meanes to repaire their errours, calls the Targeteers, and those whom the Macedonians terms, the Kings Troupe: whom they informe that they are dayly in great danger with. out any recompence, or any share in the spoile, according to the ancient custome approued by all men. By meanes whereof they perswade these young men to assaile and spoile the Lodgings of the Kings principall Minions, and that falling vpon the Kings owne Lodging, they should ouerthrow the Gates and couering. The which when they had done, there grew a great mutiny in the Towne. Philip hearing the A mutiny a-donians together, he pacifieth them partly with words, and blaming

n them for the things which they had done. And when as the fury increased, and that some were of opinion to chase out of the Towne those that had beene the cause of the mutiny, others saying that this fury of the Commons ought to bee pacified without any greater punishment, the King dissembled his conceite for the present : And being as it were perswaded by them, hee returned to the Hauen, after hee had given them many admonitions, knowing well the heads of this villany: But hee thought good to deferre it to a more convenient time. Leonce and his Faction despairing, for that none of their enterprizes succeeded, Leonce and his retired to Appelles, and caused him to come from Caleis, giuing him to Faction retired

c vnderstand that they could not doe any thing without him, for that to Appeller, the King crost them in all things. Appelles had carried himselse in Calcis with greater liberty then was fit: for he gaue them to voderstand that the King was young, under his Guard and without any power, terming himselse Lord, and sole Gouernour of all things. Wherefore all the Princes of Macedony and Thessaly adrest themselves to him in all affaires. Within a short time likewise all the Citties of Grecce had forgotten the King in their elections, honours, and offices: Onely Appelles mannaged all affaires. The King being long before aducttifed thereof, was much discontented and incensed: whereunto Arate spurd him on continually,

D although he diffembled his conceite fo well, as no man could discouer it. Appelles ignorant of the Kings resolution, and thinking to obtaine any thing when he should present himselfe anto him, came from Calcin to Corinehe. When he came neere the Towne, Leonce, Ptolomy, and Me. galee Chiefe of the Targeteers, and other Souldiers that were best armed, gaue him a great reception, perswading the youth to goe and meete him. He came then to the Kings lodging in pompe, being attended on by the Captaines and Souldiers. When as he fought (as he was wont) to

The mikry of

enter suddainly, a certaine Vsher told him, that he must have patience for that the King was busie for the present. Appelles wondring at this new manner of proceeding, remained penfine for a time, after which he departed discontented, and without judgement : all the rest likewise abandoned him, so as hee returned alone to his lodging, having no other Company but his owne Family. O how suddainly are men aduanced to great honours, and in as short time reduced to greater mileries : especially such as frequent Princes Courts. They are like vnto Lots, which they vsually giue in publique Councells. For as those which a little before were were giuen in Copper, are suddainly turned A into Gold, according to the will of those that dispose of them : So they which follow the Courts of Princes, are according to the Kings will and pleasure, happy one day, and miserable the next. When Megalee knew that he had fought the affiftance of Appelles in vaine, he trembled for feare, and intended to flye. After that day Appelles was called to Banquets and other honours that were done : but he neuer entred into the priny Councell, nor affifted at the ordinary resolutions which were taken for affaires.

Micealet.

Leonce.

Soone after the King returned to Phocis, leading Appelles with him: Whereas having speedily effected his will, he returned againe to Elatia. During this, Megalee flies to Athens, leaving Leonce caution for B him for twelue thousand Crownes. And when as the Chiefe of the Atheniens would not receive him, he returned to Thebes. The King being parted from the Countrey which lies about Circe, hee fayled to the Port of Sicyonia with the Targeteers and his Guard. From whence comming suddainly to the Towne, he preferred the lodging of Arate before the other Princes, making his continual abode with him, commanding Appelles to Sayle to Corinthe. When as newes came in the meane time of the flight of Megalee, hee sent Taurion with the Targeteers whom Leonce had under his charge to Triphalia, as if hee had beene forced thereunto by some great affaires. After whose departure, C hee causeth Leonce to be apprehended. The Targeteers aduertised The taking of hereof, fent an Embaffie to the King to intreate him that if Leonce had beene taken for any other thing then for the caution, that the judgement might not be giuen before their returne : Otherwise they should thinkethemselues contemned, and in disgrace with the King. The King prickt forward by the importunity of the Souldiers, he put Leonce to death sooner then he had resolued.

During the which, the Embaffadours of Rhodes and Chies returned from Etolia, having agreed upon a Monethstruce: and faying that the Esoliens were ready to treate a peace with the Knig, appointing more- D ouer a day when he should meete with them neere vnto Rhie: Being confident that they would doe what soener he pleased to have a peace. The The King accepting the truce, sent Letters to the Allies, willing them to fend Embassadours to Patres, to conferre with him on the conditions of the peace. Then hee parts from Leche, and arrives two dayes after at Patres. At the same time they bring voto him Letters from Phocie, which Megales himselfe had written voto the Esoliens :

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by the which he folicits them to maintaine the Warre couragiously,

for that the King could not long continue it for want of victuals and o-

ther munition. Moreouer, they contained many scandalous and oppro-

brious speeches against the King. The which being read, the King conceiuing that Appelles had beene the caufe and the beginning of these Appelles aken practifes, causeth him to be taken and brought to Corinthe, with his Pissoner. Sonne and Concubine : And hee fent Alexander to Thebes, giving

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him charge to bring Megalee, to the end his caution might be dischar- Megalee kills ged. But when as Alexander thought to execute his charge, Mega. himleste. le preuensed him, and flew himselfe. In a manner at the same time,

Appelles, his Sonne, and his Concubine were put to death, recei- The death of uing the worthy punishment of their wicked lives, and namely for appelles and his

the outrage done by them to Arate. Although the Bioliens desired peace, being discontented with the long Warre, and feeing their affaires to succeed otherwise then they expected: for that conceiving they had to deale with a Child (confidering that the King had neither age nor experience) they found him by his deeds to bee a man excellent in Councell and Execution, and themselues to bee Children, as well in their particular as publique af-B. faires: Yet aduertised of the mutiny of the Targeteers, and of the death of Appelles, from whom they expected some great alteration in the Kings Court, they came not to Rhie at the day appointed. Philip holding this a good occasion to entertaine the Warre, solicites the Embassadours of the Allies which were there assembled, not vnto peace (for the which they had beene called) but to Warre. Then parting philip files to from thence with his Fleete, hee came to Corinthe, and sent all the coninthe. Macedonians to winter in their houses. Parting from Corinthe, hee failed by the Euripe to Demestiade : there hee put Ptolomy to death, (who onely remained of the Conspiracy of Appelles and Leonee) by the c judgement of the Macedonians.

At the same time Hannibal had past the Alper, and was in Italy, and had planted his Campe neere to the River of Ree, not farre from that of the Romans. Antiochus after hee had conquered many places in Syrria, had brought backe his Army to winter. Licargue King of Syria, had brought backe his termy to winter. Litting of the flight of the Lacedemonians fearing the Magistrates, had fled into Esplia: for Licengarine the Magistrates hearing a false report, that hee would attempt some Etolia. revolte, came in the Night to his house with a Troupe of Youth: whereof being formerly aduertised, he fled with his seruants. When as Philip in the depth of Winter had retired into Masedony, and that D Eperate Chiefe of the Acheins was made a scorne to the Youth of the Towne, and to the Mercenaries, and was not obeyed, nor made any preparation for the defence of the Countrey, Pyrrher (whom

the Esoliens had fent to the Elienfes for their Captaine, accompanied with thirteene hundred Esoliens, and a thousand Foote ; as well Souldiers as Burgesses of the Elienses, and with two hundred Horse, being in all about three thousand men) advertised thereof, spoiled not onely the Countries of the Dimenfer and Pharenfer but alfo of Patres: Finally, he pitched his Campeneere vnto the Mountaine Papachaique. The Mountain

Which Panachaique.

which lookes towards Patres, and wasted all the neighbour Region. The Townes thus vexed, being no was succour'd they paved the Taxe and charge vnwillingly: The Souldiers would not be drawne to fuccour them, for that their pay was delayed. By this mutuall trouble the cheins affaires were in bad case: And the Mercenaries retired by little and little: the which happened by the negligence of the Commander. And when the affaires of Acheia stood in this estate, and that the time of the Election was come, Eperate left the gouernment, and the Acheins made Chiefe of in the Spring made choise of old Arase. Thus past the Affaires in

the Acheins.

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The Authours

But seeing that in the distinction of times, and the order of actions, we have found a convenient place for this Subject, let vs passe to the Warres of Alia vnder the same Olympiade: Relating first (as we have promifed in the beginning of our worke) the Warre of Syrria, which was betwire Antiochus and Ptolomy. And for that I know well that this Warre was not ended at such time as I, lest to treate of the Actions of Greece, and being resolued to follow this perfection and distribution . to good intention the end the Readers may not be deceived in the true knowledge of euery time: I hope to leaue a sufficient instruction for those which desire to know it, in fetting downe at what time in this present Olympiade, and of the deeds of the Grecians, the beginning and ending of other acti- B ons happened: Moreouer, wee esteeme nothing better nor more honourable in this Olympiade, then not to confound things, to the end the discourse of the History may be plaine and easie : And that distinguishing matters by order as much as may be possible, vntill that comming to other Olympiades, wee may yeeld to every yeere its actions according to order. And for that we have not resolved to write them all, nor the actions of all places, and that wee have vndertaken with greater affection to write Histories then our predecessours have done . it is fitting wee should be carefull to expresse them in order, and that the generall worke of the History may with its parts be plaine and apparent. Wherefore we will now write the Reignes of Antiochin and Prolomy, reducing things from farre, and purfuing our discourse from a beginning which may bee nororious, and which fquares with that which wee have to fav.

An order required in all

For these ancients which have sayd, that the beginning is a moiety of the whole, they have vidoubtedly taught vs , that in all things wee should vie great diligence, that the beginnings may be well ordered. And although some thinke they have vied a high Stille, yet in my opinion they doe not feeme to fpeake with wuth. " Without doubt you may boldly say, that the beginning is not onely a moient in of the whole, but hath also a regard to the end. Toll mee, how canst thou make a good beginning, if thou hast not first comprehended in thy understanding the end of thy Enterprize : And if thou knowest not in what part, to what purpose, and the cause why thou wilt make it? For how can a History have order, if at the beginning or entrance thou dock not deliver plaintly, from whence, and how, or wherefore thou art come vitto the relation which thou doest prefently

presently make of actions & Wherefore they which will have things heard and understood fully, thinke that the beginnings doe not onely ferue for the one halfe, but also for the end : wherein they imploy themselues with great care and industry: the which I will carefully indeauour to doc. Although that I am certaine that many of the ancient Historiographers have bin confident to have done the like, when as they pretended to write all generally, and to have written a longer History then their predecessours : of whom I will forbeare to speake A much, or to name them : Among the which I excuse Ephorus, the first and onely man which hath attempted to write a generall History. But I will vse no longer discourse, nor name any of the rest: But I will say that some Historiographers of our time, comprehending the Warre betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, in three or foure small Pages, brag publiquely that they have written all. It is certaine that for as much as there hath beene many and great exploits performed in Spaine, affricke. Stoils and Italy, and that the Warre of Hannibal hath beene the greatest and longest, except that of Sicily. We must also understand, that the excellency of this warre hath beene the cause that wee have all cast our eyes voon it : and the rather for that wee were in doubt of the end. B This is a Warre which enery man (be hee neuer fo dull and fimple) knowes. Yet some of those which have handled the History, writing onely superficially the actions of some times, yet they imagine they have comprehended the deeds of the Grecians and Burbarians. Whereof the cause is, for that it is an easiething to promise many great things by mouth, but it is not casie to bring a great enterprize to an end. And therefore this other is common, and (as a man may fay) in the hands of all men, fo as they have courage : But the last is rare, and few men attaine vnto it. Finally, the arrogancy of some, which glorifie themselves too much, and commend their Writings, bath caused mee to make this digression. But now I returne voto my enterprize.

The History of POLYBINS.

When Ptolomy, surnamed Philopater, had seized vpon the Empire of Egyps, after the death of his Father, and had made away his Brother Prolomy King with his adherents, (thinking there was no more cause of feare in his Family, for the afore faid crime:) and that for strangers, Fortune had in good time affured all things, considering the death of Anticena and Selencus: to whose Realmes Antiochus and Philip had succeeded. who were scarce eighteene yeeres old) he abandoned himselfe to pleafures, whose example the whole Countrey followed. For this cause his n owne people made no esteeme of him. And not onely his subjects, but alfo the rest which mannaged the affaires both within and without Bgyps. The Lords of the lower Syrria, and of Cypres, have made Warre against the Kings of Syria, as well by Sea as Land. They also which hold the chiefe Cities, places, and Ports which are along the Sea-coafts, from Pamphilia vnto Hellespont, and the Country of Lysimachia, confined with the Principalities of Asia and the Ilands. And as for Thracia and Macedony, the Princes of Enos and Maronia, and of Townes that were more remote, had alwayes an eye over them. Wherefore imploying

their forces, to affaile forreine Princes, farre from their Realmes, they were not troubled for the Empire of Egypt. Their chiefe care then was for the Warres of forreine Countries. In regard of this King of whom wee speake, there were many in a short time, who for his infamous lones, and ordinary excesse in drinking, had an eye voon him and his Realme. Amongst the which Cleomenes of Lacedemon was the first. He made no alteration whilest that the other King lived, who was furnamed Benefactor: as if he were perswaded, that during his life he should want no meanes to reconquer his Realme.

The enterprize of Cleomenes

> Bur when a safter his death, the affaires required his presence, An. A tigonus being also dead : And that the Acheins with the Macedonians made Warre against the Lacedemonians, which they maintaine according vnto that which hee had aduited them in the beginning. being allied to the Etoliens: Then hee was forced to thinke of his departure from Alexandria. Wherefore hee first solicited the King to send them backe with an Army and fufficient munition. And when as the King would not give care vntoit, he intreated him at the least to suffer him to depart with his family, for the time was now come, when as great opportunities were offred to recouer his Fathers Realme. The King neither confidering the present, nor fore-seeing the future, for the causes about specified, like an ouer-weening man, and without judgement, neuer made any esteeme of Cleomenes. But Sofibius (who chiefe. ly gouerned all the affaires of the Kingdome at that present) holding a Councell with his Friends, was not of aduice to fuffer Chemenes to goe with an Army at Sea, and munition, disdaining forreine affaires, and holding this charge loft, confidering the death of Antigonis: feating like wife that this death being so fresh, the way might be made easie to stirre vo some Warre: And there being no man found to resist Cleonenes, he would soone make himselfe Lord of all the Citties in Greese. Finally, they feared he would become their Enemy, confidering the prefent: in regard of the Kings manner of life, which was well knowne vnto C them. With this disadvantage, that Sosibine saw the Provinces of the Realme to lie one farre from another, and to have great opportunities of An Armyneere revolte. For there was neere vnto Sames a good number of Veffels, and great Troupes of Souldiers neere vnto Ephefus. Wherefore he did not hold it fit to fend backe Cleamenes with an Army for the afore-favd reafons. But when they confidered that it would not be profitable for their Common-wealth, to let goe fo great a personage, who afterwards might proue their open Enemy, there was no preuention but to retaine him by force. The which notwithstanding the rest disliked, conceiving that there would be great danger to keepe the Lyon and Sheepe in one fold. Soft. D bins was of the same opinion for that or the like cause.

Miga. Beronice.

At fuch time as they refolued to take Mega and Beronice, and that they feared to bring their enterprize to a good end, in regard of the fiercenesse of Beronice, they were forced to drawe together all those which followed the Court, and to make them great promises if they preuailed. Then Sofibius knowing that Cleomenes wanted the Kings fuccours to recouer his fathers Realmo, and that he had found him by experience

to be wise and politicke in great affaires, he discouered his whole secrets vnto him, propounding vnto him great hopes. Cleemenes teeing him pensiue, and fearing the strangers and Mercenaries, perswaded him not to care: promiting him that the Souldiers should not trouble him, and that moreover they should give him great affistance to bring his enterprize to an end. And when as the other stood in admiration, doest thou not see sayd Cleomenes, that there are about three thousand men of Morea, and a thousand Candyots, all which will bring vs where we please? Hauing these, whom else doest thou feare? What? The A Companions of the Warre of Syrria and Caria? And when as Softbins liked of his words, hee entred more boldly into the Action. And afterwards confidering of the Kings foolery and negligence, hee often called to minde this Speech, and had alwaves before his eyes the Courage of Cleomenes, and the affection the Souldiers bare him. Wherefore confidering this, at the same time hee gaue the King and his other familiars to vnderstand, that hee must seaze vpon him, and keepe him close and private. For the working and effecting whereof, hee vied

There was one Nicagorus a Messenien, a friend to the father of ear-B chidamus, King of the Lacedemonians, betwint whom there had formerly beene some friendship. But at such time as Archidamus was chased from Sparts for feare of Cleomenes, and fled to Messens, hee not onely gane him a good reception into his House with his friends at his first comming, but hee alwayes lived with him afterwards during his flight, fo as there grew a great and strict familiarity betwixt them. When as after these things cleomenes made showe of some hope of reconciliation with Archidamus, Nicagorus beganne to treate of the Conditions of peace. VVhen the accord had beene made, and that Nieagorus had taken the faith of Cleomenes, Archidamus returned to C Sparta, affuring himselfe of the conventions of Nicagorus, whom

Cleomenes meeting vpon the way flew, fuffering Nicagorus and his company to passe away. In regard of Nicagorus, he carried the counter flavore by clos nance of a very thankfull man, for that he had faued his life : But hee menes. was vexed in his Soule, and incenfed for the deede, for that hee fee-

med to have given the occasion.

This Nicagorus had failed vnto Alexandria some little time before with Horses: whereas going out of the ship, hee met with Cleomenes, Panthee, and Hippite, walking vponthe strande: whom Cleomenes perceiuing, saluted curteously, demaunding what businesse had brought him thither: To whom he answered, that he had brought Horses. I D had rather fayd cleomenes, thou hadft brought Concubines and Bawds: for these are the things wherein the King at this day takes his chiefe delight. Then Nicagores held his peace smiling. VVhen as within few dayes after he discomsed by chance with sosibius by reason of the Horfes, he related vnto him that which Cleomenes had arrogantly spoken of the King. And feering Sofibius to heare him willingly, he acquain fith Cleameder ted him with the cause of the pleene he bare him. VVhen as Sosibi. see knew him to be wonderfully incented against Cleomenes, hee did

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him great curtesies for the present, and promised him great fauours

hereafter : Finally hee wrought to, that imbarquing he left Letters

concerning Cleomenes, which a servant of his brought after his depar-

ture. as fent from him. The which Nicagorse performing, the feruant vsed speed to go vato the King, affuring him that Nicagorus had given him the Letters to carry to selbius. The Tenour whereof was That if Cleomenes were not soone dispatcht with an Army at Sea and munition, he would raise some troubles within the Realme. Solibiss imbracing this occasion, gaue the King and his Councell to vnder-Chementstaken stand, that this must not be heard with a deafe eare, and that he must A put in Guard. Scaze vpon Cleomenes and give him a Guard. The which being put in

execution, they gave him a spacious House, where hee lived with Guards, differing therein from other Prisoners, for that hee had a larger Prifon.

Cleamenes confidering this, and having little hope for the future, refolued to hazard all, and yet without hope to effect any thing, and being in extreame despaire, but desiring to make an honourable Death, and not to fuffer any thing that might feeme vnfitting for the greatneffe of his Courage. I immagine likewise that hee had an humour, and had propounded to himselfe that, which commonly great Spirits doe B

in these Tearmes:

That in dishonour I doe not basely fall, Conrage my beart, let's branely venture all.

menes.

by Clcomenes.

When as hee had observed the Voyage which the King made to the The bold entere Towne of Canope, hee caused it to be bruited among his Guards, that hee should bee soone ser at liberty. Wherefore he made a Banquet to his people, and fent offering and Garlands of Flowers to the Guards. And moreouer store of Wine. Whilest they made good cheere, and were all drunke, hee goes out of the House with his Friends and Seruants, their Swords in their hands in the open day, the which the Guard neuer perceived. And when as marching in this manner, they met with Ptelomy in the Market place, they ouer-threw him from his Chariot and flew him : Whereat all those that did accompany him were amazed at the greatnesse of the fast. Finally they beganne to cry Liberty vnto the people. But when as no man stirred, considering the greatnesse of the Crime, they turned head and assailed the Portresse, as if the Gate had beene ouer-throwne by the Treason of the Souldiers, and that they should presently take it. But for that the Guards (forefeeing the danger,) had Rampred up the Gate : in the end they flew themselves being frustrated of their hope, and dyed an honourable Death, worthy of a Spartaine Courage. Behold the end of Cleamenes a man of great Eloquence in speaking, and of great Resolution in Warre: Who it feemes wanted nothing that did fauour of a King but a Realme.

After Cleomenes, Theodose borne in Esolia, and Gouernour of base Syrria, soone after resolved to have intelligence with Antiochus, and

to deliuer him the Townes of his government : For that hee partly contemned the King for his negligence and idlenesse, and partly the Courtiers, growing distrustfull, for that a little besore hee had propounded a good aduice vnto the King, aswell for other things as to Thindaire. relist Antigonus, seeking to make Warre against Syrria: Wherein hee was not onely distastfull, but they caused him to come to Alexandria, where he was in danger of his life. Untiechus accepting this offer gladly, the matter came to effect. But to the end we may withall declare this Race, seeking out the Empire of Antiochus, let vs A make our entry fummarily from those times, to come vnto the Warre

You must vnderstand that Antiochus the younger was Sonne vnto Seleusus furnamed Callinice. Who after the death of his Father, when Autiochus Son the Realme fell to seleneus his elder Brother, lived in the beginning to Selevens. prinately in his House, in the high Countrey of the Realme : But his Brother being slaine in Treason (as wee haue sayd) after hee had past Mount Tauris with an Army, he tooke the Empire and Raigned, giuing the gouernement of all the Prouince, which lyes on this fide Touris, to Achens and Molon: And to his brother Alexander, the high Countries of his Realme : So as Molon should have Media, and his brother Persida. These contemning the King for his Age (for he was scarce fifteency yeares old) and hoping to draw Acheus to their Conspiracy. fearing moreouer the cruelty and Tteachery of Hormes, who then had the Gonernment of the whole Realme, resoluted to abandon the King, and to change the Estate of the Provinces which they helde. Hermes was borne in Caria, to whom Seleucus the Kings brother had given the gouernment of the Realme, relying in him from the time they past Mount Tauris. Wherefore being advanced to this supreame Authority, he enuted at those which had any power in Court, being out C ragious and cruell by Nature, condemning innocents at his pleasure's

and anopring wicked men and Lyers. Finally, he was cruell and rough in his iuagements. Butamong & ther things he watcht an opportunity to kill Engent, who was I fente nant Generall of Selencus his Army : For that he found him a man of great Eloquence and great execution, having favour and Authority in the Army. And alphough he plotted this in his minde cominically, yet hee kept it fecret, leeking some occasion to effect his enterprize. Finally when as the Councell was affembled to conferre vpon welone Rebellion , and that the King had commaunded outery man to deliver his opinion, and that Engene beginning first had sayd, that this businesse.

D was not to be held of it was necessary the King should approach the Countray, holding himselfe ready when time thould require , and that by this meands extelen would give outer his enterprize , the king being neere with a great Army or if hee did pertift in that which hee had begunne, the people would deliner all the Traytors into the Kings hands. Then Hermer enraged layd voto film The Speech Erigere having long concealed thy Treaton, thy difloyaky bathin the of Remit as end beene discougred in this Councell: Labouring to deliudiche Kings

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Lib. 5:

person into the hands of Travtors. Hauing spoken thus, and in some fort shewed his slander, hee left Epigene. Finally shewing a countenance rather of importune indignation, then of any manifest hatred. hee perfifted in his opinion not to leade an Army against Molon, fearing the danger: For that the Souldiers were not invied to Warre, and. that they should vse all diligence to make Warre against Ptolomy, holding that fure by reason of the Kings negligence and idlenesse. By this meanes when hee had stopt the mouthes of all that were in the Assembly for feare, he fent Xenon, Theodote, and Hermioly with an Army against Molon: Giving King Antiochus to understand, that hee should A presently undertake the Warre of Syrris: Thinking by this meanes, that if the King were roundly befer with Warre, hee should neuer be punished for the offences which hee had formerly committed: Neither should hee loose his Authority for the necessity and continuall dangers wherein the King should be daily.

Wherefore in the end hee brought a counterfeite Letter, as sent from Acheus to the King. The Tenour whereof was, that Ptolomy had folicited him to enter into Warre, to get the Principallity, and that hee would furnish him with money and munition, if he would take the Crowne voon him, and that it was apparent to all the World that hee R pretended to be a King : The which in trueth hee feemed to be . but he did not yet enjoy the name of a King, nor weare a Crowne, for the enuy which Fortune procured him. Antiochus giuing credite to these Letters. resolued to make a descent into Syrria: But whilest hee Raved in Selencia, and was carefull to bring his enterprize vnto a good end : Diegnet Chiefe of the Army at Sea, arrived from Cappadocia. which is neere vnto the Enxine Sea, bringing with him Laodicea, the Daughter of Methridaes, who was promised to Antiochus. This is that Methridases, who brage'd that hee was descended from one of the seauen Wise men of Perfin. She was received with royall pompe, and Antiochus married her presently : From thence he went to Antiothus leaving the Queene Regent of the Realme : and applied himfelfe

vies Landicea.

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Molengots to

wholyto rayle his Army. At that time Malon feeing the people feady to doe what hee pleafed, aswell for the hope of the gains which hee propounded vnto them, as for that their Commanders were terrified by the Kings false and counterfeite Letters: Hauing also his brother Alexander for a Companion in this Warre .: After that hee had gotten all the neighbour Townes by the corruption of their Gouernours, hee goes to field with a great Army , and plants himfelfencere vnto the Campe of the Kings Lieutemants. At whose comming Xenen, and Theodore being terrified, they retired to the next Townes. Melon beeing Lord of all the plaine of Appelorie, sand running where he pleased, the whole Province brought him great store of Victuals and munition. Hee was before terrible in regard of his great power: Neytherhad he any will to loofe the occa-Sion. for that that all the Kings Races for Horses were in Media, with infinite fore of Wheate and Cattle, in Integard of the force, height and Wealth of that Region, were cannot speake sufficient. Medialyes

about the midft of a Asia: It excels in greatnesse and height all the other Regions about it. It is very powerfull in people, being discoue. The Scituation red towards the East, by the Defart Countries, which lye betwirt Persida and Parasia. It ioynes and commands the Ports of the Caspien Sea : So doth it in the Mountaines called Tapyreins, which are not farre from the Hyrcanien Sea. But as for the Southerne Regions, it lookes to Messepotamia, and Appelonia, ioyning vnto Persida, which lyes before Mount Sagre, which hath a passage of a hundred Furlongs long: The which having many inclosures, is divided by Vallies and A certaine Plaines, with the Cosces, Corbrenes, Carchins, with divers other Barbarous Nations inhabite, being excellent in matters of War. Finally it ioynes to the Sarrapiens upon the West, who differ not much from those which inhabite Pontus Euxinus. And as for the part towards the North, it hath the Elimees, Ariaraces, then the Cadduff. ens and Mansianes. Finally, it is sciruated about the Countries which ncere vnto the Blacke Sea ioyne to Pontus. It is separated from Nusia by a multitude of Mountaines vpon the West: and yet there is a playne well furnished with Townes and Burroughes.

When as Melon was Lord of this Region, having a kinde of a B Realme, and was terrible even before this Rebellion, in regard of the great power of the Countrey, he shewed himselfe then more intollerable towards the Asiens: For that at his arrivall the Kings Licutenants had abandoned their Campe, and that matters did not fucceede in the beginning according to their hopes. Wherefore in passing Tygris, No. lon indeauoured to beliege Seleucia. But when as Zeuxi had ftopt the Passage, by staying all the Boates, hee retyred: The Army being at Crefiphon, hee made provision of all things necessary to passe the winter. The King aduertised of Molons Army, and of the flight of his Lieutenants, resolued to lead his Army against him, leaving Ptolomy.

C But Hermes remembring his enterprize, fent Xenoete an Achaian, with an Army against Molon, faying that Lieutenants must fight with Rebels, and the King with Kings in person. Keeping the King thus in awe by reason of his Age, hee went to Apamia : where hee drew together an Army, and from thence marcht fuddainly to Lasdices. From whence the King parting with all his Troupes, and having past a Desart, hee came into a place which the Inhabitants of the Countrey called Marsia, feated betwirt the two Promontories of Liban and Antiliban, which restrayne it, and in the narrowest streight is miry and moorish : where also grow the Arromaticall Canes.

Moreouer there ionnes to the one fide of the fayd fireights a Towne, The Towne of D which they call Broches, and on the other that of Gerre: Betwixt the Brokhes. which there is a rough and difficult way. The King marching for some dayes by these streights, came in the end to Gerre: Whereas when he faw that Theodose of Esolia had taken it, and Broches, and that hee had fortified all that part of the streights, which were neere vnto the Fens, with Ditches, and Pallisadoes; and men for the defence thereof, hee laboured at the first to assayle them. But when it seemed he lost more then hee got, by reason of the disaduantage of the place, and that

T beedote made a shew to be of Ptelomies party, hee gaue ouer the enterprize. And when he had newes of the retreate of Xenoete, and of the attempt of Molon, he resolved to part from thence, and to give order for his owne affaires.

Xenocte being (as wee haue fayd) fent Generall against Molon, hee . had a greater power then was immagined, and vsed his friends with great arrogancy, and his enemies with too much cruelty. When hee tooke his way to Selencia with his Army, calling vnto him Diogene Gouernour of the Countrey of Sugan, and Pythias of the red Sea, hee marche against the enemies, and planted his Campe neere vnto theirs, A the River of Tygris being betwirt them. During the which there were many came swimming from Molons Campe, aduertising him that the greatest part of his Army would yeild voto him, if he past the River, for that they hated him, and loued and affected the King. Xenote perswaded by their words, prepares himselfe to passe Tyeris; and making shew that hee would make his passage at a certaine place, where as the Water makes an Iland, hee made no shewe of any preparation. Whereupon whilest that Molon made no account of his enterprize, hee prepared Boates speedily, and taking the best of his Horse-men, and the Chiefe of all the Foot-men of his Army . he left Zeunis and Pythi- B as for the Guard of the Campe; and past his Army falely in the night by Boate fourescore furlongs beneath Molons Campe : During the which he seated his Campe in a safe place, which was invironed by the River for the greatest part, and the rest assured by Fens and Moores adioyning.

When as Molon was aduertifed hereof, hee fent his Horfe-men before to hinder their passage, or to descate them that were past. Who approaching neere to Xenoete, they annoyed themselues more (for that they knew nor the places) then they did the enemy : For entring into those Moorish Fens, they could doe no service, and many perished. Xenocte hoping that if hee approached neere vnto Molon, hee should draw many of his men vnto him, marcht a flow pace a long the river fide, fetting downencere vnto the enemy. At what time Molon leauing his Baggage in the Campe, retired by night, doing it cyther by policy or for some distrust hee had of his men : and takes his way towards Media. Xenoese thinking the enemy had beene fled, terrified with his comming, and ill affured of his Souldiers, gaines first the enemics Campe, and cals vnto him all his Horse-men, and the rest which he had left with Zeunis. Then calling them all together, hee perswades them to be of good hope for the future, considering the flight D and despaire of Molon.

This propose ended, hee commaunded them to go to their Repass. and to be ready in morning to purfue their enemies: But all the fouldiers hearts puffed vp with the present successe, and stuffed with all forts of Booty, betooke themselues wholy to gormundizing and drunkennes, and in the same fort of floathfulnesse and negligence, that by custome begets such things, passed the night. Now as Molon had gayned an advantagious place, and that he had refreshed his men also, he advanced against the enemies, and finding them ouer-come and stazed on by fleepe and Wine, he affaulted their Campe with extreame fury, euch in the breake of day.

Xenoese aftonish with so great and valookt for a businesse, could by no meanes awake his people for their drunkennesse, but they were killed by the enemies resisting by small Companies; and so the greatest pare were defeated within the Campe drowned in fleepe, the rest throwing themselves into the River, Ariving to passe it by swimming : but the most of them perished for all that in the end. It was a pittifull thing to genorte his Ar-A fee men so affrighted, for all without any regard or confideration throw my defeated ing themselves into the mercy of the Waves, and to passe therein, and and spoyled. drive afore them the Carriages and Baggage, as if they thought by the ayde of the Water, they could gaine or faue their Campe, but it came to passe that in one selfe same time, Sumpter horses, Armes, and dead bodies were borne by the River, as if alfo a Vanquisher, a thing both fearefull to relate, and also horrible to behold.

After that Molon had thus fuddainly gayned the Campe of the enemies, and had passed the River without danger, because there was none to hinder his paffage, and that Zeuxis had taken flight, 'as it were, B before the enemies approached, hee tooke also the Fort which was there on the River. After this good fortune, hee came into Seleucia with his Army : the which hee rooke foddainly, in respect that those who were with Zenxis were aftenished at his comming, having abandoned the Towne with Diomedon Gouernour of Seleucia : And after hauing tanne ouer all the Province; hee brought under his obedience aff the Townes of the high Country without finding reliftance: and from thence having Conquered the Empire of all the Countrey of Babylos, and all the Countrey about the Red Sca, hee arrived vnro sufa, taking the Towns vpon his first arrivall , and after he had given many affaults C to the Fortresse because Diegene was there retyted, and that hee could not force ; he delifted from his enterprize and rayled the flege; hee returnedanto Seleucia with his Army ; and chore, after he had Garrifon'd his men of Warre for some time, and had encouraged them who the Warren, hee with a great heart whdertooke to lead them out of the Countrey: and to Conquer in a small time all the Prouince that is from Tygris vato the Towne of Europe and Mejaponamie, seven vapo are evening was Caproine of separation decision to

Antisch hauing (as wee have heretofore fayd) thele newes, word in fantafic to leaueshe Warre in Syrela, and to provide for this other Countrey with an extreame diligence: they Affembled therefore those D of their Counfell, and as they had commaunded that ouery one should freely gine his aduice touching the Watre of Moton, and that Brigette flould be made fit a faying that long fithence things flould have beene considered and look vnto, became the enemies should not have their courages fo great to vidertake fuch things, because of their good fuch ceffe : To whom neuertheleffe they ought now to give order with all their endeauour and Rudy, for fome speedyleourse to preuent all suiure danger.

Then Hermes incented againe, began to vie proud and injurious fpecches without reason : Hee invented false flanders against Epigene, befeeching the King not to leave the Warre of Syrma fo inconfiderately. Finally he grew into fuch a rage, as hee offended many and difcontented Antiochus. They could hardly pracifie his fury, although the King vsed what meanes hee could to reconcile them. In the end when the aduice of Epigene seemed the best vnto the assistants, it was resolued in Councell that the Army should march against Molon, and that there they should make the Warre.

Campe.

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Hermes seeming presently to have altered his advice, sayd that all the A World must observe that which the Councell had decreed, and performed his duty to make provision of all necessary things for the managing of Warre. When the Troupes were affembled at Apamia, and that there was a munity and a great discord growne amongst the common Souldies: Hermes finding the King amazed and much troubled. hee assured him to pacifie the rage and discontent of the Souldiers, and to divide and share the Corne quietly among them, if hee would promise him neuer to carry Epigene with him in any exploits of Warre: For that they could not performe any thing of importance in an Army being at so much difference and so incensed one against another. And B. although the King difliked this, and was very much discontented at his motion, for that hee knew by experience that Epigene was a man of Councell, and active in Affaires of Warre, yet to prevent the prefent, he fent him fuddainly away: doubting that being circumvented by the promises of Hermes, hee should not be master of himselfe. Which beeing done, all the rest of the Kings Councell grew into great feare. The Troupes also receiving what Corne they defired, changed their affection, and followed Hermes, except the Cyrraftres: Who beeing fixe thousand men, mutined and abandoned the Kings service : Who afterwards did him many affronts in his Warre at feuerall times. Yet in the end thay were defeated by a certaine Captaine of the Kings party, and the greatest part of them flaine : the rest yeilded afterwards vnto the King-

Molon against Epigene.

Hermes having made the Kings friends his owne by feare, and the Souldiers by his bounty, hee marcht with him and his Army. Hee layed a plot agianst Epigene, with the helpe and consent of Alexis, who at that time was Captaine of Apamia; and writing letters, as if they had bin fent from Molon to Epigene, hee corrupted one of Alexis feruants with great promises: who went to Epigene, to thrust these Letters feeretly among his other Writings. Which when he had done, Alexis D came suddainly to Epigene, demanding of him, if the had received any Letters from Molon: and when hee affirmed no, the other was confident that he would finde some. Wherefore entring into the House to fearch ... he found the Letters, and taking this occasion flew him. These things happening thus, the King thought that hee was justly flaine. And although the rest of the Court and of his friends were much griened at this suddaine disaster, yet they diffembled their forrow for fcarc.

When

When as Antiochus was come vneo Euphrates, he marcht with his army vnto Antiochia, and stayed at Michaionia about the midst of December, defiring to paffe the roughneffe of the Winter there : where flaying about forty dayes, hee went vnto Liba, where hee called a Councell. And when as they confulred of the way which they should hold to find Molon, and from whence and how they might recouer Victuals, (for arthurtime hee made his abode in Babylon) Hermes was of opinion that they should keepe their way vppon this side the River of Tygris, and along the Bankes; doubting and not a little fearing the Rivers of Luque and Capre. Zeuxis was of another opinion; but hee durst nor A speake nor declare his minde plainely, remembring still the death of

The History of ROLYBIVS.

But when as the ignorance of Hermes feemed apparent to all the affistants, hee with some difficulty deliucted his advice, that they must passe Tygris, aswell for many other difficulties which are on this fide, as for that they must of necessity, after they had past certaine places in marching fixe daies iourney by a Defart Country, came vnto a Region which they call Diorex, where the paffage was not fafe, for that the enemy had seized thereon: And that moreoner the returne would be dangerous, especially for wannof victuals. If the King likewise did passe Tygris, all the people of Appelonia, transported with ioy would come unto him, who at this day obeyed Malon, not for any affection, but through necessity and feare: And withall they should have abundance of victuals, by reason of the fertility of the Countrey; and the passage of Media would be thut vp for Molon, fo as of necesticy he thould be forced to come and fight: Orif hee fled; his Troupes would foone yeild vnto the King. When the aduice of Zenxis had beene allowed in Councell, they presently past the whole Army with the baggage in three places. And marching from thence vnto Dure, they raised the fiege, (for one of Molons Captaines had forme few dayes before belieged it) and afterwards continuing on their way, and having paft the C. Mountaines which they of the Country call one, in eight daies they Came into Apoloniais to age I on to brown a commonly

At the fame time Molon having newes of the Kings comming, and not holding himselfe assured of the Sasians and Banionians, beeing lately made subject vnto him and by surprize, fearing moreover that the passage of Media was stopt, hee afterwards resolued to passe by the River Tygris speedily with his whole Army, making haste to gaine the Woodes which bend towards the playnes of Apolonia, for that he had great confidence in his Slingers, whom they call Cyrtles When D hee approached neere these places, from the which the King parring with his Army from Apalousa was not farre, it happened that the forerunners of eyther fide, lightly armed, met vppon a Hill, where they skirmished. But vpon the approach of both Armies, they began to retire ; and the two Campes lodged within forty furlongs one of ा भूगा । व्यक्ति स्व

When night came, Molon confidering that a battaile by day. With the King would bee dangerous for him, not relying much vpporthis men,

he resolved to assaile Antiochus at mid-night. Wherefore hee made choise of the ablest men of his whole Army, and takes his way by waknowne places, resoluing to charge the enemy from the higher part: But being aduertised vppon the way, that ten of his Souldiers had stollen away in the night, and retired vnto Antiochus, hee gaue oner his enterprize. So as taking another way, hee returned to the Campe at the breake of day, the which was the chiefe cause of great trouble in his Army: For they awaking with this fuddaine and fhort returne of their Companions, they were so terrified and amazed, as they were in a manner ready to flie and abandon their Campe. Molon A when the trueth was knowne and well perceived, pacified this terrour and amazement what hee could, in so short a space, although it in some part increased still.

Antiochus puts

The King being ready to fight, drawes his Army to fielde at the breake of day, and on the right Wing hee fets the Launces, under the Commaund of Ardis, a man of great experience in the Warre. To whom hee gaue for a supply the Candyots his Allies, and after them the Gaules and Rhigofages: who were followed by the Souldiers of Greece, and finally by a great battalion of Foote-men. In regard of the left Wing, he gaue it to the Allies, which were all on horse-backe. Hee likewise set the Elephants in Front betwixt the two Wings, beeing ten B in number. In regard of the supplies of Horse and Foote distributed on eyther Wing, hee gives them charge to wheele about, and to compasse in the enemy, as soone as the Battaile should beginne to charge.

After all this hee encourageth the Souldiers : telling them in few words what was necessary for the present: And he gives to Hermes and Zenzis the leading of the left Wing, and takes the right vnto himselfe. On the other fide Molon drawes his Army to Field with great difficulty, and puts it but ill in Battaile, by reason of the disorder which had happened in the nighten Yet hee divided his Horse-men in two wings, C thinking the enemy had done the like, placing the Targetteers and the Gaules with others that were of most apt courage, great experience and best Armed in the middest of the Horse-men putting the Archers and Slingers yppon the two Wings without the Troupe of Horse-men, and in Front were placed all the Carriages and Bill-men. He gaue the leading of the left VVing vnto his brother Neolaw, and him felfe takes the right.

Molons battaile

This done, the two Armies marcht: Molbus right Wing was loyall and faithfull vnto him, charging Zennis with great Courage and fury. But when as the left Wing drew somewhat necre vnto the King, it retired to the enemy. This happening, Molosy Troupes fainted fuddainely : And the Kings Army grew more from and couragious. But when as Molon faw and well perceived himfelfe thus betrayed; and inuironed by the enemy, thinking and immagining of the: Torments which hee must indure, if hee fell aline into their hands, hee slew himselfe... The like the rest did which had beene Traytors vnto the King, who recovering their Houses by flight, slew themselves. When

The death of Moles.

When as Neolass had escaped from the Battaile, and was retired vnto Alexander Brother to Molomin Perfis, hee flew the mother of Melonand his Children : After whose death he slew himselfe, perswading Alexander to doe the like. When as the King had spoiled the enemies Campe, hee commaunded that the body of Molon should be Molon Cruschhanged upon a Crosse, in the most eminent place of Media, the fled. which was fuddainly performed by them which had the Charge: who after they had carried it to Gallonite, crucified it neere vnto the Towne of Zagre.

The History of POLYEIVS.

When he had giden great admonitions to Molons Army, and pardoned them, he fent men to Conduct them into Media, and to give order for the affaires of that Province. As for himselfe, he retired to Selencia. Hermes continuing still in his resolution, condemned the Selencenses in fixe hundred thousand Crownes for that they had revolted, banishing the Diganes: and put many to death in Prison by the Sword. But the King pacifying his rage, intreated the Burgesses curteously, and drew from them for a punishment of their revolte, onely fourescore and ten thousand Crownes. These things thus pacified, hee made Diogene his Lieutenant Generall in Media, and Apolodorus in the Province of Sufes; and sent the Chancellour Tychon Lieutenant of his Army, into the seuerall Countries of the Red Sea, there to lye in Garrison vpon any suddaine occasion which should happen. This was the end of Molons teuolte, and of the Warre which followed.

The King glorious of this good fortune, and defirous to terrifie the Barbarous Princes his Neighbours, to the end they should not presume hereafter to succour his Rebels with men and Victuals, marches against them with his Army : And first against Artaba Zenes, who was more Antiochus goes powerfull then any of the other Princes, and neerer to his Citties. At against Artas the same time Hermes feared to enter into the high Country for the eminent danger, and defired (as he had from the beginning) to lead the C Army against Ptolomy. But when as certaine newes came of the birth of the Kings fonne, hee found this Voyage profitable for him; ansiochus bath if Antiochus should chance to be flaine by the Barbariains : For that a Some. being left Tutour vnto the fonne, hee should bee Lord of the whole Realme. All being thus resoluted, they par Mount Zagre, and outra ranne the Prouince of Artabazanes, which ioynes to Media, being feperated from it by a Mountaine, and on fome parts comes to the Pontique Sea on that fide of the Countrey which is about Phases : ioyning alfo to the Hyreanien Sea. Moreouer it abounds in all things necessary for the Warre. It hapned that the Persians kept this Principality, when n in the time of King Alexander, they made no account or effected

Artabazenes being amazed at the Kings comming, and broken with Artabazenes Age, thought good to yeilde vnto Fortune, and to agree with the makes an ac-King vpon fuch conditions as he pleafed. When the accord was made, cord with Anthe Apple that the Phylician whom the King lound much feeting that Apolophanes the Phylitian, whom the King loued much, feeing Hermes abuse his Authority too arrogantly, was very carefull for the King, and in great feare for those which were about him. Gg 3

Apoliphanes aduke to and tiochas.

Wherefore after he had expected the opportunity of time, he comes ato Antiochus, and intreates him to preuent the presumption and impudency of Hermes, and not ro fuffer it any longer, leaft hee fall into his brothers inconvenience: for it was not farre off. Finally, that he should speedily provide for his fafety, and for that of his friends. Antiochus liked well of his Counsell, for that he hated and feared Hermes. The King thanked him, for that hee had not feared to focake vnto him of things which concerned his fafety. Apolophanes also seeing that hee had not beene deceived in the opinion which hee had conceived of the King, grew afterwards more bold and hardy. For the reft, Amiochus A Counselled him to be aduised for his owne good, and his friends, not onely by words, but also by effect: And ashe sayd, he was ready to do all they aduited to that end : He made shew that the King had a great discase in his eyes, and must indure the paine some daies: vntill that time he had gotten leafure to make ready their enterprize. They yield alfo power to go and adulfe with their friends touching this Affaire, under the shaddow of visitation: During which time, they made ready the most apt for the execution, and were willingly obeyed for the hate they bare to Hermes, and were ready to execute the Massacre. The Physitians likewise pur themselves forward, that it was behoonefull that Antiochus should goe take the Ayre in the morning to refresh B himfelfe.

Hermes came to the King in the meane time, as hath beene fayd, together with the Allies which were participant of the enterprize, the rest remayned in the Campe, as if they knew nothing of the Voyage. The others drawing then Antigonia out of the Campe, they led him into fome by place, where at his onely fight they killed Hermes. Behold now how he dyed, of whom alwayes the punishment was never sufficient for his wickednesse. The King returned to his Louiging, deline. red from a great diffrest and feare, with a prayle reaching to the Heanens by all the Prouince, of his Counfelland of his workes, especially when they beard newes of the death of Hermes. In the fametime, the Women of Apamia killed his Wife, and the Children, his. After that Antisches was arrived in his lodging, her fent his Army to winter in the Garrisons, and an Embaskdownto Mrhem, and first complay. ming of that, that he had taken the Crowne, and likewife durit accept the flame of King: And that on the other fide, hee durft openly declare himselfe to hold the party of Ptolony. Now we must understand that in the time the King led the Warre to Artabazenes, Acheus thinking that hee should due in the Country there, or if he dued not, that he should without any hindrance draw the Warre into Syrvia, before an his returne. Seeing and well perceiving the longnesse of the way, and the Conquering of the Kingdome, suddainly by the ayde of Cyrrastes. that not long fince had abandoned the King, and parted from Lydia with a great Army.

And as he was arrived in Landicea, which is in Phrigia; he feazed on the Crowne, taking also the ambition to be called King, and to write to the Townes to doe so, being earneftly solicited by a Fugitiue, called

symiras. And as he then continued his voyage, and was not farre from Lycaonia, the Men of Warre began to mutthy against him, being forry that they led an Army against the first King : Wherefore Aghter feeing their fancies, turned him from the way he had begun, as if hee would make them understand, that he drew not in the beginning to sitria; but surned his way to Pisidique, pillaging all the Countrey, and distributing to the Men of War a maruallous booty; so he gained them, and resurned to his house: The King then well advertised of all these things, funt (as we have fayd) an Embaffadour to Atheir, making A ready in the meane while all that feeined to bee necessary, to bring the Warre spon Polomy. And after that all the Army was neere to Apamia, in the beginning of the Spring, he called his Friends to Councell, requiring of every one their advice what they thought fit to be done for Apolophanes adthe Warre. When as many had sounfelled him divers things concer. unce to ante ning the places and preparation, and to make an Arthy by Sed, webs. ochus. topbanes (of whom wee have spoken) being borne in selevita, stood vp and ouerrhrew alliche Opinions which had beene formerly given, faying, that it was a folly to drawe the Warte into bale syria, and to fuffet Piolomy to hold Selencia, for that it was the fourfe and taufe of B their Principality: That besides the difference hee should doe voto his Roigno, (confidering that the force of the Kings of Egypt had alwaies kept it) it had moreout t great collimodities for the mainaging of the Warte. For whilestehe Enemies flall hold it; it would be very prenudiciall to all his Enterprizes. For there must be no leffe care vied to defend himfelfe from this City, then to affaile the Etlemy. And if hee held it, he should not onely be able to preserue his owne with fatery, but alforto vindertake forme good action both by Sea and Land, for the great opportunity of the place.

The whole Assembly allowed of Apolophanes addice, and resolved C to take the Citty first, for then whe held by the Kings of E. gjpt , from the time that Pielemy reigned, who was finitiamed the Bentle Prelemy the fatter. Hee conquered it at such time, that for the ritine of Revenice, Benefactor. and the rage he had conceined in his hear, hee made a descent into bale Spria with an Army. Antiochine after Apolophanes addice was appround, hee commanded Diegone Generall of the Army ar Sea, to fayle speedily to Selencin. And in the meane time parting from Apamia with his Army, he lodgeth within fine Furldings of Hippodiome: Hee likewife fends away The oldre Hermiely with a fufficient Army for Spria; to the end he might gaine the fireights, and prouide for the af-

filires of that Province.

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This is the scituation of Selencia, and the places about it a that as the The scituation Citty is seated vpon the Sea shoare, betwirt cilleta and Phonicia, so of seinesa. it halls under it a wonderful great Mountains, which they call Coryphes, whole fide towards the West; is washed with the Sea, which is betwire Cipres and Phenicia, and the other which lookes to the East, loynes to the Regions of the antiochiens and Seleucenfes. Seleucia feltuated on the South, and seperated by a deepe and inactessible Valley, which extends to the Sea, being enuironed with great Rockes and Caues: And

Antiathus COLsupts the Captaines of Ser

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on that side which lookes to the Sea, it hath steps and Suburbs inclosed with walls. The Citty also is fortified with a good wall, and beautified with Temples, and faire buildings. It hath but one approach towards the feathe which is difficult, and made by hand: for they must ascend vnto it by Ladders. The river of Oreme enters into the Sea necre vnto it taking its fourse and beginning at Liban and Antiliban, and passeth by Antiechia: whereas running continually, it carries away by its swift course all the filth of the people. Finally, it enters into the Sea neere vnto Selencia. Antiochus in the beginning sent to the Gouernours of the Citty, offering them money with great hopes, if without fighting they would A deliuer it vnto him. But when he could not winne them, he corrupts fome of the inferiour Captaines: with whom having agreed, he puts his men in Battaile, as if he meant to assaile the Towne with his Army at Sea, and at Land on that fide which lookes towards Epirm. Divi. ding then his Army in three, after that hee had inflamed the hearts of the Souldiers, promifing them great rewards, hee appointed Zenxis with his Company to bee at the Gate which goes to Antiochia, and he gaue to Hermogenes the places by which they goe to Diofeoria, and gives charge to Ardin and Diogene to affaile the Suburbs and Arfenall: for it had beene so agreed with the Traytors, that as soone as the Suburbs R were taken, they should deliver him the Citty. When as the King had given the figne for an affault, they all did their indeauours. But among the rest they which were with Ardis and Diogene, carried themselves valiantly: For they could not assault nor scale the other places. But in regard of the Arlenalland Suburbs, they might affault and scale

Wherefore whilest that the Army at Sea fell upon the Arsenall, and Ardis Troupes vpon the Suburbs, scaling the Walls, and that they of the Towns could not succour them, for that they were environed on all sides by the Enemy, it fell out that the Suburbe was suddainly taken. Which done, the petty Captaines corrupted by the King, ran to Leance, who at that time was Gouernour of the Citty, perswading him to fend to Antischus before the City were forced. And although that Leonce were ignorant of the Treason, he sent presently to Antiochus, (being troubled with the amazement of his people) to yeeld them the Citty voon condition to have the lives of all the Inhabitants faued. The King accepting the condition, promiled to faue the lives of all Free-men, which were about fixe thousand: But when hee was entred, he not onely pardoned the Burgesses, but also called home the banished men of Seleucia, and restored vnto them the gouernment of their publique affaires, and all their goods, and put a good Garrifon into the Hauen and Port.

Whilest Intiochus stayed at Seleucia, hee receiued Letters from Theodore, by the which he folicited him to goe speedily into base Syrris. The King was long in suspence what councell he should take, and was penfiue and troubled with the course he should take in this action. you must vnderstand, that Theodose borne in Etolia, had done great seruices for the Realme of Pielemy, (whereof wee have formerly made

mention) and many times put his life in danger. At fuch time as Antiochus made Warre against Molon, hee tooke in person (disdaining the King, and distrusting his Courtiers) Prolemais and Tyrus by Paneseole, and fuddainly called in Antiochus. The King having taken Acheus to heart, and laying aside all other affaires, he returnes with his Army the fame way he came. When he was come to a place which the Countrey people call Marfia, hee camped neere the streights which are about Gerre, which is not farre from the Fens, lying in the midft of that Countrey. There being aduertised that Nicholas Lieutenant Generall A to Ptolomy, held Ptolomeis befieged, in the which Theodote was, hee left those that were best armed, and gaue charge to besiege the Towne The Towns of of Broches, lying vpon the Fenns, making hatte to goe and raile the Brothes bele-

Nicholas aduertised by his Spies of the Kings comming, retired, and fent Lagore of Candy, and Dorimene of Etolia, to gaine the fireights which are neere vnto Beryta: Where the King planted his Campe, after that he had fought with them, and put them to flight. And when hee had drawne together the rest of his Army in the same place, he makes an Oration to his Souldiers, and marcheth away with great courage. There Theodore and Paneteole met with him with their Friends, to whom he gaue a good and gracious reception, and he tooke Tyrus and Tyrus and Pto, Ptolemais with all their preparation of Warre. There were in thefe limantaken, Townes forty ships, whereof twenty were for the Warre, well armed and furnished with all things necessary, all which were Quinqueremes or Quadriremes : the reft were Triremes, Biremes, and of one banke. All which hee gaue to Diegene; Captaine of the Sea army. When's newes came vito him of the fectet flight of Prolomy to Caire, and that his whole Army affembled together at Damieste, and that they fought to cut off the waters from him, hee gaue ouer his enterprize to affaile C. Ramiette: and ouer running the Countrey, hee laboured to winne the Townes partly by force, partly by loue. Whereof fome being deltiture of Garrisons, and fearing the Kings power, yeelded Juddainly to the Enemy : Others relying vpon their frength or their scituation, maintained his affaults.

his for Psolomy being so apparently betraide, hee did not indeauour by sea fon of his weaknesse, to give that speedy order to his affaires that was firring, fo little accompt he had made of that which concernes the preparations of Warre. Whetefore Agathecles and Sefibius (who at that time governed all the affaires of the Kingdome) bethought themfelucs (as much as possibly they might) of that which was most neces-D lary. They resolved to prepare for the Watre, sending in the meane The policy of time an Embaffie to intreate Ansiochus, by way of diffembling, so de Agathocles and bate Ptolomy's right: who as not daring to make Warre, and having ad. softines. ucreised and perswaded his Friends, was retired into base sprria. When as Agarbectes and Sofibius had thus refolued, and given order according to their power, they speedily lent Embassadours to Antiochus, and likewise to the Rhodiens, Conffancinopolitains, Cizicins, and Esolvens, to perswade them to send Embassics to mediate a peate.

The diftributi

Army to his

thousand men.

Captaines.

When as these had sent to both the Kings, they gave them great meanes to prouide in the meane time things necessary for the Warre, for Ptotomy receiving the Embassadours gratiously, with those, of Antiochus. in the meane time he drew together the Mercenary Souldiers to Alex. andria, which lay dispersed in other Townes, and sent others to levie men without the Prouince, making prouision of victuals. Finally, he was carefull day and night to prepare for the Warre. For the which he sent continually men to Alexandria, to give order there should not be any thing wanting that was necessary. Hee had also given charge to Echecrate of Thefaly, and to Phoxide of Mil, to make provision of A Armes, and to choose men, and to muster them: The like he did to Eurilechus Magnes, and to Secrates of Beecia: with whom also was Cnes plas Alorite. For hee held them for men of judgement in fuch affaires: For that he esteemed them of great experience in the Warre, having ferued long under Demetria and Antigonal

These drew many souldiers together, prouiding wisely, and like honest men for all things. First they delivered Armes to the Companionsaccording to their fathion and age, distributing to every one those which hee could best mannage, and disliking those which they had formerly vied. Then they instructed them in particular for the future, and trai- R ned them continually, not by words onely, but accustoming them to Combats made for pleasure. After that they drew them together, and by remonstrances and perswalions put courage into them for the War to come. Wherein Andromachus Aspondin and Polygrates the Argine. who were lately come from Arges, were very powerfull. These were men accultomed to the Warre, and much effeemed by reason of their Countrey, and the excellency of their lives: especially Polycrates, for the antiquity of his race, and theglory of his Father Muslims. These infiructing the Bands publiquely and in private, gaue courage to the Souldiers for the future War. Moreover, every one had his patticular charge in the Army according to their experience. Euriloched Magnes had the command of three thouland men, which the Kings call the furious Troupe. Secrates of Beecia, was Chiefe of two thouland armed with Targets. Phoxide the Achaian, and Peolemy of Thrafes, and with them Andromachus Affondin, led the great Battaillion, and the Mercenaries : So as Adremachus and Prolomy were Captaines of the great Battaillion. and Phoxide of the Mercenaries. The Phalange or great Battaillion contained about five and twenty thousand men. The Mercenaries were eight thouland. Polycrates had trained and instructed the Gentlemen of the Kingshouse, being seuen hundred Horse, ouer whom hee was p Captaine, and likewise of those which were come for Lybia, and had

In regard of the Grecian Cauallery, and those which were in pay, Echeerates of Theffaly, a man of feruice, instructed them carefully, to the number of two thousand; being as diligent as any other to have a care of the Souldiers. Cmopy had the command of all the Candiets, being threethouland in number : Among the which there was a thouland Souldiers

beene leuied in the Prouince. All which made the number of three

Souldiers newly leuied, of which he gaue the charge to Philon of Gnofe. There were moreouer three thousand Affricans, armed after the the Macedonian manner, ouer whom Ammonia Barcee was Captaine. There were also about two thousand Egyptians under the command of Sosibines Finally, foure thousand Thraces and Gaules, which had long served in the Warre : and two thousand newly leuied, whereof Denis of Thrace had the charge. This was Ptolomes Army at that same time.

When as Milechus had befieged the Towne of Dure, and faw that hee could not preuaile, as well for its fortification, as for the defence of Nicholas: in the beginning of Winter hee concluded a truce with Ptolomes Embassadour, and promised him willingly and freely, to goe out of the Province, and to doe him all the pleasure hee could, although he had another intent : for hee made hafte to leade his Army to winter in Selencia, for that Acheus made shew to bee of his side, although in truth he held Prolomes party. After the truce concluded, Antochus fent prefently an Embassadour, giuing him charge to ad- An Embassie uertise him speedily of Ptelemes intention, and that hee should come seat from Autivnto him to Selencia. Then leaving sufficient Garrison in necessary orbas to Fiele places, and the charge of all to Theodore, hee led his Army to Se-B leucia: from whence he sent them to winter in Garrisons, and from that time hee began to neglect all care in exercifing his Souldiers, thinking hee (hould have no more occation of fighting: For that hee held many places in base Syrria and Phenices, hoping that the rest would be soone reduced to his obedience : considering that Pielomy durst not come to fight. His Embassadours thought no lesse, for that Sofibius had given them faire and courteous words at Caire: And not any one of those which had beene sent to Antischus, knew the preparation of Warre which was made in Alexandria; fo as Sofibius diliniffing the Embassadours, was continually careful of the Warre. It is C true, that Ansiochus vsed great care to make his just quarrell knowne to the Embassadours, when they flould enter into discourse.

Finally, being come to Selencia, and falling into private speech of the peace, according vnto that which softim had given them in charge, the King did not hold the outrage which he had done by open Warre, Ressons of the in feazing vpon the places of bafe Syrria to bee vniust or vnreasonable : warrepropour and that he had done nothing but by a just title. For he fayd, that An- ded by dution tigenus with one eye, and Seleucus, who first had conquered those places, were the true and lawfull Lords. Wherefore the Realme of base Syrria belonged vnto him, as it were by right of inheritance, and not to D Piolomy: For that Ptolomy had fought against Antigones, not for his owne right, but to conquer those Countries for Selenciu. Moreover, he propounded the mutuall accord betwirt the Kings, for at fuch time as Antigenus was defeated, when as Casander, Lysimachus and Selencus would

dinide the Realme betwixt them, they adjudged all Syrria to Selenens. This was all that Antiochus alledged. Contrariwife Ptolomes Embaffit- The answer of This was all that Antioenas alleuged. Contrativing this prefent outrage far Professes Endantidors to greater then it had bin : faying that the accord had bin broken as well by Antiothus.

the treason of Theodote, as by the descent which Insiechus had made with an Army into Syrria. Moreover, they pretended Ptolomes posses fion, faving, that he had made Warre with Seleucus against Antigonus, to the end he might conquer all the Empire of Alia for Selencus, and make Syrria and Phenicea his owne. These difficulties with divers 04 thers, were many times debated betwixt them : but they could not conclude any thing, although matters were folicited by their common Friends: for that the party of Achem bred a great controverse and debate betwixt them: For that Prolomy fought to comprehend him in the accord, and Antiochus would not heare him A spoken of: holding it a strange thing, that Ptolomy should presume to make mention of those who through Treason abandoned their King. Finally, the Embassadours departed without any effect.

A leuie of Ar.

dians to Antio-

In the Spring Antiochin yfeth all diligence to leuie men, with an mles by Antio- intent to affaile Syrria both by Sea and Land, and to make subject all the other Countries of that Province. But Ptolomy did no lesse to reenforce the Army of Nicholas: fo as hee fent him flore of victuals out of the Countries neere vnto Gaza, furnishing him moreover with Souldiers both by Sea and Land, with other things necessary. meanes whereof Nicholas refuming courage, went boldly to Field with the helpe of Perigene, Commander of the Army at Sea, being B fent by Ptolomy with thirty ships of Warre, and about foure hundred Merchants Veffels. This Nicholas was borne in Etolia, asable and refolite a Souldier as any that ferued Ptolomy: who after he had former. ly gotten with a part of his Army, the streights which lie neere vnto Plan tane, and marching with the rest to Porphirrion, he shut vo the pasfage of the Province from the King with the helpe of the Sea-army. from the Area Antiochus being come to Marache, and Embassadours arriving from the Arcadians, to conferre of the conditions of their Alliance, he not onely received them courteously, but freed the discord which had beene long betwixt them, in reconciling the Arcadians which dwelt in the Iland, with those that lived in Epirus. This done hee comes to Berite, entring into the Province by a place which the Countrey-men call, the Face of God: in passing hee tooke the Towne of Botre, setting fire upon Triere and Caleme. From thence he fent Nicarche and Theodose before, gluing them charge to gaine the streights which are neere unto the River of Dree: And with the rest of his Army he plants himselfe neere vnto the River of Damure, from whence Diogene Chiefe of the Army at Sea, was not farre.

Then againe he takes those that were lightly armed, whom hee had fent before with Nicarche and Theodore, and goes to discouer the D ftreights which Nicholas had formerly taken : fo as after hee had well viewed the places, hee returned to his Campe. Where the next day hee left those that were best armed, under the charge of Nicarche, and marched with the rest against the Enemy. And for that Mount Liban doth much restraine those places towards the Sea shoare, the way must of necessity be narrow, difficult, and almost inaccessible : leaving a streight and short passage towards the Sea. Whereas Nicholas having

then built his Fort, hee did hope he should be well able to repulse An. tiochus: For that he had put him felfe into it with a good number of Souldiers: and had also fortified it with Engines and other defences. The King divided his Army into three Troupes, whereof hee gaue Antiochushis the leading of the one to Theodote, giving him charge to fall vpon the into thee. Enemies which defended the way of the Mountaine. Hee gaue another to Menedemus, whom hee commanded to ftrine to get up the Mountaine : And the third he placed on the Sea-shoare, vnder the leading of Diocles. Hee put himselse among the Baggage to see all, and A to succour where neede should require. At the same time Diogenes and Perigene began to fight at Sea, approaching as neere to Land as possibly they could : fo as they might feethe Combats by Land and Sea with one view. The Trumpets founding to the charge, the fight was long A Combat at equall at Sea: fo as the Victory inclined to neither fide: for that the Sea and Land. two Armies were equall in number of men and preparation of Warre, In regard of the fight at Land, Nicholas had the better in the beginning, for that hee had the aduantage of the place. But when as they which were with Theodose, came vpon them from the rop of the Mountaine, and charged them with great fury, Nicholas and his men fled shamefully. There were two thousand slaine in the chase : the rest saued themselues B in Sydon. And although that Perigene in thew had good hope of the fight at Sea, yet feeing the defeate of the Army at Land, he retired. Antischus drew his men together, and went and planted his Campencare vato Syden : yet hee did not hold it fit to attempt the taking thereof at that time, as well for the abundance of munition and victuals that were init, as for the multitude of men, as well Inhabitants, as such as were retired into it after the Battaile. Wherefore he dislodged, and went to Philotere, fending word to Diegenet, Chiefe of the Army at Sea, to fayle to Tyre. You must vnderstand, that Philotere is seated neare vnto a Fenne, into the which the River which they call lordan, paffeth : then takes its C courfe by the Countrey of that Towne which is called Scithes. After the suddaine taking of these two Townes, he enters into great hope for the future, for that their Fields were fufficient to furnish his Army with all kind of victuals, and other munitions for the war. There he placed fufficient Garrisons, and passing the Mountaines, he came to the Towne of Atabyre, scituated vpon the Mountaine of Mastodia, which hath fifteene Furlongs in afcent. There laying an Ambush neare the Towne, he began to draw the Inhabitants forth to fight, who following his men who fremed to retire, were in a manner all flaine, they turning head: And for that the Ambush charged them in the Rearc, he pursued the rest, and tooke D them and their Towne. At the same time Geres being one of Prolomes Commander, left it. By the meanes whereof Antiochine gained many other Captaines. For soone after Hippolochus of Thesaly came to yeeld himselse to him with three hundred horse. And when he had pur a Garrison into Atsabyre, he proceeded in his journey, purshing his enterprize, takenby Aniand in passing the Country, tooke Pelle, Came, & Gepre. In the meanetime ofther. the people of of Arabia agreeing together, followed his party. Autiochus growing into greater hope, & drawing victuals from them, went farther

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into the Country: and presently tooke Gallate with the Garrison of the Abilletins, of whom Nicie a Kiniman and Allie to Nemne, was Commander. And although that Gadare, which at that time feemed impregnable for its scituation, held out, yet hee tooke it suddainly in befleging it, and fetting vp his Engines. And having newes afterwards that a good number of Enemies were drawne together into Rabatamaffane a Towne of Arabia, and spoyled all the Arabians Countrey which held his party, he went suddainly thither with his Army, and planted his Campe neere vnto the Mountaines among the which the Towne is scituated. And when vpon a view he had discouered that it was not to A be forced but in two places, he fet vp his Engines, and other things neceffary to force a Towne, whereof he gaue the charge to Nicarchus and Theodote: and in the meane time attends his other affaires.

These men carefull of the Battery, striued with emulation who should first ouerthrow the Wall, whereupon a great part fell sooner then they could imagine. This done, they fought continually day and night, striuing to lose no time. And although the Siege continued long, yet they could not preuaile, in regard of the multitude of men which detended it : vntill that a Prisoner shewed them a little River, where the besieged fetch their water, the which they stopt vp with Pallisadoes, B ftones, and such like things. Then being out of hope of water, they yeelyeckled to An. ded to the Enemies. By this meanesthe King having it in his hands, he gaue it in guard to Nicarchus with a fufficient ftrength : and he fent Hip. polichue and Ceree (who as we have favd, had abandoned Ptolomy) in. to the Countrey of Samaria, with five thousand Foote : gluing them charge to continue there for the defence thereof, and to preserve all the people which were under his obedience. From thence he parts with his whole Army, and comes to Ptolamsis to passe the Winter there.

The Pedneliffenfes befreged.

The policy of

Garfyere.

eiochus.

When the Pednelissenses had beene the same Summer besieged by the Selgenses, and were in great danger; they sent to demand succours from Achem. When he had heard them willingly, and promifed to doe C it, they endured the Siege with great courage, growing more resolute by the hope of fuccours. Finally, achem fant Gerfjere with fixe thoufand Foot, and five hundred Horfe; giving him charge to vie all diligence to succour the Pednels selected is advertised by the Spics of his comming, recovered the streights which are about a place which they call, Afchelle, with the greatest part of their Army, and stop vp all the palfages, Garffere entting by force into Myliade, and planting his Campe nearezonto a Towne called Candon, he vied this stratagem, feeing that he could not paffe, for that the Selgenfes kept all the paffages. He began to raile his Campe, and to retire, making thew that it was impossible D for him to succour the Pednelissenses: for that the streights of the Country were held by the Enemy.

The Selgenses thinking they had beene gone, as men despairing to be able to succour them, retired, some to the Campe, the rest returned to the Citty to recouer Victuals. But Garfrere comes fuddainiy backe to the streights, whereas finding them abandoned, he fer men to guard them under the command of Captaine Phayle: and from thence hee

comes with his forces to Perge, whereas staying some time, hee sent Embassadours to Pamphilia, and the other Townes, to acquaint them with the insolency of the Selgenses, and to solicite them to enter into league with Achens, and to succour the Pednelissenses. The Selgenses at the same time sent a Captaine with an Army, hoping to chase Phayle from the Breights. But for that matters wecceded otherwise then they expected, and lost many of their men in fighting, they gave ouer their Entenprize : yet for all this they did not raile their Siege, but were more attentiue then before, to fet vp their Engines.

The History of POLYBIVS.

In the meane time the Estenenses which inhabite the Mountaines aboue Syde, fent eight thousand men armed to Garffere : and the Afpendiens foure thousand. The Sydetes made no shew to send any succours : for that they were Friends to Antiochus, and hated the Aftendia ens. Garsgere came to ednelisse, accompanied with the Troupes of the Allies, thinking at his comming to raife the Siege. But when he faw that the Selgenses were nothing amazed, he set himselfe downe neere vnto them. The Pednelissenses were so opprest with want of Victuals, as they could no longer endure the hunger, wherefore Garfyere feeing it necessary to vse diligence, prepared two thousand men, euery one laden with a Mine of Wheat, and fent them by night to the Towne. The A Mine is a

B Selgenses aduertised hereof, charged them presently, and slew the great bout two of test part of them, and tooke all the Wheate. Wherewith they grew fo weighing an glorious, as they not onely befieged the Towne, but they attempted the hundred and Enemies Campe. It is the custome of the Selgenses to bee alwaies bold ten pounds and audatious. Wherefore in leaving sufficient forces in their Campe. they suddainly affailed the Enemy in divers place. And when the Alarum grew hot, so as the Campe was forced in some places, Garfyere amazed at this great and suddaine accident, and having no great hope, hee caused the Horse-men to goe forth by a certaine place which was not guarded a whom the Selgenfes (thinking they had fled for feare of & being defeated) did not pursue, nor made any accompt of them. Theie Horse-men turning a little about, charged the Enemy suddainly in the Reare, fighting with great fury. Then Garfjeres Foot-men, who formed to waner, turned head, being re-united, and fell vpon the Enemy.

By this meanes the Selgenfas being thus enuironed, in the end fled. The Rednelissenses taking courage hereat, made a fally, and beate them out of Garijere athe Campe which had the guard. In the chase Garsyere made a great gaint the Set. flaughter : for there were aboue ten thousand men slaine: of those which senses. remained, the Allies retired to their houses, and the Selgenses to their Countrey, taking their way by the Mountaines.

D The next day Garffere parts with his Army, and makes hafte to paffe the Mountaines, and to approach the Towne, before that the Seigenfer (being amazed with this fresh flight)should prouide for any thing. Who being full of heauinesse and seare, as well for the little hope they had of fuccours from their Allies, confidering the loffe they had made with them, & amazed with this fresh missortune, were in great doubt of safe- Logbase sent ty, either for themselues or their Countrey. Wherefore they affembled Embaffadour the Counsell, to refolue to fend one of their Cittizens called Logbafe, by the seigen.

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A truce made wirn : be Selgenfis.

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in Embassie: who had had great Friendship and familiarity with Antiochus, which died in Thrace: And moreover he had bred vo Landicea the wife of Acheus, and his owne Daughter, whom they had given him in her infancy to instruct. They fent him therefore as their Embassadour, thinking him sufficient for that businesse. But being come to Gar/yere, he was so farre from doing that which hee had in charge, and which the duty of a good Cittizen required, that contrariwile he folicited him to write to Acheus, that he promised to deliuer him the Towne.

Garffere giving a willing care vpon hope of taking it, fent men to scheus to solicite him, and to let him vnderstand how matters had past. A Finally hee makes a truce with the Selgenses, delaying still to make an absolute accord with him, vnder colour that he would consider better thereon, to the end that in the meane time hee might expect Acheus, and give Logbase opportunity to finish the Enterprize. But whilest they in the meane time conferred together, the Souldiers by a kind of tion with an E- familiarity, went freely into the Towne to fetch Victuals, which is many times the cause of a great Defeate. So as in my opinion there is not any Creature amongst all the rest, more simple then man, or that hath leffe fense and judgement: whom notwithstanding the greatest part of the World hold for the wifest. But how many Armies ? How R many Forts? How many and what Citties have fallen into the Enemies hands thereby . And although these be things which daily happen, and ... that all the world fees, yet wee shew our selucs (I know not how) new and Apprentizes. This happens, for that wee doe not confider the fortunes which have happened to our Ancestors in former times: and that we buffe ourselves with toile and charge, to make provision of Corne, Silver, Fortifications, and Armes. Moreover, wee make no esteeme of that which is of great profit in great dangers, but disdaine it, although it be in our power to learne it in the time of peace, by the Hiftories and Commentaries of former actions, and as it were to practife them. But to the end we may returne to the discourse from whence we C parted, Acheus came at the day appointed. The Seigenfes going to meet him, had great hope and confidence in his bounty.

In the meane time Logbase having drawne into his house a good number of those which came into the Citty for Victuals, hee began to perswade the Cittizens, not to lose any time: and that considering the good-will which Acheus bare them, they should thinke of their affaires, and that in affembling the people, they should consider of the conditions of peace. These things being propounded, they presently affembled, to conferre of their present affaires, calling those which More deputed for the guard of the Citty. Logbaje making a figne vnto D the Enemy, as he had promised a suddainly armes all those which were in his house, doing the like himselfe with his Children, to vndergoe the danger. On the other fide Asheus came to the Towne with halfe the army. Garfrere marcht with the rest to Colbedia: This is a Temple of Inpiter, to well (cituated about the Towne, as it seemes like a Fort.

When as by chance some one saw the Enemy approach, hee ran suddainly to acquaint the Assembly, whereupon there was so great

an amazement among the peole, as leaving the Company, fome ran to Cefbedia, othersto the places where they were fet in Guard, and the Commons ran to the house of Logbale: where discouering the trea- Logbase and his fon, some infury got to the house-top, others forced the Gate, and flew Logbafe, his Children, and all the partners of the Conspiracy. This done, they proclamed liberty to al Bondmen by the found of the Trumpet, and encouraged one another to succour and defend the Citty, run. ning to all places necessary. When Garfyere faw Cefbedia seazed on by the Burgesses, he changed his resolution, and Achens seeking to force A the Gates, the Selgenfes made a fally, killing seauen hundred of his men, and repuls'd the rest from the Towne. This done, Achens and Garffere returned to their Campe with shame and difgrace. The Selgenfes afterwards fearing the sedition of the Towne, and the presence of the Enemy, they fent their most ancient Cittizens to demand a peace. Who Apeace conbeing come to Acheus, they agreed upon these conditions: that Acheus come and the and the Selgenfes thould live in peace, and that they should pay vnto him Selgenfes. presently two hundred and forty thousand Crownes. That they should restore the Prisoners of the Pednelissenses, and that at a certaine time prefixt, they should pay moreouernine score thousand. Thus the Selgen.

fes (who by the Treason of Logbase were in danger of their Country and B Liberties) defended themselues valiantly and with great courage : and neither loft their Liberties, nor that honour which they derived from the Lacedemonians.

When as Acheus had reduced under his obedience the Meliades, and the greatest part of Pamphilia, and had brought his Army to Sardis, hee made Warre against Astalus. All the Inhabitants on this side Tauris, feared him wonderfully. At the fame time when he made War against the Selgenses. Attalns accompanied with the Egesages, Galates, ouer-ran Eolia, and the neighbour Townes, who for feare had yeelded to Acheus. Whereof the greatest part submitted themselves willingly under his C obedience : the rell were forced. Cyme, Smirne, and Phocea, were the first that yeelded vnto him. Afterwards the Egenses and Lemnises fearing a Siege, yeelded in like manner. There came likewise Embassadours from Theis and Colophon, submitting themselues and their Townes vnto him. Which being received according to the ancient accord, and hoftages taken, he made great accompt of the Smirniens, for that they had kept their faith best. Afterwards continuing his course, he past the River of Lyce, and went first to the Myfiens, and then to the Carfees, whom he terrified: The like he did to the Guards of the double walls, and tooke them and their Garrisons, for that Themistocles (whom Acheus had left D there for Gouernour) deliuered them vnto him. And parting presently, ruining the Countrey of Apia, he past the Mountaine of Pelecas, and planted himselfe neere vnto a great River: where the Moone falling into an Eclipse, and the Galates discontented with the rediousnes of the way. having a traine of women and children in their Wagons, observing the Ecliple, protested that they would passe no farther. And although that King Attalus drew no service from them, yet fearing that if he left them, as it were in disdaine, they would retire to Acheus, and that thereby hee

should purchase an ill same, as if through ingratitude he had abandoned those who with great affection had followed him into Afia, he intreated them to endure a little toile of the way; and that he would foone bring them to a good place, where they should rest: And withall hee would doe for them what soener they should defire according to his power, and as reason should require. Astalm therefore gave Hellespons to the Egosages for their abode : and after he had intreated the Lampsacenes, the Alexandrians, and Ilienfes courteoully, for that they had kept their faith. he went to Pergamo with his Army.

The Army of

The Army of

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In the beginning of the Spring, when Antiochus and Piolomy had A made their preparations for the Warre, they made haste to draw their Armics to Field. Ptolomy parts from Alexandria with about three score and ten thousand Foote, and fine thousand Horse, with three score and thirteene Elephants. Antiochus hauing newes of their comming, heo fuddainly drawes his mentogether. His Army confifted of five thoufund Dains, Carmaniens, and Ciliciens lightly armed, under the leading of Bittace a Macedonian : and of twenty thousand menaster the Macedonian manner, whereof the greatest part were Argyraspides, who were levied throughout the Realme, vnder the command of Theodore of Etolia, who committed the Treason. The number of the great Battaillion was about twenty thousand, of whom Nicarchus and Theodo. B te furnamed Hemiolia, had the leading. Moreouer there were two thoufand Agreens and Persians, Archers and Slingers : with whom were a thousand Thracians, ouer whom Menedemus Alabandeus was Captaine. Morcouer, fine thousand Medians, Cissiens, Cady fiens, and Carmains: which Accius the Sonne of Aspassan of Media had under his charge.

In regard of the Arabians, and their neighbours, they were vnder the command of Zabdibel, to the number of ten thousand men or more. On the other fide Hippuloshus of Theffaly, had the leading of five thou. fand Grecians Mercenaries: and Eurilochus of fifteene hundred Candyoss. Zelyfgorgyne had a thoufand Candyots newly leuied, to the which were ioyned flue hundred Lydiens with Slings. Lyfimachus the Gaule, had a thousand Cardaces. Finally, the whole Cauallery amounted to fixe thousand Horse, of which Antipater the Kings Nephew, had the charge of foure thousand, and Themison of the reft. By this meanes Antiochus his Army conlisted of three score and two thousand Foote. fixe thousand Horse, and a hundred and two Elephants. Ptolomy taking his way by Damietea, hee made that Towne subject vnto him at his entrance: From whence after a plentifull distribution of Corne among the Souldiers, hee parted, and passeth Cassia and Bathra comming by the desert Countries. Being come to Gaza, and having asfembled his Army, he marcht flowly in the Countrey : planting himselfe on the fift day, within fifty Furlongs of Raphia, which is a Towne scituated behind Rhinococure, and first of those of Syrria which looks towards Egypt.

At the fame time Antiochus armed with his Army, and paffing that Towne by night, he planted his Army within tenfurlongs of his Enemy. In the beginning they kept themselves distant so far one from another.

Bur'tome few daies after, Antiochus desiring to get some place of aduantage, and to give courage to his men, hee lodged neerer vnto the enemy, so as there were but fine Furlongs betwirt the two Campes: So as going to forrage and to Water, there were many encounters : on the other side, sometimes the Foote-men, and sometimes the Horsemen skirmished betwirt the two Campes, trying the Fortune of the Warre. At the same time Theodote shewed the great courage of a true Etolien : For being by long experience acquainted with the Kings man tempt of The hardy ac-

ner of living, hee entred at the breake of day into the enemies Camp, dote, A and could not be discouered by his Countenance, for that it was yet darke a Neither did hee differ much from them in his Apparrell, for that they vied divers fashions of habits. Having formerly observed the place where the Kings Tent was planted, for that they had fought often neere vnto the Campe, hee went directly to it. When hee had past vnknowne, and was come secretly to the Tent, in the which the King did viually eare and drinke: Where casting his lookes carefully about him, he saw him not, (for he was lodged in a place retired behind it) fo as hee wounded two that were lodged there, and killing andrew Andrewihe the Kings Philition, hee retired without danger to his Campe, bring- Kings thylitian ing his enterprize to an end by his hardy courage: But deceived in his flame. forc-fight, for that hee had not well observed the place where as Pto.

lomy did viually lye.

When the Kings had continued in Campe fine daies together, one before the other, they resolued in the end to giue Battaile. Ptolomy beginning to draw his Army out of his Fort, Antiochus suddainely did the like: And they planted their two chiefe Buttalions in Front one against the other, armed after the Macedonian manner. Behold the order which Ptolomy held for the two Wings: Polycrates was in the Theorder of right Wing, with the Horse-men that were vnder his charge: Betwirt in Battaile.

C the which and the great Battalion, were the Candyots placed neere vnto the Horse men. After which was the Kings battalion; and subsequently those that were armed with Targets, whereof Socrates had the Commaund : And finally the Lybians armed after the Macedonian manner. Vppon the right Wing was Echecrates of Theffaly, having with him his Troupe of Horses After which were appointed the Galates and Thracians; and then Phoxide with the Mercenaries of Greece; being followed by the great Battalion of the Egyptians. Hee had also placed forty Elephants on the left Wing, with the which Peolomy were before the right Wing, neere vnto the horse-men that were hired. Antiochus on the other side, placed on the right Wing (with the which

D hee was resolued to fight in Battaile against Prolomy) threescore Ele- The order of phants : Of which his companion Philip had the Charge. After these antisobus his hee orders two thousand Horse under the leading of Antipater, and Banaile fets the Candyoss in Front, neere vnto the Horse men : Then hee appoints the Mercenaries of Greece, and after then were fine thousand men, who armed after the Macedonian manner, had Bystice for their Captaine. As for the left Wing, hee placed two thousand horses in Front, vnder the Commaund of Temison: Neere vnto which hee sets

the Cardaces and Lydien Horse-men, and after them three Thousand men lightly armed, vnder the charge of Menedemus: in whose Reare were the Ciffiens, Mediens, and Carmaniens: And after them the Arabians were joyned to the great Battalion. Finally, hee fets before the left Wing the rest of the Elephants, giving them for their Guide one Myisce a Houshold servant to the King.

The two Armies being thus in battaile, the Kings beganne to encourage their Troupes, being accompanied with their Captaines and friends, commending the valour of the Souldiers both in generall and particular: And having great hope of their Battalions, they propoun- A ded great benefits which would redowne by the Victory. Prolomy had with him his fifter Arlinge, with Andromachus and Sofibius, who encouraged the Souldiers: And Theedete and Nicarchus were with Ansiochus, for that of either side they were the Commaunders of the two great Battalions. They were both of one humour to make Speeches vnto their men, and yet neither of them had done any thing worthy of fame or praise to be propounded, for that they were newly come vnto their Principallities. Wherefore they laboured to encourage their Troupes, in reducing to their memory the glory and proweffe of their Ancestors: And propounding moreover a hope of themselves B for the future, they intreated and folicited the Captaines to fight, and to vndergoe the danger resolutely and with courage. These were the speeches or such like, which they ysed in person, or by their Interpreters.

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phants:

This done, the two Kings marcht one against the other, a slow pace. A Battailebe Ptolomy was in the left Wing, and Antiochus in the right with his roval twist Protony Battalion. Then the Trumpets founded to Battaile, whereof the first and Antiochus. Charge was made by the Elephants. Few of Peolomes held good against those of the Enemy, whose Souldiers fought valliantly, casting of Darts, Pertwifans, and plummets of lead, wounding one another. The Combate But the Elephants made a stronger Warre; beating their Heads furi. oully together: For such is the manner of their fight, assailing one another with their teeth, and standing firme they repulse one another with great Violence: But if they once turne their fides they wound with their Teeth, as Buls do with their Hornes. But the greatest part The Elephants of Ptolomes feared the Combate: the which doth viually happen to ct zybia teare the Elephants of Lybia: For they cannot indure the fent, nor heare the them of India. crye of those of India. So as fearing (as it seemes) their greatnesse and force, they flye them, as it happened at that time, for that flying fuddainly they brake the rankes of their owne men, and made a great p flaughter in Ptolomes great Battallion.

The which Antiochus perceiuing, hee presently chargeth Polycrases Horse-men with the Elephants. The Grecians about his great Battallion fell vpon Ptolomes Targetteers. Wherefore when the Elephants had broken them, his left Wing beganne to turne head. When Echecrates Commaunder of the right Wing, (expecting still the Combate of the fayd Wings) faw the Dustrife in the Ayre, and that his Elephants durst not charge the Enemies, he sends to Phoxide Captaine of

the Mercenaries to charge those which he had in Front : The which he did likewife, marching a flow pace with the Horse men and the Elephants. There the Combate was long and furious : yet Echesrates being freed from the danger of the Eiephants, and making a great flaughter of the Horse men, and withall Phoxide preffing the drabians and Medes. In the end Antiochus his left wing was put to flight. By this meanes Antiochus right wing vanquished, and the left fled. The two great Battalions stood firme and vatoucht, being in doubt of the end. And when as Prolomy in the meane time had recoursed his great A Troupe by his speedy running, and was in the middest of them, hee amazed his Enemies, and gaue great courage vnto his owne Captaines and Souldiers.

In the meane time King Antiochus being young and of small experience in the Warre, feeing himselse Victorious of the one side, thought the like of the rest, and pursued the Chase of the Enemy with great eagerneffe. But when as one of his old Souldiers cald him backe, and thewed him the Dust which a great Troupe had raisde in his Fort, hee then knew what it meant : and turning head he laboured to recouer his Campe. But when hee found that all his Army was in Rout, then Ptolomet Victor wanting good Counfell he fled to Raphia, immagining that it was not iy again his fault hee had not obtained a glorious and Triumphant Victory, and desirebut. that the basenesse and south of his men had beene the cause of his defeate. Prolomy having the Victory by the meanes of his chiefe Battalion, and having lost many of his Horse-men and Souldiers of the right Wing, hee returned to his Campe, and tefresht his Army. The next day, he caused his men to be sought out among the Dead, and

From thence (after they had stript the Enemies that were slaine) hee marcht with his Army to Raphia. And although that Antiochu (ga-C thering together his men that fled) had a defire to keepe his Campe, and to leaue the Towne, yet he was forced to goe to Raphia : For that the greatest part of his Souldiers were retired thither. The next day earely in the morning, he parts with that finall Army, which he had remaining after fo great a defeate, and went to Gaza: Where planting his Campe, he sent men to demaund the dead bodies and to interre them. Antiochus lost aboue ten Thousand foote, and three hundred Horse. There were about foure thousand soote-men taken aliue. In regard of the Elephants, there were three flaine vpon the fielde, and two wounded which dyed afterwards : most of the rest were taken. This was the ende of that famous bartaile, where as two powerfull Dand mighty Kings fought for the Empire of Syrria, neere voto Raphia.

When as Antiochus had buried the dead, hee returned into his Countrey with his Army. As for Ptolomy, hee presently recoursed Raphia, with the other Citries, lo as the people contended who should present his neighbour, in yeilding first vato the King. In such events eucey man Briues to apply himfelfe voto the time. Itistrue, sharthe people of that Countrey are borne and inclined to imbrace the famour

House. And therefore they honoured Ptolomy, with Flowers, Sa. crifices. Altars, and such like things. When as Antiochus was come to the Citty, which is called by his owne name, he prefently fent his Autiorbus fends Nephew Antipater with Theodote Hermiely in Embassioto Prolomy, to demaund a peace of him : For without doubt hee feared his forces, to Pielomy.

neither did hee much relie voon his owne fouldiers, confidering the losse which hee had lately made. Hee likewise doubted that Acheus A might mooue Warre against him, considering the opportunity of the

of the present time. But for asmuch as the people had a special denotion

to the Kings of Alexandria, what they then did was held just and rea-

fonable. The people of base Syrvis have alwaics affected this royall

time and occasion.

As for Ptolomy, hee thought not of all this: But beeing joyfull of fo great a Fortune, which hee expected not, holding himselfe happy to enjoy all Syrria, hee refused not the conditions of peace. So as being lull'd a fleepe with this base kinde of life, which hee had alwaies vsed, his heart was much inclined thereunto. When the Embassa. dours presented themselves vnto him, he granted them a peace for a yeare, after that hee vied some proud speeches against Ansiechm. To whom he sent Sosibius with them to confirme the Accord. And after B hee had flayed about some three moneths in Syrria and Phenices, and had given order for the Citties, leaving the charge of all those places to Andromachus Aspendius, he returned with his sister and Friends to Alexandria. On the other fide Amiosbus (after hee had confirmed the Accord with Solibius, and pacified all things to his liking) beganne to make preparation for Warre against Achers, according to his first Refolution and determination. This was the efface of Alia at that fame present.

An Accord made berwixt

Prolomy and

Antischus.

At the same time the Rhodiens taking their occasion from an Earth-An Barthquake quake, which a little before had befalne them, in the which the great Collessiu, with a great part of the Pipes and Arsenals were ruined, they carried themselues so discreetly and wisely, as this ruine did not seeme prejudicially nto them, but very profitable. Ignorance and fimplicity differs fo much from Prudence and Industry, not only in a private life. but also in publique Affaires, that ease and plenty seeme to procure losse and prejudice to the one, and adversities excuse the faults and errours of the other. The Rhediens made these things great and ruinous, and labouring to fent Embassadours to all places, they did so moone the Citties and likewise Kings, as they not onely drew great gifts from them, but they had them in such fort, as they which gaue them held D themselues beholding vnto them.

Prefents made

Hieron and Gelon did not onely give them five and forty Thousand to the Rhodiers Crownes, to repaire the place ordayned for all Exercises (one part to be payed presently and the rest soone after:) but they also gave them Caldrons of filuer, with their Treuers, and pots for water. Moreouerfixethousand Crownesto performe the Sacrifices: And others fixe thousand to relieue the Burgesses: So as the whole present amounted to threescore thousand Crownes. Moreover all that fail'd to Rhodes

were free from Tribute. They gaue them likewife fifty Slings or Warlike Engines: Finally they advanced Images in the most eminent places of Rhodes, as if they were beholding vnto them; where the people of Rhodes were Crowned with that of Sarragosse. Prolomy promised them nine score thousand Crownes: A million of Artabes of Wheate, featte the Ribb which is a measure of Media: Timber to make fixe Quinqueremes, and dien. ten Triremes, and about forty thousand Fathomes of Rope, and three thousand Masts and Sailes, and to repaire the Collosse nine score thoufand Crownes, a hundred Architects, three hundred and fifty worke-A men, and for their Victuals seauen Thousand and soure hundred Crownes by the yeare. Twelue thousand Artabes of Wheate, for those which should make the Combats in their Games and Sacrifices: And twenty Thousand Artabes for the victualling of ten Triremes. Of which things he deliuered the greatest part of them presently, with the third part of the money. Moreouer Antigonus gaue them Timber from eight vnto fifteene Fd. The sife of Abo

shome, with fine thousand plankes aboue twelve foote long, and two reconstitute

hundred three score and ten thousand weight of Iron , foure score and Rhodiens. ten thousand pound weight of Rossine, and a thousand bushels of pitch: B And withall hee promised them three score thousand Crownes ouerplus. Chryfea (who was a woman) gaue them a hundred Thousand chryfes gift. Bushels of Wheate, with two hundred three score and ren Thousand pound weight of Lead. Selencus father to Antiochus, fent them ten Selencus bit Quinqueremes Armed and furnished, and that they which fail'd to present Rhodes should be free : Hee gaue them likewise two hundred Bushels of Corne with Timber and Pirch, and ten thousand Fathomes of Cord made with haire, and fixe hundred thousand Crownes. Profia and Mithridates did the like : So did all the Princes of Afia, as Lyfamius, Olympiquus, Lymnius and others. Finally wee carnot number the C Townes which gaue prefents to the Rhodien; enery one according to their power. And if any manwill observe the time and the beginning. when as this Citty was first Inhabited . he will wonder much that in fo short a time it is so much augmented both in private and Publique. But when we confider the Commodity of the place, and the great fed licity which doth grow from Forreiners, and their plentifull reuchew there is no more any cause of admiration . Being certaine that this get. ting of Wealth is made with reason and judgement. We have thought it fit to relate thele things.

First, for the love of the Rhodiens, to the end that their industry and care for the Affaires of their Common wealth might bee knowne D to all the World, for intruth they are worthy of commendation and loue. Secondly, for the autrice of our Kings at this day, and the wretchednesse of people and Townes : Who when they have given two or three thousand Crownes; immagine they have made a great stately Present, and looke for such thankes and honours as were stuckly to the Ancient Kings of Greece . Or let the Townes temeniber the great bounty of the ancient presents; least they loose those great horients in making such perty gutts, I and let them frine to preferte their lige

nity: To the end that the people and inhabitants of Greece may differ from other men.

When in the beginning of Summer, Agote being then Chiefe of the Etoliens, and the time of Epirates Gouernement ouer the Acheins being expired, (in my opinion this is the passage, where we last turn'd from the Warre of the Allies) Lycurgus the Lacedemonian returned from Frolia: For the Magistrates called him home as soone as they found the accusation, for the which he was banished to be false. Hee wasthen sent to Pyrrhie the Etolian, who at that time was Captaine of the Ettences, against the Meseniens. Arate found the trained men of A Acheis ill disciplined, and the Townes carelesse of the duties of War: For that Epirate, who before him had the Gouernment, had (as wee haue fayd) carried himselse idly and carelesly in all things. But when he had acquainted the Acheins therewith, and received their order, he Arate prepares applied himselse wholy to the preparation of the Warre. Their Deter the Warre, cree was, that they should not leuy lesse then eight thousand Aduenturers, and five hundred Horse: They should also make three thoufand Foore Acheins, and three hundred Horse: Among the which the Megalopolitains should march, armed with Targets of Copper, to the number of fine hundred foote and fifty Horfe, and as many Argines. B It was also ordered that they should prepare three Shippes in the Gulfe of Arges, and as many neere vnto Patres and Dyme. Arate was then carefull to leuy men, and to make ready the Army. Lyenrgus and Pyribie after they had appointed a day for their departure, tooke their way to Messene : Whereof the Chiefe of the Acheins being aduertised, hee came to Megalopolis with the Aduenturers, and some of those of the Election to succour the Messens.

Calamestaken in Treaton by Lycargus.

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Lycurgus cal.

Lycurgue on the other fide entring the Messensens Countrey, tooke the Towne of Calames by Treason : And from thence going on his courfe, hee made hast to ioyne with the Etoliens. When as Pyrrbie C. came to Elis ill accompanied, to affaile the Messeniens, he turned head presently, being repuls'd by the Cypariffeins. Wherfore Lycurgus tooke his way to Spares, having done nothing worthy of memory, for that hee could not loyne with Pyribie, neyther was hee ftrong enough to mannage the Warre alone. Arase seeing the Enemies fruftrated of their hope, and thereby fore-seeing the future, hee commaunded Tauries to prepare fifty Horse, and five hundred foote, and that the Messeniens should fend as many, meaning with this force to defend the Megalopelitains . Tegestes , and Argines , from the incursions of their Encmies : For that those Countries lye more in danger of the Lacedemenians during the Warre, joyning vpon the Sparsains Countrey. Finally, he resolued to Guard Acheia, with the Acheins and Mercenaries, from the danger of the Elyenses and Etoliens. This done, hee pacified the Discord, which was growne among the Megalopelitains, according vn. to that which the Acheins had ordered.

. For you must voderstand that the Megalopolitains, beeing a little before chased out of their owne Countrey by Cleomenes, had neede of many things which were wanting: And although they still maintained 1 1 164

their authority, yet they had neither victuals nor necessary expences, either for the publique or private: So as all was full of mutiny, rage, and mong the Memalice. The which doth viuall fall out in Common-weales, and among gatopolitains. private persons, when as victuals faile. First they were in debate among themselues concerning the walls of the City, some being of opinion that that they should not make the inclosure greater, then their power would then beare, and keepe it with fo small a number of men, considering it had bin the cause of their former danger, for that it was greater and more spicious then the power of the Inhabitants was able to defend. Moreo. A ner, they were of aduice, that such as had Lands, should contribute the third part, to the end they might people the City: Others faid, that they must not gine a lesse circuite to the City, nor contribute the third part of their possession: But their chiefest contention was concerning the Laws written by Prisanides; an excellent man among the Peripatetiques, whom Antigonus had given them for a Law-giver. The City being in these combustions, Arate pacified them, and quencht the quarrels which were inflamed among the Megalopolisains, as well publique as private. Finally they have graven the Articles agreed vpon on a Pillar feated in the Omarie, at the Altar of Vesta. After the reconciliation of the Megalopolisains, B Arase parting from thence, retired presently to an Assembly of the cheins, leaving the Aduenturers with Selenom of Phare.

The Elsenfes incented against Pirrbie, as if he had not discharged his duty, they called Enripides from Etolia to be their Captaine. Who confidering that the Asheins held their Diet, tooke fixe hundred Horfe, and two thousand Foote, and went suddainly to Field, where he spoile the whole Countrey vnto Egia: And when he had taken a great booty, he made hafte to returne to Leonce. Lyce hearing this, went to meete them, and encountred them fuddainly : when they came to fight, hee flew foure hundred, and tooke two hundred Prifoners: Among the Lyco defeates C which were found Phiffias, Ansanor, Glearens, Enanorides, Ariftogises, Enripides. Nicasippus, and Aspassas, men of note : and withall he had all their Armes

and Baggage.

At the same time the Captaine of the Sea-army for the Acheine came to Molieria, and parting thence suddainly, he turned his way to Calcea: chalcea spoild where when as the Townef-men cameout against him, he tooke two by the Achting Gallies armed and furnished with all things necessary with many other. Gallies armed, and furnished with all things necessary, with many other finaller veffels. Moreouer, he tooke great spoiles both by Sea and Land, and drew victuals from thence, with other munition : wherewith hee made the Souldiers more hardy and resolute for the future. On the other fide the Cities were in better hope, for that they were not forced D to furnish victuals for the Souldiers. In the meane time Scerdilaide holding himselfe wrong'd by the King, for that he had not given him his full pay, as he had articulated with Philip, sent fifteene Vessels vnder a counterfeite thew of carrying Merchandizes, the which at their first arriuall to Lengade, were kindely entertained, as Friends in regard of the League with the King. And when they could doe no worfe, they tool e Agatin and Cassander of Corinibe, who as Friends were entred into the Again and same Port with foure ships. Being thus taken with their Vessels, they sent casender taken

them

them presently to Scerdilaide. This done, they weighed Anchor from Leucade, bending their course towards Malea, spoiling all the Merchants. In the beginning of Summer, when the Souldiers of Tantionwere negligent in the guard of the faid Cities, Arate having with him the choise of the Army, came into the Country of Argos to get victuals. On the other side Euripides going to Field with a good number of Esoliens, wasted the Country of the Tritenfes. Lyeens and Demedechus particular Captaines of the Acheins, aduertised of the descent of the Etoliens, drew together the Dimenfes, Patrenfes, and Pharenfes, with the Aduenturers, and ouer-ran the Country of the Etoliens. Being come to a place which they A call Phixia, they fent their Foot-men that were lightly armed, with their Horse-men to ouer-run the Champaigne Country, and log'd their men that were best armed in Ambush thereabouts. When the Elienses came to charge them without order to fuccour their people, paffing the Ambush, Lyceus Company fell vpon them : whose fury they being vnable to the Elsenfes by refift fled fo as there were about two hundred flaine, and foure score taken Prisoners with all the Booty.

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At the same time the Commander of the Acheins Sea army, having failed often to Calidon and Naupatte, spoiled the whole Countrey, and chased the Enemy twice. He also tooke Cleonice of Nanpatte, who for B that he was a friend to the Acheins, had no harme : but within few daics after was freed without ransome. At the same time Agete Chiefe of the Etoliens, affembled a Troupe of them, putting the Country of the Atarnanians to fire and sword and spoiled the Country of Epirus. This done. he returnes home, giving leave to the Souldiers to retire to their houses. Afterwards the Acarmanians made a descent into the Country of Strate: where being repuls'd by the Enemy, they made a shamefull retreate, vet without any loffe; for that the Stratenfes durst not pursue them, fearing an Ambush. At the same time there was a Treason practised in the Country of the Phanotenses after this manner. Alexander Gouernour C of Phosis for Philip, laide a plot for the Etoliens by a certaine man called Tason, to whom he had given the government of the Phanesenses. He was fent to Agete Chiefe of the Etoliens, promifing to deliver the Fortresse of Phanotenses vnto him: whereupon they agree and sweare together.

circumuented by a Bratagen

When the day appointed was come, Agete comes in the Night with the Ecoliens: when he had laid his Troupe in Ambush, he made choise of a hundred men, whom he fent to the Fort. Infon having Alexander ready with him, with a sufficient number of Souldies, receives the companions into the Fortresse, according to the accord: whom Alexander charged with his Company, and tooke all the Etoliens. But when day was come. Agete affured of the fact, carried backe his Army into his Country, hauing worthily deserved this deceipt, for that he had many times practifed the like. At the fame time Philip tooke Bylazon, which is a great Towne in Peonia, and in a good scituation for the entry from Dardania into Macedony.

By this meanes he freed them from all feare of the Dardanians, who could not make any incursions into Macedony, the entry being stope

by the taking of the faid Towne: whereas placing a good Garrison, he fent Chryfagonus with great speed into high Macedony, to make a new leuie of men. As for himselfe he tooke some men and went into Beecia, and Amphaxate, and came to Edefa: where expecting C bry fogonus with the Macedonians, he parted presently after with the whole Army, and came to Lariffa on the fixt day: And pursuing his course from thence all night, he arrived at Melitea, the which he indeauoured to rake by Scalado, and if the Ladders had not beene something too short, without doubt he had preuailed in his Enterprize: wherein the Commanders are chiefely to A be blamed. For when some of them make haste rashly and inconsiderate. ly to take Townes, without any fore-fight or confideration of the walls, vallies and fuch like, by the which they attempt the taking by an affault, The indifferent who will not blame theme And although they have duely confidered of on of Conanall things, yet who will not taxe them to give the charge to the first man they meet, to prepare ladders, & such like instruments, as a thing of small consequence: Finally, in such actions they must doe that which is necesfary, or elfe fall into danger. For the loffe doth often follow the despaire, and in many kinds: First the ablest men are in danger of the attempt, especially upon the retreate, when they begin to distaine them. Whereof there are many examples. And you shall find in such attempts many fru-B strated, some deseated, others to haue bin in extreame danger : And they they which have faued themselues, have bin subject for the future to diftrust and hatred: and some have served for an example, to all others to be vigilant, giuing not only to fuch as were present at the danger, but also to them that heare of it, some kind of admonishment to be careful of themfelues. Wherefore they must neuer make vse of such aduice rashly: In regard of the meanes to vie it wel, it is secure if they follow reason. We must now returne to our discourse, and speake thereon hereaster,

when occasion shall be offred, and that it is not possible to faile in such enterprizes. Philip preuented in his enterprizes, plants his Campe neare C vnto the River of Empe, and fent his mento Lariffa, and other Townes, whom he had leuied in the winter for the Siege: For all his defigne was to take Thebes. It is a Towne scituated neare to the Sea, and about 300. The scituation Furlongs from Lariffa. It confines firly with Magnefia and Thefaly: To of The feliust the one fide called Demetriade: And to Theffaly on that part where the Phar faliens and Pherenfes dwell. This City doth much annoy the Pharfaliens and Demetriens : For that the Etoliens held it at that time: The like they did to them of Lariffa: for the Esoliens made many incursions into the Country which the Inhabitants call Namirice. Wherefore Philip confidering that fuch things ought not to be neglected, and left behind, D he fought all meanes to take it. Wherefore he prouided a hundred flings and flue and twenty great Crof-bowes, and approached the City of Thebes with his Army, the which he divided into three Troups, and befieged it on three fides: whereof he placed the one neere vnto Scopia, the Thebes befieged other at Helsotropia, and the third neare vnto the Mountaine which by Philip. lookes into the City: Fortifying the spaces in the Field with Dirches and double Pallisadoes. Moreover he built Towers of wood in every space of two Acres of ground with sufficient guards.

Ii a

Then

Lib. 5.

Thebes ye cided

to Philip.

Then he drawes together all the preparation for the War, and begins to plant his Engins of Battery against the Fort. Yet the three first dayes he could not make his approaches to fet vp his Engines, so great was the courage and resolution of those which sought vpon the walls. But after that by the combat, and by the multitude of Darts, part of the Burgesses were flain, and others wounded, and that the befreged ceased for a time, the Macedonians began to mine: where working continually, although the ground were bad, they approached vato the wall on the ninth day.

From that time they were continually imployed in battering the Citty: fo as the Slings and great Crof-bowes neuer ceased day nor night: A And within three daies they made a breach of foure score Fathomes in the wall. And when the supporters made vnto the wall, were not able to beare the burthen, they fell, and brought the wall downe with them, before the Macedonians had fet them on fire. This being done, when as their courages encreased, and that they made shew to enter, and begin an affault, the Thebins being amazed, yeelded themselves and their Citty. When as Philip had by this meanes affured the Countries of Magnelia and Theffaly, he tooke the best of the Etoliens goods, and thrust the ancient Inhabitants out of the towne, re-peopling it with Macedonians, and changing its name of Thebes, he called it Philiopolis. Whilest that Philip stayed in this City, there came Embassadours from Chios, Rhodes, Con. B stantinopte, and from King Ptolomy. Whom when he had answered, as he had formerly done, (that he had beene alwaies willing to hearken to a peace) he sent them away, giving them charge to vnderstand the will of the Etoliens. For his part he made no reckoning of peace, being refolued to continue his attempts. Wherefore being aduertifed that the Vessels of Scerdilaide spoild all the Coast of Malea, and that hee intreated the Merchants as Enemies, and that moreover he had taken (breaking the accord) some ships at Leucade, he armes twelue Vessels covered, and eight open, and failes by the Euripus, having likewise thirty Merchants Vesfels . hoping to take the Sclauonians : neither did he neglect the Etolien War, for that he was not yet aduertifed of the actions which had past in Italy. For at such time as Philip held Thebes besieged, the Romans had beene vanquished by Hannibal in Tuscany: But the newes were not ver come into Greece.

When Philip had taken the Sclauonian Vessels, and for this cause had failed into Cenchrea, he caused the ships that were covered to run along the Coasts of Malea towards Egia and Paires, and stayes the rest of the Veffels in the Port of Leche. Then he makes hafte to goe to the Nemeen Game, and arrived at Argos. Being at the fight, he had letters from Macedony to advertise him that the Romans had bin vanquished by Hannibal with a wonderfull defeate, and that they were masters of their Campe. He presently shews it only to Demetrius, charging him to keepe it secret. Who taking his occasion thereby, began to intreate the King that in disparching the Etolien War speedily, he would attend that of the Sclauonians, for that al Greece then obeyed him: The which they would do hereafter: For that the Acheins affected him, and the Etoliens feared his forces, confidering the loffes they had made during this War: and that as

for Italy, the voyage which he should make, would be a beginning to conquer the Monarchy, this which did more fuffly belong to him then to any other, and that morequer the opportunity was great for the prefenr, confidering the great defeate of the Romans which Hanuibal had made. Demetrius vlingtheld meanes, perswaded the King, who was but young, and of a high spirit, and too desirous of rule.

The History of POLYBIVS.

Afterwards Philip called his Councelli, and began to aduite touching a peace with the Etolient. To the which Arate would willingly bane affilted : the King presently sent Cleemice from Naupaste to the Eteliens, A not expecting the Embaffedours, to propound publiquely the Conditions of a Pence : For he found drate after the taking of Thebes, attending the Diet of the Acheins. In the meane time he tooke fhips at Corintbe, with the Bands of Foot men, and came to Egia, and from thence to Laffion, whereafter he had taken a Tower in the Peripes, hee made fiew to enter into the Elienfes Countrey : to the end they should not thinke that he much affected a peace. And when as Cleomice had returned twice or thrice, and that the Etoliens intreated the King to goe vnto them, he willingly yeelded thereunto. Then fending Letters speedily to all the Townes of the Allies, the great fire of the Warre being now quencht, he aduertised them to send Embassadours to compound and B make a peace with the Etoliens. And in the interim he transports his Army, and planted his Campeneare vnto Panormu, which is a Port of Morea right against Naupacte, expecting the Embassadours of the Allies. Whilest they assembled, he went to Zacynibe, and pacified the differences of that lland, then fiddainly he returned to the fame place. When the Embaffadours were met, he fent Arate and Taurion with fome others to the Etoliens, who being comevnto them (for they were affembled at Nempatte) they had some conference: where understanding the desire they had of peace, they returned speedily to Philip, and advertised him thereof. The Etoliens desiring it wonderfully, sent an Embassie with C them vnto the King, intreating him to come vnto them with his Army, to the end their differences might be the better and sooner decided. philip wone by their intreaties, failed with his forces to a place twenty furlongs from Nanpacte. There landing with his men, after he had fortified his Campe and ships with Ditches and Pallisadoes, hee stayed the comming of the Esoliens. Who came vnto the King without Armes: And making a stand two Furlangs from his Campe, they presently sent men to conferre of the differences which they had at that time. The King sent first vnto them all those which were there present for the allied Cities, giuing them charge to conclude a peace with them, vpon con-

D dition, that hereafter euery man should keepe that which he presently twist Philip held. And when they had so concluded, they afterwards fent many Meffages for the particular actions of either fide. Of which things we have willingly omitted the greatest part, for that there is nothing seemes worthy of memory yet I have thought good to relate in few words the remonstrances which Azelaus of Naupatte made to the King & the Allies.

When he was allowed to speake, and that all men were attentine to The Speech of heare him: It is needfull (faith he) the Grecians should have no Warre Agelaus.

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among themselves, and they should give thankes vnto the Gods, if all with one accord (like vato those which passe the Rivers holding hands) may be able to repulse the attempts of the Barbarians, and defend them. felues and their Citties: and if this cannot be continually entertained. yet at the least they should at this day apply themselves vnto it, for that Greece was never in great danger: faying that he confidered the great Armies, and the great Warre which would foone follow ! making no doubt, that if the Carthaginians did vanquish the Romans in Italy, or the Romans them, neither the one nor the other would content themselves with the Empire of Sicily or Italy: But the Victors would pres A fently extend themselves farther then were fit, and would passe towards

Wherefore they must all prouide for it, and especially Philip. The which he can no otherwise doe, but in quenching this present War, and cease to torment the Citties of Greece: And that contrariwische haue a care of all, as of one Body, and study for the safety thereof in generall as his owne, and subject vnto him. Doing which all the Grecians will loue him, and fight with him like good men in his future Warres: And finally the Barbarians fearing the loyalty of the Grecians towards him, will not attempt any thing against his Empire. The which if hee had B a desire to enlarge, he must attempt against the Westerne Countries. and confider in what efface the affaires of Italy now stand, and that more. ouer the time was come, when he might eafily hope for the Empire of all the world. To effect the which he should be the lesse troubled, for that the Romans had beene defeated by Hannibal at the Lake of Peroufa. Finally, he perswades the King to exchange the Warre and Discords of Greece into Peace and Concord, and that he should strine with all his power to keepe himfelfe at liberty for the future, that he might be able to make Peace and Warre when he pleased. Moreover, he sayd, that if he suffred this Cloud which they saw arising towards the West, of 2 cruell and mortall Warre once to approach neere the Countries of C Greece, he feared much that these Quarrels and Contentions which were amongst them, would be found so farre out of their power, as they would not be able to pray vnto the Gods to have meanes to make War or Peace at their pleasure.

When as Agelaus had ended his Speech, he inflamed the hearts of the Allies to peace, and especially Philip: for that moved by the words of Demetrius, he had fixt his minde vpon it. Wherefore they all with one accord made a peace with the Etoliens. The which being confirmed, they retired all into their Countries. Thefethings were done in the third yeare of the hundred and fortieth Olympiade: I meane that Bat- D taile which the Romans gave in Tascany, with the warre of Antiochus in Syrria, and the peace made betwixt the Etoliens, Philip and the Acheins. Behold the time wherein the Warres of Greece, Italy, and A sia were first intermixt. For after that day neither Philip, nor the other Princes of Greece attempted any thing either for Warre or Peace, but had their eyes wholly fixed upon Italy. Soone after the Ilands of Asia did the like, and all they which were either Enemies vnto Philip,

Philip, or any way opposite vnto Astalus, retyred not to Antiochius, nor vnto Prolomy, nor to the Southerne or Easterne parts, but all vn. to the West. Some solicited the Carthaginians, other did the like to the Romans by continual Embaffies. The Romans likewise fearing the power and courage of Phillip, sent Embassadours into Greece. And as we have according to our first resolution, plainly set down, as I conceine, when and how, and for what causes the Affaires of Greece are intermixt with the Italians and Lybians, as it were in one body: we must now purthe the Actions of Greece, until we come to the time when as the Romans A were vanquished and defeated neere vnto Cannes by the Carthaginians: For there wee have left the actions of staly, and have written in this Booke and the precedent, the proceeding of the same time in Greece

The Warre being ended, when the Acheins had made choice of Ty- Tymoxines maxines for their head and Gouernour, resuming their ancient kind of Chiefe othe lining, they gaue order by little and little for their Common-wealth: 4cheint. The like did the other Cities of Morea: So as they laboured their lands and restored their Games and Sacrifices to the Gods. All which things were in a manner forgotten by reason of the continuall warre. It is certaine that as they of Morea among all other men are inclined to a milde and curteous kind of life, the which in precedent times they did not enioy : Being as Euripides faith, alwaies tormented by their neighbours. and without rest. Yet it seemeth reasonable for, for all they which tend to a Principallity, and have their liberty in recommendation, have continuall quarrels among strhem, they tending to a superintendency. The Cathenians freed from the feare of the Macedonians, seemed to live in great Liberty: but following the basenesse of their Commaunders Enrichides and Micion, they payed Tribute in a manner to all Kings, and namely to Psolomy, who soone after that time made Warre against the

C Egyptians. For as hee had beene affifted in the Warre against Antio- The Athenians chus, they presently abandoned him: For that growne proud with the abandon pro-Battaile giuen neere vnto Raphia, they would no more obey the King, long. feeking only a Commaunder, as if they had beene able of themselues to mannage the Warre : the which was soone after done.

Antiochus during Winter had leuied a great Army, and the Summer following past Mount Tauris: where making a League with King Atta. feth Mount lus, he renewed the Warre against Acheus. And although the Etoliens Tawie. found the peace good in the beginning, for that the Watre had taken a better end then they expected: Having chosen Agelaus of Naupatte for their Chiefe Commaunded, by whose meanes the peace had ensu-D ed: yet after sometime they blamed him much, complaying that The Etoliens

by his meanes they had lost the great profits they had drawne from blame agelans Forreine parts: For that he had made a peace, not onely with some for making of Proninces, but generally with all Greece. But Agelaus bearing their the poace. blame with patience abated their fury: And so they were forced contrary to their nature to pacifie their Choler.

Scerdilaide under colour of money due unto him, had spoild all those The Exploits of he met, and (as we have fayd) had taken (hippes of Lencade, and had scerdifaine.

rifled

rifled a Towne in Pelagonia, which they call Pifes, with divers other Citties of Daffarete, as Antipatria, Chrisondion, and Gertonte : Hauing moreouer gained a good part of Macedony, aswell by perswassons, as by force.

Philip after the peace concluded, bauing imbarqued himfelfe and his Army to faile thither, and to encounter Scerdilaide, he tooke land being wholy bent to recouer the fayd Townes. Finally, when he had fully resolued to make Warre against Scerdilaide, holding it necessary to Conquer Sclanonia, as well for other Enterprizes, as chiefly for his passage into Italy. The which is an aduice, whereof Demetrius labou. A red to make him susceptible, faying that he had seene Philip do so in a Dreame. He did not presse this for any loue he bare him, but for the hatred he had to the Romans: Thinking by this meanes to recour the Country about Phares, from whence he had beene expell'd. Philip recoucred all the fayd Townes, approaching neere them with his Army: For in Dallarate, hee tooke Creene and Geronte, and neere vnto the Fennes of Lychnide, Enchelane, Cerece, Sation, and Boies : and Bantia in the Province of the Californius: and towards the Piffantius, and orgyste. This done, he sent his Army to Winter. It was the same Winter when as Hannibal had spoiled the best Countries of Italy, and B past his Winter in Dannia, and the Romans making their Election, created Gaius Terrentim, and Lucius Emilius Confuls. Whilest that Philip spent the Winter, he drew together a hundred

Philips enter-Sclauenia.

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Demerrius bis

aduice to Philip.

Veffels, (which neuer King of Macedony had done before him) thinking it necessary to make provision: Not so much for the Combate at Sea. (for that he did not hold himselfe equall in forces to answere the Ro. mans) as to passe his Army into Italy. Summer being come, and the Macedonians in-vred to the Oare, hee parts with his Army. At the same time likewise Antiochus past Mount Tanris. Philip then passing by the Euripus and Malea, came vnto the Countries which are about Ce- C phalenia and Leucade. Where planting his Campe, he fortified it with Direhes and Pallifadoes, for hee feared much the Sea Army of the Romans. But when he was advertised by his Spies, that it was neere vnto Lylibeum, his Courage increased, and hee proceeded in his Enterprize, taking his course directly to Apolonia. When as hee was neere those Countries which are about the River of Loia, which pasfeth neere to Apolonia, he fell into the same feare which doth many times befall Armies at Land: For some of his Vessels which followed in the Reare, and had failed towards an Iland called Salon, lying at the mouth of the Ioniangulfe, came by night to Philip, telling him D that they had spoken with some of the Speillian Sea, who advertised them, that they had left the Roman Quinqueremes about Rhegium, ben-Philipleaucshis ding their course to Apolonia and Scerdilaide. Philip immagining that Enterprize for the Army was not faire off, was amazed: And weighing Anchor reeired with great feare and disorder, hee came the next day to Cephalenia. failing continually by night: Where affuring himselfe he stayed fometime, making thew that his returne was for some pressing affaires in Morea.

It hapned that this was a false Allarum: For you must vinderstand that Seerdilaide aduertised of the great multitude of Vessels which Phiup had drawne together in Winter, and fearing his comming by Sea, had obtained fuccours from the Romans by his Embassadours: So as they sent him ten ships out of their Fleete which was at Litybeam, the by the Romans which passing neere vato Rhegium were discouered. If the King had to Scardilaide. not beene amazed without reason, he might well haue vanquisht them, and performed his Enterprize against Sclauonia: And the rather for that the Romans had received a wonderfull loffe neere vnto Cannes against A Hannibal, where they were in a manner quite ruined. But being then terrified without cause, he made a safe flight into Macedony, and remained infamous.

At the same time Prusias did an Act worthy of memory: For when as the Gaules whom Astalus had drawne out of Europe into Asia for the Warre of Acheus, had abandoned him for the causes about mention ned, they spoil'd all the Townes of Hellespont with too much auarice and cruelty. And when in the end they had befreged the Townes of the Elienfes, then they of Alexandria necre vnto Troade, performed an Act worthy of memory: for fending Themife against them with foure thousand men, they not onely raifd the siege of the Elienses, but chast all the Gaules from Troade, aswell cutting off their Victuals, as disappointing their dessignes. The Gaules having taken the Towne of Arifee in the Country of the Abideniens, fought to furprize all their Neighbours. Against whom Prusias was sent with an Army, and giving Aprusas defeate them Battaile he defeated them, killing women and Children, without the Gaster, any regard of Age or Sexe, and abandoned the spoile of their Campe to his Souldiers. By this meanes Hellesponte was freed from great feare, leaving for the future a good example to Barbarians, not to passe so eafily out of Europe into Afia. These things were done at that time in C Greece and Afia.

In regard of Italy, many Townes yeilded to the Carthaginians, after the defeat of the Romans at the Battaile of Cannes. Finally, we will make an end here of the Miftories of that time, feeing we have fufficiently showed in what Estate Asia and Greece were in the hundred and fortieth Olympiade. And having briefly related them in the following Booke, we will turne our Discourse to the Couernment of the Romans;

as we had resolued in the beginning.

Lib. 5.

D

It

The end of the Fifth Booke of Polybius.

The



THE SIXT BOOKE OF the History of POLYBIVS.

Concerning the divers Formes of Gouernment.



He Declaration hath beene casie, by the which the Actions past are related, and the iudgement giuen of the future, touching the frequent increase of the Gresians Common-weales, and how agains they have many times felt a totall alteration. Wee may without any trouble deliuer things knowne, and eafily conjecture of the future by the precedent. In regard of the Romans, it is difficult to judge of the pre-

fent, for the variety of their Gouernment : Or to fore-tell the future, for the ignorance of the Actions, which (as proper to that Nation) have beene in old time decided in publique and in private. VVherfore if any one will exactly know the divertities, he had need of an excellent judgement and confideration of Actions. It is true, that they which by instruction would make vs know things, propound three kinds of Gouernment : Calling the first a Royalty, the second Aristocracia, and the third Democracia. Yet in my opinion wee may with reason doubt of these things, whither they propound them voto vs soly, or better then the other : For it seemes they are ignorant of eyther. It

is apparent that, that Gouernement should be held the best, which is composed of all the afore-sayd properties; whereof wee have made proofe not only by reasons, but also in effect : For that Lycures barb first established the Lacedemonians Common-wealth in that manner. Neither must we thinke that these Gouernments are alone : For wee haue seene some Monarchiall and Tyrrannous, who although they disfer much from a Royall, yet they feeme to haue fomething common with them: the which our Monarches imagine, vsurping with all their power the name of King. Moreouer the Olygarchicall Common-A weales, which have beene in great number, seeme to have some correspondency with the Aristocraticall; although they differ much. The like we must indge of a Democracy. And to proone it true, it will be apparent hereby.

We must not hold a Monarchy for a Raigne: but onely that which is voluntary, and gouerned more by a Common consent then by search narchy. and violence. Neither must we hold enery Olygarchy for Aristocracy but that only which according to the Election is manuaged by the Attue Attile wisest and best men, neither must that be allowed for a Democracy, where as all the Commons have power to do what they wil and pleafer but where as the auncient custome and vse is to honour the Gods, to do B good vnto their Parents, to reuerence old men, and to obey the Lawes. Then they will call a Common-weale Democraticall, when as the A Democracy.

Gommons shall accept of that which many allow of. Wherefore we must say that there are sixe kinds of Gouernments : We have already spoken of three Common to all the World: The other three are neere sixe kinds of opoken of three Common to anthe wyond: The other three are needed bixe kinds of vnto them, that is to fay a Monarchy, Olygarchy, and Ochlocracy, Governments.

The first whereof is a Monarchy, rising naturally without any establishment. From whence doth grow a Royall Government, by order A Monarchical Concrements. and good direction. But when the Royall changeth into its neighbour of one alone vices, as into Tyranny, then by the abollishing thereof an Aristocracy by searce.

C takes its being the which naturally changeth into Olygarchia. And when the Commons reuenge with fury the Gouernours iniuftice, then growes a Democracia. For the outrages and iniquities whereof, in time it prooues an Ochlocracia.

A man may understand that these things plainly which I have sayd, are true, if he knowes the beginning and the change of every Govern- Government ment according to the course of Nature. For whosoener shall confi. of the mutiny der either of them a part, and how they grow, may also judge of their of the people. increase, force, and alteration; and when and how the one ends in the

other. I have beene of opinion that this kinde of Disputation and Ex-D position agreed well with the Roman Gouernment: For that by a certaine course of Nature, it hath taken from the beginning its institution and increase. Peraduenture these alterations and changes of Gouernement from the one to the other, are more exactly handled by Plato, and some other Phylosophers. But for that they are disputed by them in many and divers manners, it happens that few men understand them, Wherefore wee will indeanour to comprehend them, and fet them downe by certaine Articles, fo as (according to our opinion) they may

L1b. 6.

The beginning

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be of consequence for the profite of the History, and all mens understanding. And if there be found for the present some defect in regard of the generall and Vniuerfail declaration, the reasons which shalbe hereafter delinered in perticular, will repaire it. What Principles then shall I affigne for government? From whence shall I say they take their first growth and being: When mortallity fell vpon mankind by inundation of Waters, or by pestifferous Calamities, or by barrennesse of the Land, or by other such like causes (as we have vnderstood hath beene, and in reason may often be hereafter) all Institutions and Artes were then loft: And when againe the multitude of men hath by A succession of time taken increase, as it were from some remainder of seede; and that in regard of the weaknesse of their Natures they gathered together, euen as of Custome (as it is reasonable) other creatures doe according to their kinds, it is then necessary that he obtaine the Principallity and Empire which is of greatest force of body, and of most vinderstanding. The which wee see happen in other kindes of bruite Beafts, (which we must hold for a most certaine worke of nature) among the which wee fee the strongest and of most spirit march before, as Buls, Stags, Cockes, and fuch like.

Monarchy. A Royalty .

It is therefore likely that a principallity is of that kind, and that the course of mens lives is so governed, affembling together after the man. B ner of Beafts, and following those which are the most strong and po-Principality or werfull, to whom force is the end of their Principallity, which wee may with reason call Monarchy. But when as with Time there grows from these Assemblies a Company and Custome, then a Royalty takes her Birth: And then Men beginne to thinke of Honesty and Justice, and of their contraries: Such is the manner of the beginning and fountaine of the fayd Governments. As all men have a defire of a mutuall and naturall Conjunction, and that from thence proceedes the generation of Children, it is manifest that when any one of those which hath beene bredand brought up, doth not acknowledge nor yeild the like C to those which have bred them, but contrariwise presume to do them outrage in word or deede, then they which are present are offended: as knowing their care, trouble, and paines which have ingendred them. and with what diligence they have bred vp their Children. For as Mankinde is more excellent then all other Creatures, to whom is given vnderstanding and Reason, it is not fit to passe ouer the said disorder. after the manner of other Creatures: And that contrariwise the assistants ought to observe and reprehend such an Action; foreseeing the future, and making their account that the like may happen vnto them-

Moreover, if at any time hee which hath received comfort and aide from any one in his Aduersity, doth not acknowledge his Benefactor, but seekes to prejudice him in any fort, it is manifest that they which shall see it, will be grieued and discontented : So as their Neighbour shall mooue them to pitty, thinking of themselues as of their Neighbour. Wherefore then doth rife a certaine thought of Vertue, and a confideration of the duty which every man must observe, which is the

beginning and end of Iustice. In like manner if any one amongst the restrakes reuenge uppon the most furious Beasts, withstanding their force, it is reasonable that such a one, should purchase among the people an acknowledgment of affection and Commaund: And he that should doe the contrary should both wrong his honour and good reputation. Whence againe the confideration of infamy and honcity, and of their difference takes it birth: Whereof the one merrits (as commodious and profitable) to be loued and followed, and the other to bee shunn'd and auoided. When as any one having the principallity and the grea-A test power, vieth the afore fayd things by the aduice of many, and that hee seemed to impart them to the Subjects, according vnto enery mans merite: Then fearing no more any violence, and having a good opinion of him, they submit themselues voluntary vnto his obedience, and defend his Gouernment: And if hee prooues in all respects worthy of honour, with one accord they take reuenge and fight against those which are Enemies to his power.

By this meanes by little and little, he makes himselfe King of a Monarch, when as reason succeedes in the Empire, in steed of rage and force. This is the first Contemplation for men, according vnto nature of Honesty and Instice, and of their contraries; it is the true begin-B ning and fountaine of a Royalty. They doe not onely maintaine their Principallity and gouernment, but many times leave it to their posterity, hoping that their Children bred vp vnder such men will be of the fame will and disposition. But if it happens at any time that the posterity of former Kings displeaseth them, then they make an Election of Princes and Kings, without any respect of corporall forces, ayming onely at the differences of judgement and reason, making tryall of the diversity of both by the workes themselves.

Wherefore leaving the ancient custome, they which have once seazed vpon the Growne, and haue gotten this power, they fortifie certaine C places with walls, and possesse the Countrey as well for the safety, as to supply their Subjects necessaties abundantly. Whilest that Kings were carefull of these things, they were free from saunder and enuy : For that they differed not much from others in their Apparrell or Diet, obferuing a course of life conformable to others, with a conuersation and familiarity common to many. But when as they (who by fuccession and a prerogative of race, are come vnto the government) have already the preparations which serue for safety, and those which are more then necessary for foode: then following their appetites, by reason of the great abundance of all things, they thinke it fitting for Princes to D bee more richly attired then their Subjects, and to be intreated more desicately with diversity of meates, and to converse without contradiction with other women then their owne. Hence springs enuy and feandall with hatred and implacable rage: Finally the royalty changeth

The beginning of this ruine, and the conspiracy which is made against Tyranny. Princes, growes not from the wicked, but is practifed by the best and most resolute men, who cannot endure such outrages and insolen-

Lib. 6.

meanes.

Aristoctacia.

Olygatchia.

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cies of Princes. And withall the Commons having found a head to make refistance, joyne with him for the afore-said causes against their Prince: and then the former of a Royalty and a Monarchy is wholly ruined, so as by consequence an Aristocracia must take its beginning and fourse. Then the people as it were by a thankefull acknowledgment, ordaine these suppressors of Tyrants to be their Heads and Comman. ders, and they submit themselves vnto them. When as they have with good zeale imbraced the charge of this government, they have nothing in fo great recommendation, as that which concernes the publique good: providing with great care and diligence for any thing that may A touch the peoples profit, as well private as publique. But when the Children enjoy the same power from their Fathers, and have not experience of aduerfities, nor of the equality and politique liberty, being withall bred up from their youth in the authority and prerogative of their Fathers, they change an Aristocracy into Olygarchia, some abandoning themselves to a vitious and insatiable delire of couctousnesse and getting: Others to drunkennesse, and by consequence to excesse in Banquets: fome to Adulteries, and forcing of Boyes: Finally, having done vnto the people that which wee have formerly spoken of, it is reafon they should conceiue the like ruine in the end that did befall the B Tyrants.

Beleeue me, if any one observes the enuy and hatred which the Cittizens beare them, or dare fay or decany thing against the chiefe Commanders, he shall presently have all the people ready to give him aide and affiftance in his Enterprize. And when they have murthered those they dare not choose a new King, fearing the iniustice of the former, heither dare they trust their Common-weale in the government of many, the memory being yet so fresh of the basenesse of the precedent: fo as their onely hope resting in themselves, they retire, changing the Olygarchicall gonernment into a Democracia, and taking youn them. C selves the care and charge of the Common-wealer It is true that in the meane time some of those have escaped, which had tasted of the preheminence and power: who taking delight and pleasure in the present estate of the Common-weale, make great esteeme of equality and liberty.

But when as young men succeed, and that the Democracia is deliuered to posterity, (they strive in making little accompt of equality and liberty) to be greater then the rest: whereinto they chiefly fall which have great wealth. When as they affect command, and cannot attaine vnto it of themselues, they begin to dispose of their riches, and to D corrupt the Commons with that baite. A great number being corrup. ted by their bounty, by reason of a filly Couctousnesse of presents, then a Democracia is ruined and changed into violence, and a feditious estate of policy. For the Commons having beene accustomed to live by the goods of their Neighbours, make a mutiny, taking a resolute and audacious man to be their Head, who for his pouerty cannot in reason aspire to the honours of the Common-weale, and then they affemble together, and fall to murthers and ruines, and to spoile and

divide the Land amongst them, vntill their fury being pacified, they finde againe a new Lord and Monarch. Behold the revolution of Gouernments, and the providence of Nature, according vnto which the estate of the Common Wealth, changeth and re-changeth, and makes the same returne. Which things if any one knowes not plainely, hee will be ignorant of the time in fore telling the future Estate of the Common. But he will erre often, for that a Gouernement increaleth and decreafeth where into it is fo transferr'd, if without great ludgement he gives his advice. We will likewise come to the know-A ledge of the Institution, increase, and vigour, and likewise of the future change of things in the Roman Common-Wealth, according to this knowledge.

The History of POLYBIVS.

And if it happen that any other Gouernment bath (as wee have already fayd) from its beginning this Institution and increase, by the course of Nature it wilbe changed into its contrary : The which may be well observed by that which followes. Wee will deliver in few words the Nemothesia of Lycurgus, which shall not be impertinent to our Discourse. Wherefore when he had considered all decent things. and how they are necessarily perfect by a certaine Nature, he hath also observed how every forme of Government is variable, which is e-B stablished simply according vato a power, so as suddainly it degenerates into its neighbour Vice, and confequently by Nature. For as ruft consumes Iron, and wormes Wood, being naturall vnto them, so as although they can preserve themselves from all exteriour outrages, yet they are corrupted by these, as borne with them : So as according to Nature there is a certaine mallice growing and adhering vnto enery Commonwealth: As to a Royalty there is a Monarchy: To an Aristocracy an O-Chirocracia a lygarchia; and to a Democracia, a Chirocracia: So as it must needes by the mustry

follow, that in succession of time all the fore-fayd change by the faid of the people.

Lycureus having fore-scene these things, hath ordained a Commonwealth, which was neither simple, nor vnder the absolute power of one man: vniting all the Vertues and properties of the most commendable Gouernments, to the end that nothing in it should take a greater increase then was needfull; nor degenerate into the neerest vice : And that their forces by a mutuall restraint should not bend or decline to any part, nor any thing therein ruined : Finally, that the Common-weale should remaine of an equall weight for euer, according to reason and equality, and that by this meanes Loyalty should be restrained from Arrogancy, by the feare of the people, for that a just por-D tion of the Common-weale was allotted vnto them. And againe, the Commons durst not disdaine the Kings, for the respect of the most aged: Who being chosen by the Grauest, addicted themselves continually to equity : So as the weakest party was maintained in its Customes, and was strong and to be feared by the Succour and aide of the Sena-

tors. The Common weale being thus established, he hath preserved the liberty of the Lacedemonians longer then hath come to our knowledge. When he had fore-seene the Fountaine and sourse of all of them

Kk 2

Democracia.

L1b. 6.

and what did viually happen, he established the fayd Common-wealth with out danger.

The Romans.

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In regard of the Romans, they have done the like in the Institution of their Common wealth, not by one reason, but as choosing that which seemed best vnto them, being made wise by the euent of things, by many Combats and alterations: And by this meanes they have attained vnto the same ende which Lycurgus prescribed; setling a better forme of a Common-wealth then wee haue in Greece. Finally, hee that will judge of Writers with reason, doeth not judge of matters as they are omitted, but according to those which are mentioned. And A if he finds any thing falle, he must conceive that omission hath beene by ignorance: but if all which they have spoken be true, let him then grant that what they have omitted, hath beene done for some cause, and not through ignorance.

These three parts, (whereof wee haue formerly spoken,) rul'din that Common wealth. They were all established and ordered so equally, and proportionably by them, as no man, no not the inhabitants themselues, could euer say whether this Common weale were Aristocraticall, Democraticall, or Monarchicall. The which hath not hapned without reason: For if wee observe the power of the Confuls, it appeareth plainly to bee Monarchicall and Royall: and if that of the B Senators, it seemes to bee Aristocraticall: But if wee duly consider the popular power which consists in many, it is apparently Democraticall. In like manner, no man can fay by what part the forme of the Common-Wealth was then guided and goucrned, except in

fome things.

The Office of the Confuls.

The Confuls being present at Rome, have the Government of all the publique Affaires, before they draw the Army to fielde. To whom all the other Princes obey and are fubiect, (except the Tribunes of the people) appointing Lieutenants in the Senate, from whom they demaund aduice in pressing Affaires: moreouer they have the Charge C. and power to make Edicts. Finally, they have the care of all that which concernes the publique Affaires, which the Commons are to decide. It is their duty to call the people together, and to pronounce their Edicts, and to judge of the plurality of Voices. Finally, they haue the power and Authority to prepare for Warre, and generally of all the Gouernement which is vnder the Heavens, to conclude, they have in a manner a most stately and Royall authority. It is lawfull for them to dispose of their Allies in what they shall thinke fitting for matters of Warre. To appoint and ordaine Captaines of Thoufands, to leuy an Army, and to choose the most able and sufficient. It is also in their power to punish all their Subjects wheresoeuer they remaine: and to dispose of the publique Treasure as they shall think good. being to that end followed by the Questor: who presently obeyes their Commaundment: So as he which shall consider this part of the Common-weale, hee will say with reason that it is Monarchicall and most

Finally, if it happen that any of things which wee have spoken, or

fhall speake, shall change presently or hereafter, they may not in any fort derogate from our opinion. Next after, the Senate hath the ouer fight of the publique Treasure : Forthey may dispose of the Reuenewes and Expences. It is not in the power of the Questors to im. The duty of ploy mony, no not in perticular Affaires, without their order, but for the Confuls. Finally, the greatest and heaviest expence, as that which many t mes the Questors are accustomed to imploy, at the returne of the Quinquinall, or space of sine yeares for the repairing of publique Building, the Senate decrees : And whatfocuer is allowed the Cen-A fors, depends thereon. Of all offences committed throughout traly which deserue a publique punishment, as Treason, Conspiracy, Poyfoning, and Murthers by secret practifes, the punishment belongs vnto

And moreouer if any private person, or any Citty hath neede of thankes or blame, or of succours and assistants, the Senate hath the whole charge. Finally, if they bee to fend an Embassie into any part out of Italy; to reconcile some, or to admonish them, beit to Commaund any thing, or to declare Warre, the Senate hath the power. In like manner when as Embassadours come to Rome, the Senate giues order for their entertainment, and what answere shalbe made. Finally, B the Commons have no hand in all that which wee have fayd: So as whatsoener thou shalt see done in the absence of the Consult, will feeme to bee an Aristocraticall government : The which many Greeians and Kings imagine, for that in a manner all their affaires are under the Authority of the Senate, without any contradiction what seers. For this cause some one will demaund with reason, what portion of the Common-weale remaines to the people? Seeing that the Senate hath the Gouernment of things, which wee have delinered in perticular, and that it disposeth (which is much more) of the Reuenewes and publique expences : And that moreouer the Confuls making Warre with-C out the Citty, haue a Royall power ouer the preparations, and all other affaires which are in the Campe. And yet there is a part referred for the people, the which is of greater esteeme. For they have the Theauthority authority of honours and punishments : wherein is contained the po. withe people,

wer and gouernment, and finally the generall life of men. Beleeue me, there is nothing that concernes the Subicots, that can be ordered by reason, by such as haue not the knowledge of this difference, or having it doe abuse it. What reason were there that the Wicked should be equall in Honour with the Good? The people therefore iudge and many times diverfly, when as the iniuftice which they are D to punish is of great consequence, and namely in those which have had great and Honourable charges. They alone condemne to death: Wherein there are some actions past worthy of praise and memory: For vsually they suffer those that are accused of a Capitall or haynous crime, to retire in the fight of all the World, although there remaine an opinion in fome which confirmes the judgement and Sentence, by the which a free and Voluntary Banishment is taken quite away.

Kk 3

Fugitiues

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Fugitives are in fafety in the Townes of Naples, Preneste, Tinoly. retreat of fuch and in other Confederates. Finally, the people give Principalities to se are voluntes the most sufficient: which in a Common-wealth is a goodly reward of tily Banufied. honesty. They have also Authority to confirme the Lawes and Peace and Warre lies in their will: Iudging of the Succours, Reconcilliation, and Accords of their Allies. Finally, the people confirme these things in appropring or difannulling them: So as now fome may justly fay, that the greatest part of the Common-weale is in the peoples hands. and that it is Democraticall.

The matuall ther of three Common.

We have delivered how the divers formes of Common-weales, are A divided among them: Wee must now shew how they may affist and giue comfort one vnto another. When the Confull hath receiued his power, and drawne an Army to Field, hee feemes a King, yet hee hath neede of the people and Senate, to bring his resolutions to an end, without the which hee cannot possibly finish his Affaires. It is certaynethat hee hath neede to furnish and prouide Victualls, pay, and munition for the Armies. But it is not possible to furnish him with Corne, Apparrell, nor pay, without the will of the Senate: So as the attempts of the Consulls are of necessity made fruitlesse, if the Senate doth willingly faile him or hinder him.

By this meanes it is in the resolution of the Senate to make the En- B terprizes of the Commaunders effectuall or not. It is also in their power to fend another Commander when the yeare is past, or continue his Authority that doth enjoy it. Moreover the Senate may make his Exploits feeme great and admirable, and augment and increase his Actions, in like manner they may blemish and disgrace them. In regird of that which they call Triumphes, by the which a certaine visible thewe of their Actions is brought by the Confulls to the view of the paople, they dare not attempt them, as it is fitting, neyther (to speake plainly) bring them to an end, valeffe the Senate allow of them, and furnish the charge. The consent of the people is wonderfull necessary. C be they never to farre off, for it refts in them, (as wee have formerly favd) to confirme or disannull all Accords and Leagues. But behold another case: For after their Governement is ended, they are forced to yeild and submit their actions vnto the judgement of the Common people, so as they ought not to bee carelesse of the love and good liking of the Senate and vulgat fort.

Although the power of the Senate be very great, yet they must of force haue respect vnto the multitude of publique affaires, and drawe them to their ends and intentions: Neyther can they put generall and great doubts in Execution, thor punish crimes committed against the D Common-weale, if what the Court ordaynes bee not confirmed by the Common people. Matters which concerne the Senate it selse, are of the same condition. For if any one propounds a Law, by the which it doeth in any fort abridge the Authority and power of the Senate, or ouer-throwes their Prerogative and Honour, or pursues them in their lines, all these things are to bee done by the power of the pcopic.

It is likewise certaine that the Senate cannot execute any of their refolutions, nor hold a Councell, nor affemble themselues, if any one Tribune of the Commons opposeth. The Tribunes must alwaies doe according to the opinion of the people, and observe their will. In regard of these things the Senate searcs the people, and observes them: In like manner the people are bound vato the Senate, and forced to winne them: For as there are many Farmes which the Centors dispose of throughout all Italy, for the great multitude of publique repairations, and many places of Rivers; Pooles, Gardens, and Mines, and fi-A nally all other things of that nature, which are under the Roman Empire: they are all mannaged by the people, hiring all the Rents and profits

Lib. 6.

Some take their Leafes from the Cenfors, to whom others affociate themselues, others become sucries for the Farmers : and some bring the Inuentory of the goods into the Treasury. Of all which things the Senate hath the knowledge For it refts in them to prolong the Terme, and to graunt some abatement, if there hath beene any losse: Finally, toremit the whole Debt, if there hath happened any impossibility. There are infinite cases wherein the Senate may helpe, or hurt, but those much, which hire the publique Rents, whereof the Senate hath the charge. They also name the Judges in most of their Conuentions as well publique as private, as farre as the greatneffe of the cause shall tequire. Wherefore relying vpontheir wildome, and fearing the vncertainty of their aaffaires, they carefully observe the instances and oppofinons of the Senates aduice. They doe not willingly oppose against the attempts of the Confuls: For that all in general! (wherefocuer the Roman (mpire doth extend) are under their Command, as well in prihate as in publique. As therefore the power of either of thele is fuch, as they may mucually bring profit or prejudice, yet they are so fitly v-C nitted against all crosses and disasters, as we cannot finde a better forme of a Common-wealth.

For when as any common terrour shall present it selfe, and that they are forced to fuccor one another the forces of this Commonwealth are fo great, as there is not any thing wanting, neither doth any man faile, in his Charge, but all tend toyntly to bring to a good end that which hath beene resolued : and that whatsoeuer hath beene ordained, may not be delayed beyond the opportunity of time. Finally, all imploy themselues as well in publique as in prinate to finish the Enterprize. Wherefore they have this peculiar vnto them, that their force is vnrefinable, and they accomplish whatsoener they resolue. Againe, if D (freed from the publique feare of Strangers) they abandon themselves co prosperity and abundance of wealth, which they enjoy by meanes of their good fortunes, then viually they grow infolent and proud, allured by flatteries, and given to delights and idlenesse. Then may they easily see how the Common wealth studies to helpe it selfe: For when as any one of the parts will be Mistreffe, and rule more then is fitting, it to manifest, that neither of them being newly erected, according to our discourle, the Enterprize of either of them may be mutually restrained

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and hindred, so as none of them can fly off, nor advance it selfe, either of them continue in their charge, as well by an opposition to their Enterprize, as through a present seare of punishment.



A Parcell of the SixtBooke

touching the Order of the Roman Armies.



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Henthe Romans have chosen the Consuls, they R appoint the Tribunes of the Souldiers: that is to fay, fourteene of those which have followed the Warres fine yeares, and ten others which haue continued ten yeares. Among the which there are foure on Horse-backe, and sixe on Foote: who must of necessity goe vntill they come to the Age of fixe and forty yeares : except such whose estate doth not amount to a-

boue seauen pounds sterling: For those they leave and reserve them for the Sea. But if the affaires be vrgent and pressing, the Foote-men are bound to serue twenty yeares. In regard of the Citty-magistrate, no

man can execute it before he hath ferued ten yeares.

When the Confuls ordaine a leuie, they make Proclamation by the Trumpet, on what day all the the Romans of sufficient age to beare Armes, to meete; the which they doe yearely. When the prefixed day is come, and that all the able men are come into the Citty, and affembled before the Capitole, the youngest Tribunes divide themselves into foure parts, as the People and Confuls have ordained: For that they make the generall and first division of their Bands into foure Legions. Then the foure first chosen are appointed to the first Legion, the three D following to the second, the foure subsequent to the third, and the three last to the fourth. They ordaine the two first of the most ancient to the first Legion, the three next to them of the second, the two following to the third, and to the fourth the three last of the most ancient. When the division of the Tribunes hath beene thus made, so as all the Legions have their Captaines equally, they cast lots vpon every Race, being set apart one from another, right against either Legion: And they call their Company, most commonly fallen by lot : our of

which they choose foure Young men of like constitution. After which The manner of the Tribunes of the first Legion make the first choice: Then the second, the Irbunes the third, and the fourth last of all. And againe, vpon the present in the choice ting of other source, they of the second choose first, and so the rest in the Legion. order: They of the first begin the last. Then of the source which are presented after these, the Tribunes of the third Legion choose the first, and they of the second are the last. By this meanes making alwaiesthis election by porrion, and as it were by a kind of circulation, it fals out that to every Legion the men are equally divided;

When they have chosen this number, (the which they doe to the end that enery Legion may confift sometimes of foure thousand two hundred Foote, sometimes of fine thousand if the danger seemes great) and that the division is thus made, they were wont to muster their Horsmen after the Leginaries. At this day they are the first, by an election of the richest made by the Censor, of which they appoint three hundred to enery Legion. The leuie being thus made, enery Tribune drawes together his Legion, and in choosing one of the most sufficient, they take an Oath from him to obey his Captaines faithfully, and to execute their Commandments: Then the rest sweare particularly in paffing, testifying by a figne, that they are ready to doe all things as their first man had done.

At the fame inflant the Confull advertiseth the Governours of Townes allied in Italy, from whom they thinke good to draw fuccours, acquainting them with the number of men, the day and the place when they should meete which should be leuied. Who after they have made their leuie accordingly, they lend them having taken an Oath, and giuen them a Commander and a Treasurer. But when the Tribunes at Rome have taken the Outh of the Souldiers, they fend them backe, appointing a day and a place to enery Legion when they ought to come C without Armes. When they are drawne together on the day appoint Thediulion of ted, they make choice of the youngest amongst them, and weakest spuldiers in e-intheir estates, to carry lauelings or Darts: Then such as are more utry Legion. advanced in yeares, they carry Armes which they call forked Darts or lauelings : And they which are strong of Body and more aged, are made principals : But the Triarij are chosen out of the most ancient. So many differences of Names and Ages are among the Romans, and likewise of Armes in enery Legion. They divide them in such fort, as the Triarijare the most ancient, to the number of sixe hundred: The principals twelue hundred, to whom the forked Iauelings are equall:

The rest which are younger, are light lauelings. If the Legion con-D fists of a great number, they divide it proportionably, except the Triarij, whose number is alwaies the same.

The youngest are bound to carry a Sword, a light Lucling, and a Theformeof a Buckler. This Buckler is firme as well for its art, as for the greatnesse, Buckler, fufficient to defend the body. It is round, having three foote in Dlameter. The Souldiers have moreouer a light Head peece, whereon doth hang a Wolues skin, or some such thing, which serves for a covering and marke, to the end that every one may be knowne by his Captaine

The light Jaues being in fight, doing his duty or not. The light Jaueling is most commonly three footelong, of the bignesse of a mans finger, with an Iron head a good spanne long, and is so slender and sharpe, that vpon the first cast it must of necessity bend, and so is made unprofitable to cast againc: Otherwise they will serve the one as well as the other. Then they command those which are more aged, whom they call forked Iauelings to be armed.

The forme of

The Spanish

Sword.

The Romans Armes are first a Target two soote and a halfe broad, and bending upon the superficies, and foure soote in length: The greatest hath foure fingers more, and is made of two boards glued together with A Oxe-glew: And is couered with a Calues skinne, or that of a Goate, or fome fuch like Beaft. All the circumference hath a hoope of Iron, the better to beare off the blowes of a Sword, and that leaving it on the ground, it may not weare. In the midst there is a Bosse of Iron, which beares off all blowes, and the violence of Stones; of long Pertwifans, and of all manner of Darts be they neuer so violent. The Sword which they call Spanish, and hath two edges with a very sharpe point, hangs commodiously with the Target vpon his thigh. It chargeth home for that it is strong and stiffe. Moreover, they have two spits, a headpeece of Brasse, and greaues for the defence of their leggs, amongst B the which spits, some are great, others slender: The strongest which are long and round, have three inches in Diameter: Those which are square, haue the sides equall : The stendrest are like vnto the lesser forked Darts, which they carry with the faid Armes: The staffe whereof doth not much exceede the length of foure foote and a halfe : and they arme them with a head of Iron, equall in length to the staffe, the which they iowne so close with so many ligatures and crosse-nailes, as they neuer dissolue vntill the Iron breake : although at the neather end it be a finger and a halfe thicke, where it ioynes vnto the staffe, so carefull they are in fetting them together.

Besides all these things, they are adorned with a Crowne of feathers. with three red or blacke feathers standing right vp almost a foote and a halfe, the which fet vpon the top of the head, together with his other Armes, make a man seeme twice as big, and by this meanes of a goodly appearance, and terrible to the Enemy. Others taking a peece of Brasse a span broad, which they lay vpon their stomackes, which they terme the guard of their hearts, are compleatly armed. But they which are held to have aboue a hundred and fifty pounds sterling in their estates, take for the defence of their body, with their other Armes, shirts of maile. The Principals haue the same kind of Armes, and in like manner the Triarij, but in stead of spits, they carry forked Iauelings. They choose the heads of Bands our of all these sorts, except the youngest) The mannet of to the number of ten, of the most ablest men : Besides the which they choosing the make another Election of ten others, whom they call heads of Ordo. nance. Among the which the first chosen is admitted to Councell. These againe choose as many Lieutenants, These things done, they divide with the Captaines every age into ten parts, except the light lauelings: appointing to enery Band two Captaines and two Lieutenants of those

which have beene chosen. In regard of the light lauelings or Darts which remaine, they distribute them equally throughout all the Bands: which Bands they have called Orders, Troupes, and Enfignes: and their Captaines Centurions and Heads of Bands. These choose out of cuery Troupe two ftrong and resolute men to carry the Ensignes. They make two Captaines to enery Troupe, and with reason: For as it is certaine what either of them can doe or fuffer, and that the actions of War haue no excuse, they will neuer haue the Troupe remaine without a Commander or Gouernour. If they be both present, the first chosen

A leads the right wing of the Troupe, and the second those which are vpon the left wing of the Ensigne. If one miscarries, he that is present gouernes all. Finally, they desire not so much valour nor distance of Gouernment, death in their Commanders, as gouernment, conflancy, and good counfell : and not to ingage themselves first in the fight, nor to begin it : But sell required in being vanquished and prest, they should standsirme, and rather dye a Captaine. then to abandon their place. They have also divided their Canallery into ten Troupes, drawing from enery one of them three Captaines: who likewise made choise of three Lieutenants, of which the first is Chiefe of the Troupe, and the rest hold the ranke of Dizeniers or Commanders of ten, and fo they are called. The fecond holds the place

B of the first in his absence.

The Armes of the Horse-men are at this day very like to those of the Greciansi Formerly they had no Guyraffes, being in danger by reason of their Linnen breeches, with the which they were more active to The Remain of their Linnen precenes, with the which they were more active to an mount on Horsebacke lightly, but they found themselves in great dan-medaster the ger in fight, being in a manner naked. Moreouer, their forked Jauelings Greeke manner were vaprofitable for two respects : For first they made them slender and fit to dart, fo as they could not take their aime, and many times they were broken before the point could flicke, for that they were continually shaken with the trotting of the Horses; and withall they were C of no vie but to thrust forward, being vnarmed at the other end. In truth they were of no fernice after they were broken. They had also Targets made of the hydes of Oxen, like vnto puft vp Gakes, which they viually make at Sacrifices: The which they could not well vie in fight, for that they were not firme, but fwel'd with raine. By this meanes they grew unprofitable. Wherefore as the vie did not feeme good, they presently changed, imbracing the fashion of the Grecians Armes, in the which the thrust with a Jaueling is suddaine and certaine, neither is it without effect, for that it shakes not, but is firme. Moreouer, in turning the point behind, the vie is firme and violent: Their Tar-D get is the like, for both in defending and affailing it, it is firme, ftrong, and profitable. The which when they had feene, they prefently fol. the decility of the remain. lowed it: for the Romans are as apt as any others to imbrace the best course of life. When the Tribunes have made their division, and the orders concerning Armes, they fend them backe to their houses. The day comming whereon they have sworne to come to the place appointed by the Confull, (for that every one doth affigne it apart vato his Legion, confidering that most commonly they ordaine to enery onea-

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hath one certaine length ioyning to the way, being 100, foot long. The y study often to make the depth equall, except vnto the Allies. But if their Army be greater, they adde both to the length and depth. And as the lodgings of the Horf-men answere to the middle of the Tribunes Tents, there is a certaine way made croffing the afore said streight line, and the void place before the Tribunes. The passages are like vnto streets. For as of either side the troupes are lodg'd all along, but after the Horf-men of the faid two Legions, they lodg'd the Triarij in the fame forme, loyning A troups to enery Enfigne, to as the figures touch one another, having their aspect to the other side contrary to the Horse-men, reducing the depth to halfe the length in enery forme: For that they are most commonly but halfe so many in number as the other troupes. Wherefore as the number of men is often found vnequall, it happene that the parts are al. waies made equall in length, for that they differ in depeh. Then they lodge the Principals 50. foot distant, and opposite to the Trianj. These being turned against the said spaces, the two streets are compleate, taking their beginning from the same streight line, with such approaches as the Horse-men haue, that is to say, of 100. foor distance, which is before the Tribunes, and ending on the contrary fide. The which formerly we have B propounded to be opposite to all the forme of the Campe. After the Principals they lodge the forked Iauelings behind in an opposite aspect, the figures being toyned. And as by the first division all the parties have ten Ensignes, so the streets are alike and equall behind, as well in length as in separation, vpon the sides opposite to the Rampire and Pallisadoe; where turning the last Enfignes, they campe Then after the forked I uelings leaving a space of eight fathome and two foot, against them they lodge the Horse-men of the Allies, taking their beginning at the same freight line, & ending on the same fide. The number of the Allies Footmen is equall to the Roman Legions, only excepted extraordinaries, but C the Horf-men are double in number, from whom a third part is drawne for extraordinaries. The Commanders of Bands take the first lodgings in cuery quarter : placing on every fide the fixt Band after the fift, they retire eight fathome and two foote, the like they doe with the Bands of Foot-men: fo as there is another paffage made through the Legions, and croffe the streets : the which is a way equally distant from the Tribunes Tents, which they call the fift, for that it is drawne after the fifty fine Bands. The place which remaines behinde the Tribunes Tents, and which of either fide ionnes to the Confuls Pauillions, serues partly for the Market place, and partly for the Questor and his munition. In regard D of the two last Pauillions, of either side of the Tribunes, some choise Horse men and other voluntaries sollowing the Campe for the love of the Confull are lodged there, towards the fides croffing the Rampiers, fome looking towards the Questors munition, and some to the Market. place, with an order bending towards the Tents of the extraordinaries. Itoften falls out that these men are not onely lodg'd neare the Confull, but they also doe their duties about him and the Questor, when the Army marcheth, and in their other affaires.

To these are toyned Foot men looking to the Rampire, who doe the like seruice: after which they leque a space of 16. Fathome and 4. soore 298

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broad, equally distant from the Tribunes Tents, besides the Market place, the Preterium & the Questory, extending throughout all the parts of the Rampire: At the upper end whereof the extraordinary, Horf-men of the Allies Campe, looking towards the Prætor and Questor. In the midst of their Pauillions, there is left a way to the Prætors place, of 8, fathome and a. foot, drawing to the further end of the Campe. After these are lodged the extraordinary Foote-men of the Allies, turning their backs to them, and looking towards the Rampire and the further end of the whole Campe. In regard of the void place remaining of either fide of A the croffing flanks, it is for strangers & new commers. Matters being thus disposed, the whole forme of the Campe remaines square with equal fides. As for particular figures as well of separation of freets, as of other ordinances, they are much like a Towne. They cast up the Rampire 22. fathome and 2. foot from the Tents: for that this voide space profiteth them much. For it is comodious for the clenfing of the Campe, so as euery man goes forth, into that place by the street which is nearest to him without croffing inc another. There they also keepe their Cattell safely in the night, & the ooty which they have taken from the Enemy. And it is of great benefit, for if the Enemy affailes them by night, neither Fire nor Darts can touch them, or very little, and without any offence, consi- B dering the great distance and the Tents about them. It is then case for a man to judge how spacious this Campe is, whether they give it a multitude of Foot and Horse, or they make the Legion of source or five thoufand men with the length, depth, and great number of quarters: adding thereunto the spaces of waies with all other things. If at any time the number of the Allies be great, whether that they followed the Campe from the beginning or came afterwards upon some occasion, they fill up the places which are about the Pretorium, with such as are new come, & they draw the market place and the Questory into one for the necessity of the time. Also if the number of those which are come to Field with the Army be great, they adde on either fide of the Roman Legions a ftreete towards the croffing Flanks. And if all the foure Legions & both the Confuls be joyned in one Campe, we must conceive that they are two Armies, equally camped and joyned backe to back, the lodgings of their extraordinaries touching one another, the figure being fome what long, and twice as spacious, with a circumference halfe as big againe. The Confuls being in one Campe, they doe alwaies thus: But if they be separated they observe the first order. In regard of the Market place, the Pretorium and Questory, they place them in the midst of the two Art mies. But when they are encampt, the Tribunes affemble, taking a particular Oath of all men, be they free or bond, who fweare not to steale any thing in the Campe, and if they finde any thing to bring it to them. Then they dispose of the Enfignes, and depute out of the two Legions two of the Principals and of the forked Iauclings, for the guard of the place which is before them. For thither the greatest part of the Romans repaire daily; and therefore they have the charge it should bee kept cleane. Euery Tribune chooses three out of the other two and twenty Ensignes which remaine. According to the faid division, there are so mamy Enfignes of Principals and forked Jauelings in enery Legion. There

Of the History of POLYBIVS. are fixe Tribunes which gouerne in their turnes, and particularly three Enfignes, the which fet vp the Tent in the place appointed for him that hath the gouernment, pauing the place which is about it. Moreouer they haue charge to fortifie if it be needfull, for the guard of the Baggage. They also appoint two Watches, either of them consisting of foure men Theorder of whereof some are before the Tent, and others behind neare vnto the two Watches. Horses. As enery Tribune hath three Ensignes, and aboue a hundred mea in either of them, except the Triarij and light Iauclings (which are not A bound to that feruice) the charge is found light: for that the Watch falls to enery Enfigne but the fourth day. Finally, as for these duties, the neceffary Command, with the honour and obedience is due vnto the Tribunes. The Enfignes of the Triarij are freed from the Tribunes charge, but they serue daily among the Troupes of Horse men, as they are lodged neare them : and they have a care of the Horfes, left they should intangle and hurt themselves, and so be made vnserviceable: or being vntied fight together, whereby an Alarum might grow in the Campe. Moreouer, one out of euery Enfigne keepes a guard daily before the Confull, whereby he is in fafety from Treason, being the most honourable Magistrate. The Allies have the charge of either file of the Ditch B and Pallisadoe, where every one of their Troupe is nearest, and the Romans of the other two, and every Legion hath one. And as every flanke is distributed by the Ensignes, the Captaines of the Bands are present at the particular guard, but in generall two of the Tribunes had the ouerfight, who in like manner had the charge of the rest of the Legion. For For their diuision being made by two, they gouerne by their turnes two Moneths in fixe, and they (to whom the lot is fallen) haue the prcheminence of all the affaires. The fame manner of gouernment is observed among the Commanders of the Allies. The Horse-men and Captains of Bands, come at Sun-rising to the Tribunes Tents, and the Tribunes to C the Confull, to whom he gines order for preffing affaires: They likewise to the horse-men and Captains, who command the Troupe in time conuenient. As for the watch word by Night, they give it safely thus : A man is chosen both of the Horse and Foot of the tenth Ensigne, which The Romani camps behind vpon the extremity of the streets, who is not bound to manner ingiwatch, but comes only enery day at the Suns fetting to the Tribunes Pa. ming the word. uillion, and when he hath received the word, (which is written downe) he returnes, and being come vnto his Enfigne, hee deliuers it with the word vnto the Commander of the next Enfigne in the presence of witneffes. The like he doth vnto the next, and fo consequently of all the rest vitill it come vitto the first Ensignes which are lodged neare vitto the Tribunes. They must bring backe this Paper to the Tribunes before

night: and if all those which have bin delivered be returned they know

that the word hath bin giuen to all in generall, hauing past through them

all. If there beany fault, the Tribune enquires presently of the cause, and

knows by the infeription from what quarter the Paper came, and when

the errour is discouered, they presently condemne him to a certaine

Fine. Moreouer, they appoint their guards after this manner: An En-

figne watches about the Confuls Tent : the like doc the Deputies of e-

nery Enfigue about the Tribunes and the Troupes of Horse men. Thus

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they of enery Band dispose of themselves, and the Consuls of the other guards. There are most commonly three guards, one about the Questor. and two tohers about the Lieutenants and Councellors. But the light lauelings remaine without the Campe, making a guard by day about the Pallisadoc, for it is their charge: Of which there are ten appointed for the guard of every Gate.

watch belongs.

The manner

how they pu-

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faile in the

Watch.

The Lieutenant of euery Enligne brings in the Euening vnto the Tribune those that are appointed for the first watch: to either of which the Tribunc giues little Talleys, hauing Characters: After the receipt wherof they retire to the places affigued them. Concerning the furuey of the A Watch, they trust Horse-men for the chiefe Captaine of the Band must giue order to one of his Lieutenants to carry this Commandment to euery Legion: That is to say, to foure young men of his Band before dinner, that the charge belongs to them, to visite the Watch the Night following. This being done, the like command must be given to the Captaine of the next Band, that it belongs to his charge to make the Round the day following. This being heard, the day following he doth the like to others, and so consequently of the rest: Finally, they which have bin chosen by the Lieutenants of the first Band, to whom the Warch is fallen repaire vato he Tribunes, and take in writing what portion, and how R many Watches they are to visite, which done, they remaine in the guard neare vnto the first Ensigne of the Triarij, of the which the Captaine of the Band hath the charge, to the end the Trumpet may found in fit time for the Watch. The time being come, he that hath the charge to make the Round, doth it to the first Watch. He not onely visiteth the places neare the Pallisadoe and streets, but altogether going about the Ensignes and Troups:and if he finds the Watch of the first guard waking he takes their Talley: But if he finds any one fleeping, or the place abandoned, he departs, taking witnesse of them that are neare. The like also they doe which afterwards goe the Round. The charge to cause him to sound to the Watch, belongs to the Gaptains of Bands of the first Ensignes of the C Triarij of euery Legion, who ferre as visiters for the guard. Either of which in the morning brings the Paper to the Tribune, and if they have brought all they returne. If any one brings lesse then the number of the guards, they search by the Character where the fault was committed. This being knowne, they call the Captaine of the Band, who brings those whom they had appointed for the Watch. These debare it with the Visiter : And if the fault be in the Watch , the Visiter deliuers it presently with the testimony of those that were neare: For he is bound to doe it : But if he hath err'd himselfe, the blame is laid upon him, and they make his processe presently before the Tribune, in the presence of D the affembly : if hee be condemn'd, they whip him. This is their punishment: The Tribune when he hath scarce toucht the condemned with the rod all the Souldiers of the Campe fall vpon them with rods, and kill them for the most part, and if any escape, yet they are not preferued : for how were it possible, seeing that the returne into their Countrey is forbidden, neither have they Friends or Kinsmen that dare receiue them into their houses. Wherefore they which fall into this Calamity, perish totally. To the like punishmen are also subject the Lieute-

nant and Captaine of the Band, if they have failed in their Command, the one as Vissiter, and the other as Captaine of the Band, who must shew himselfe in time convenient, wherefore as the punishment is severe and irr emissible, the watch neuer commits any fault. The Souldiers must obey the Tribunes, and they the Consuls. It is true the Tribunes haue power to condemne in a Fine, to absolue and to whip. The Captaines haue the like priniledge ouer the Allies. If any one hath stollen a. ny thing in the Campe, he is whipt : so is a false witnesse, or any one that is apprehended abusing the flower of the youth. Moreouer, if any one A hath bin thrice reprehended for one and the same crime, they punish him afterwards grieuously as a depraued person. They hold these crimes infamous and base in a Souldier, as if any one hath bragg'd falsely to the Tribune of his prowesse to winne honour: Or if any appointed to the guard of a place, abandon it cowardly, or leaves any of his Armes for feare in fight. Wherefore some having apparent death before them in the place where they are fer, as being environed by a great Troupe, will neuer abandon the station where they have bin once appointed, fearing the punishment due to their offence. Some in the like dangers losing by chance their Bucklers and Swords, or some other Armes, thrust themselues among their Enemies, hoping to recouer that which they have lost by force : or enduring some vnfortunate accident, to slie a manifest infamy and reproach of their Companions. If these things happen to many, and that some Ensignes have by a generall consent abandoned their place, they held it not fit to whip them, nor to kill them all, but they have another expedient which is profitable and terrible: for after they have drawne the Army together, the Tribunes bring them into the mid fof it, accusing them with big words. Finally, he drawes forth by lot fine or eight, sometimes twenty, hauing regard vnto the Troupe, so as there be the tenth part of the delinquents, whom they whip as hath bin faid, with-C out any remission. Moreover, he commands the rest to lodge without the Rampiers and Pallisadoes of the Campe, delivering them Barley for Wheat. By the apparent danger and feare of the lot equally incident to them all, seeing the euent is vncertaine, with the example of the Munition which they give them of Barley, concernes them all, and serues for a terrour and restraint from offences. Moreover, they encourage young men to vndergoe danger: For when necessity requires it, and that any one of them hath performed an act of valour, the Confull affembles the Army, where they are presented which have done any memorable act: There he commends every man in particular, laying open what they The manner of haue valiantly performed, or any other thing that hath bin worthy of recompensing the solutions the pholosocytical their lines. Finally, he could the Souldiers D memory, during the whole course of their lines: Finally, he gines a gau- valour. lish Dart to him that hath wounded the Enemy: To a Foot-man which hath ouerthrowne a Horse-man and stript him, a vessell of Gold: To a Horse-man the Furniture of a Horse. In former time they had none but the gaulish Dart : which are gifts which they receive, which in skirmishes and such like actions have done valiantly and couragiously, where without any necessity they enter voluntarily, and fight manto manin fingle Combate, not hee which in Battaile or the

taking of a Towne hath wounded or stript an Enemy. It is true they give a Crowne of Gold to those which have first ascended the wall : The Confull in like manner makes shew of such as have defended and preserued any Cittizens or Allies, and makes them honourable by gift. Moreouer the Tribunes compell those which have beene preserved, if they doe it not willingly, to crowne their presenter, to whom they beare a reuerence and respect during their lines, as to their Fathers, to whom they yeeld the like duty. By these inticements they not onely encourage the affiltants to fight, and by their example to vndergoe danger: but likewife the Inhabitants which remaine in the City. For they which have obtained these gifts, besides the glory and esteeme of the Souldiers, the fame flying to their family, they have folerane pomps made for them, being returned into their Countrey with great honour and dignity, for that they to whom the Capraines have done such honours, are onely worthy to be so magnified and esteemed. They also set up in the most apparent places of their Citty the spoiles, as markes and testimonies of their virtue. As they are thus curious and diligent in the Campe, for honours and punishment, it is reasonable and fitting the events of War should proue prosperous and honourable.

Herfe.

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A Sentier is

The order of marching.

The Foote-men have by the day fourteene Dencers, the Captaines of terrainment of Bands two Sous and foure, the Horse-men haue three Sous and fixe, a B Foote-man hath monethly almost foure Bushels of Wheate, a Horseman hath by the moneth three Septiers and a Mine of Barley and a Septier of Wheate. As for the Allies, the Foote-men haue the fame, the two Mines, and Horse-man hath eight Bushels of Wheate, and two Septiers and a Mine a Mine two Lendou bushels. of Barley, which are things done in fauour to the Allies. The Questor deducts a certaine portion of the Romans pay, for the Wheate, Apparrell. or Armes, if any of them have neede. They march in Battaile after this manner, when the first warning is given, they packe up their Tents and Baggage. The which no man may take downe, or let vp, before these of the Tribunes and Consuls be ordred. At the second sound of C the Trumpet, they lay the Baggage vpon the Sumpters. But at the third the first must march, and all the Campe must moue: whereas sometimes the extraordinaries match first, being followed by the right wing of the Allies, with their Baggage in the Rearc. After these march the first Roman Legion, with their stuffe after them. Then followes the second with their carriages, following the Army close.

It is true, the left wing of the Allies makes the Reareward when the Army marcheth. Sometimes the Horse men follow in the Reare, every one to his Quarter : where they are vpon the wings of the Baggage, to affist them for their safeties. But if there be any doubt of the Reareward, all march in one order, except the extraordinaries of the Allies, who are brought to the front of the Reareward, and every other day the same Legion & wings make the point. Then agains they follow behind. to the end that all may be partakers of Forrage and water, changing their order daily, to the end euery one may be first in his turne. They obferue another kind of march in dangerous times, and in a plaine Champaigne. They make three Battalions in equall distance, confishing of

forked lauelings, Principals and Triarij's, putting before the Baggage of those Ensignes which march first. After the first those that are second: and then doth march the Baggage of the third, and they order their Baggage and Ensignes by this proportion alternatively. Marching in this order, if there happens any great affaires, they cause the Enfignes to march thorough the Baggage, sometimes presenting their Targets, sometimes their lauelings to the Enemy. And in one instant and the same march, the Souldiers put themselves in order of Battaile, vnlesse it be when as your forked lauelings fetch a compasse: For then the Bag-A gage with their attendants, stealing behinde the Souldiers, recouers some place of safety.

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But when in marching they are neare to plant their Campe, the Tribunes and they which are viually appointed to that charge, goe before: who after they have viewed the place fit for the Campe, they first marke out the place for the Confuls Tent, (as hath beene faid) and ypon what aspect and flanke of the square thus markt our, the Legions should bee lodgd. Then they measure out a plot for the Pretorium: after which a fireight line, whereupon are joyned the Tribunes Pauillions: Then a line equally distant, after which are lodgd the Legions. In like manner they measure on the other side of the Pretorium, the places whereof we have lately spoken in particular. This is soone done, for that the measures are easie, the spaces being certaine and ordinary) they set downe a marke, and first of all that where the Consuls Pauillion must stand : Then the second on the fide which is chosen: The third to the line in the midft, to the which the Tribunes fet their Tents: The fourth where the Legions are lodgd. Of which these last are red, and the Consuls white. As for the other fide, there they sometimes fasten forked Darts, or other markes of divers colours. This done, they confequently make the streets: At cuery one they fasten a forked Dart, to the end that all things might be C knowne more commodiously to them that approach to the Army, and to the view of the Campe, by a coniecture and confideration of the Præ-

Wherefore enery man knowing plainely in what streete and in what part his Tent is, for that they alwaies hold one place in the Campe. It falls out in like manner as when an Army enters into its owne Citty, which is well knowne. Euery man from the Gate turning, marcheth prefently and comes to his owne lodging without wandring, for that all in generall and particular know in what quarter of the City their dwellings are. It happens likewise in the Romans Campe, wherein they seeme (following this custome) to take a contrary course to the Grecians in regard D thereof. The Grecians make great accompt of the strength of a Campe, and feeke it principally, flying partly the labour of ditching, imagining that fortifications made by hand, are not fo effectuall and good as those of nature, wherefore they are forced in Camping, wholly to change their formes according to the scituation on of places: so as all mens lodgings are vncertaine. In regard of the Romans, they defire rather to endure the labour of rampring, and to doe all other things necessary for their ease, and to have the knowledge of enery one in the Campe. These are the Lla

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generall parts of the contemplation of an Army, and the scituation of a Campe.



A Parcell of the Sixt Booke

of Potentates, and which is the most excellent.



LL Historiographers in a manner R haue in their writings made great esteeme of the Excellency of these kinde of Common-weales, as the Lacedemonians, Candiots, Mantiniens, and Carthaginians: Some likewife have mentioned the Athenians and Thebeins. For my part, I differ from the rest: in regard of the thenians and Thebeins. I doe not hold it needfull to vie many words of them; for that they have had no C great increase, nor any firme forces, neither are they fallen into any mo-

derate alteration: But as they feemed to be in vigour and force by a certainenew temporall Fortune, fo they base felt a contrary change. The Thebeins have purchased an esteeme of virtue among the Grecians by the fault of the Lacedemonians, and the hatred of those which were of their League, adding thereunto the excellency of one or two in regard of the afore-fayd things. That the virtue of Gouernours, and not the estate of the Common weale hath beene the cause of the Thebeins felicity, the fuddaine following Fortune hath made manifest. Their D power hath beene augmented and confirmed, and againe ruined during the lives of Epaminundas and Pelopidas. Wherefore we must conceive that these Men and not the Common weale, have beene the cause that the Citty of 7 hebes hath purchased so much honour whilest it was in esteeme. We must likewise for the same reason judge the like of the The Athenians, Athenians: the which hath many times, especially by the virtue of Themistocles, made it selfe glorious, but hath presently tryed a contrary change by the disorder of its nature.

Ιć

It hath alwaies happened to the Athenians, like vnto fhips vnfurnished of Pilots. For when the Company resolue to agree, and to obey the Gouernour of the ship, either for feare of Enemies, er for the danger of a storme, they performe their duties cheerefully. But when through arrogancy they begin to disdaine their Gouernours, and to mutine, for that the same things doe not please all men: so as some haue a will to faile, others to force the Pilot to goe to harbour, and that some lay hold of the Oares, and call vpon him to fet faile: this caufeth an infamous spectacle to those which behold it, by reason of the mutuall dis-A cord and mutiny. The humour of those which are Companions in the Nauigation, hath no stay: wherefore slying many times the great depth of the Sea, and great stormes which doe vsually arise, they faile along the shore. The like hath often happened to the Athenians. For as they have former times repell'd by the virtue of their people and Commanders, great and greiuous calamities, yet they have eri'd wonderfully by their great rashnesse and indiscretion, having a prosperous

gale and all things successefull. Wherefore it is not needfull to hold a-

ny longer discourse, neither of it nor of the Thebeins: where the Commons attempt all things according to their owne humours, the first be-B ing brutish and ruste, and this other accustomed to violence and fury. Comming then to that of the Candyous, it is fit to know two things; why the most learned among the ancient writers, as Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, and Plato, fay first that it is like and the same with that of the Lacedemonians, and secondly that it is commendable: For neither of them feemes true in my opinion: The which may bee conceiued by that which followeth, shewing first that it differs; they say that the Lacedemonians have this proper; that it is not lawfull for one mon to have more land then another, being necessary for enery Burgesse to have an equall portion of lands in the Cittle. Secondly that hec is to bee C amerced as a wicked man, that hath greater possessions then the rest: By this meanes ambition is wholly or in part rooted out of this Com-

mon-weale. Thirdly, their Kings enjoy the Crowne for ener: and they only for life, whom they call ancients: By whom and with whom all The Lacedethe affaires of the Common weale are mannaged. In regard of the Can-monon Common weale, diots, all the things are governed by contrary meanes. For the Lawes allow them to possesse what Lands they can get: by this meanes Excel. The Common lency is in esteeme amongst them, so as the possession of Lands is not weale of Candy onely held necessary, but also most honest.

Finally, the defire of infamous and anaritious gaine is so powerfull amongst them, that among all mortall men onely the Gandiets find no D kind of gaine worthy of blame: Although that in that which concernes their principality, they have an Annall and Democraticall government: fo as we are in doubt, and wonder often, how Writers have delinered them vnto vs. to be familiar and as it were Germaines, feeing they have fo contrary a Nature: Neither haue they without doring ordained fo many differences, not lightly, but with a great shew of words : saying that onely Lieurgus among the Ancients, had aim'd at firme and folid things: And that as there are two meanes for the prefermation of energy

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Common-weale, which are force against the Enemy, and mutuall concord and agreement among themselues: that in chasing anatice, hee had withall taken away all civill discord and mutipie: and that by this meanes the Lacedemonians being freed from these mischiefes, have better then any other Grecians gouerned their Common-weale, and with greater vnion. And although the Candyous bee of this aduice parralelling themselues, Yet they thinke it concernes them nothing, living in many publique mutinies, murthers and civill warre by their naturall avarice. prefuming to fay that thefe two Gouernments are alike. Ephorus fpea. A king of these two Common-weales, vieth the like speech, except their names: If any one doth not observe the propper names, who can discerne whereof hee speakes. These are the causes for the which in my opinion they differ.

Wee will now shew the reasons for the which the Candrotts Common-wealth, doth not seeme commendable nor worthy to be immitated. I conceive that of every Common-wealth their are two Principles. for the which their chate and power is defired or detefted: Which are Two principles their manner of liuing and their Lawes. That is to bee defired and the best, by the which the life of men in private is made religious and ho- R nest, and the common course of living in the City gracious and just. Finally that is to be detefted and anoyded, where they doe the contrary. And as we iudge confidently that the men of a Common-wealth apply themselues to virtue, when we see their course of life, and the lawes to fauour of honesty in some of them: So we may with reason say, that a Common-weale is altogether depraued, as well by the lawes, as by their course of living, when we see any given to couetousnesse, and the publike Arts vaiust.

Moreouer you shall not finde any lives in private more cunning and crafty, nor enterprizes more vniust then among the Candiotts, except fome few. Whereof we approue it by this comparison, the reason why C we hold their Common-wealth not to belike the Lacedemonians, nor to be chosen, or worthy to be followed. I say moreover that Platees Common-weale is not to be preferr'd. Although that some of our Philosophers make great esteeme. As we doe not receiue among handicraftsmen, nor wrestlers, those which have not excercised their bodies, nor been accustomed to wrestling, So we may not receive this: So as compared with the former, we may not bring it in compedition, before wee fee some effects. I will for the present onely propound this : If wee must esteeme and parralell it to the Common-weales of Lacedemon, Rome, and Carthage, it were euen as if a man should propound an Image, to be D compared with menthat are living and animated. For although he deferues commendation of his Art, yet the comparison of things which be dead, with the living, feeme to the eye poore and obscure. Leaving them therefore, let vs returne to the Lacedemonian Common-weale. Licurgus without doubt, feemes to have made the law, and well provided that the Burgesses might agree together, for the preservation of Lacedemon, and the maintenance of their liberty: So as his confideration seemes more divine then humane. An equality of possessions, with a

fample and common course of living, should cause a modest life in prinate, and make a City quiet and peaceable. Finally, exercise in labour, and to indure all toyle, was to make men ftrong and valiant. Being certaine that these two which are magnanimity and temperance, concurring together in a private person of a City, malice can hardly creepe in amongst them, or be drawne from their neighbours. By these meanes the Common-wealth being setled, it hath procured safety to all the Country of Lacedemon, and a very durable liberty. But as for that which concernes the conquest, and principallity ouer their neighbours, and A finally the enterprize of a warre, it seemes he neuer thought of it : but onely that they should bring in a certaine friendship or resolution, by the which the common course of living of the City, should rest contented with their moderate estate, euen as their lives in private were modest, and contented with their choise. And although hee had instituted in fuch fort, as they were freed from ambition, and were very wife afwell in priunte as in the common course of their liuing in the City: yet he hath left them towards the other Grecians more then ambitious, and of an infatiable defire to raigne, withan extreame auarice: So as it is partly notorious, that first in a manner among the Grecians, greedily defiring the countries of their neighbours, they made warre against the Meffeniens, to draw them into subjection: It is also partly manifest, that they had obstinately sworne amongst themselves, not to raise the siege, before they had forc't the City of the Meseniens. It is also notorious that for the great defire they had to rule over the Grecians, they had againe submitted themselves to the yoake of those whom they had vanquished in battaile, So as they had patiently obeyed their commande. ments.

They had vanquished the Persians making a discent, in fighting for the preservation of the Grecian liberty : to whom notwithstanding be-C ing returned and fled, they have delivered the Greeke Townes which were reflored, according to the peace made by Antalcides : to the end that having money, they might fortific themselues against the Grecians. At what time the establishment of their law seemed to decline : for whilft it gap't after the command of their neighbour, and finally of Morea, they helpt themselves with content, by the meanes which Las cedemon did furnish, having necessary preparations speedily, and making a suddaine returne vnto their houses : But when they began to put an Army to Sea, and to march out of Morea with forces by land, it is certaine that their Iron money, nor the trocking of their Annall fruits, could not supply their necessities according to the lawes of Lieurgus. Their D enterprize required currant money, and traffique with strangers for victuals : fo as they were forced to have recourte vnto the Percians, to impote a tribute vpon the Handers, and to exact money from all the Grecians: knowing it impossible (according to the lawes of Lieurgus) to hold the principallity of the Grecians, nor to becable to keepe their owne Common-wealth. But why haue I wandred to farre in this difcourse. To the end it may really appeare, that the institution of Lisurgus lawes, is onely sufficient for enery man to preserue his owne, and

to maintaine his liberty: And we must confesse to those which respect

a Common-wealth to this end, that there is nothing more to be defired.

then the estate and order of the Lacedemonians. But as any one tends

to greater matters, and thinkes of the command of the Empire, and Sig-

nuly ouer many, their hope in him and his fauour towards them, to be

more specious and magnificent, we must then confesse, that the Lace-

demonian Common-wealth is defective, and that the Romans is more

excellent, and of a more powerfull foundation. The which experience

For when the Lacedemonians laboured to conquer the principality of

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The Roman more excellent then the Lace.

facws plainely.

the Grecians, they suddainly brought their owne liberty into danger: whereas the Romans after they had reduced Isaly under their obedience, within a short time they subdued the whole world, being sufficiently supplied with abundance of all things, and prouision of munition and vistuals to effect their Enterprize. In regard of the Carthaginian, it feemes to have beene well instituted fince its beginning, according to all differences. They had Kings, and an Aristocraticall power of Senators: The Commons also had their prerogative in matters which belonged vnto them. Finally, in that which concernes their generall af- B fembly, it was like vnto that of the Romans and Lacedemonians. It is true, that in the time of Hannibals Warre, that of the Garthaginians was lesse, and that of the Romans better. In every Common-weale and action there is a certaine naturall increase and vigour, and consequently a diminution: so as all things are perfect in their vigour. Moreover these Common-weales were at that time different : For the greater the Carthaginians were in the beginning, having had many better fortunes then the Romans, the more they have beene weakned. In regard of Rome. It flourished then even in order and policy. And as the people of Carthage tooke great authority vponthem in Councell, fothe Senate had A Comparison great power among the Romans. Wherefore as in publique resoluti- C betwist the Ro- ons the Commons in the one gaue their aduice, and the best men in man and Car- the other: so the Romans have beene more excellent in their publique affaires : where if they have beene in danger of their whole estate.

> thaginians. But for that which concernes a suddeine preparation to Warre, the Carthaginians are more actine at Sea, and prepare their Fleets better: For that this practice is hereditary and ancient vnto them, and they traffique more by Seathen any other men. But as for the Foot-men, the Romans make better vie then the Carthaginians, for that they wholy D addict themselues voto it. In regard of the Carthaginians, they are carelesse of Foot men: As for Horse men they take some good order. The reason is, for that they imploy forreine forces which are Mercenaries: and the Romans their owne Nation and Burgesses. Wherefore this Common-wealth is more commendable then the other, the which commits the hope of their liberty to the prowesse of mercenary men: and the Romans to their owne virtue and the succour of the Allies. Wherefore if at any time the Romans have made loffe in their Principa-

vet vsing good Councell, they have in the end vanquished the Car-

lities, they resist with all their forces. The Carthaginians on the other fide, fighting for their Countrey and Children, cannot abate their fury, maintaining the Combate vnto the last gaspe, vntill they have vanquished the Enemy. Wherefore although the Romans be (as I have said) inferiour vnto them in Sea-fights, yet they exceed them in the bounty of their Souldiers. And although that in dangers at Sea, the experience of nauall combats be of no finall importance, yet the proweffe of Souldiers at Sea, is of great profit for the Victory.

The Italians in truth are of a more excellent disposition then the Phe-A niciens or Lybans, as well in force of body as in courage: whereunto they vsually incite their Youth. I will tell you one thing which may ferue for a great presumption, of the diligence of this Common-weale, ordained to breed up fuch men as will endure any thing, to the end they may purchase praise, vertue, and same vnto their Countrey. If at any The pompe of time a man of great fame and note, dies, they bring him with great the Romans to pompe to the place which they terms for valiant men, where hee is person, fometimes vpon his feete, but seldome laid along. When as all the people are assembled, if there be any Sonne of his of sufficient age, he goes into the Chaire of Orations : if nor, fome other of his Race, who fets forth the vertue and valour oft he deceased. Hence it growes that many, not onely of his Companions in valour, but also others being admonished, and sceing visibly the deeds, haue so great compassion, as the misfortune seemes not onely proper to those which vndertake the danger, but common to the people. Finally, after they have interred him and performed likewise his obsequies, they set his Image vpon the most apparent place in the house, building about is a Chappell of Ioyners worke. The proportion of his face is carefully wrought to the life, according to the forme and lineaments. Which Images being showne in publique Sacrifices, they adorne honourably. When a man of some excellent Race is dead, they make his obsequies, and they being about him which seeme to be of the same height, stature, and preportion, they put on a garment bordered with purple, if he had beenea Confull, or Generall of an Army or elsea Roabe of Pure ple, if a Centor; Or of cloth of Gold, if he hath friumphed, or done a. ny fuch like thing. These march in a Charlot in this order : Before the which goe the bundels of Rods and Maces, and other things accustomed to honourable persons, according to enery mans authority, with the which during his life he hath beene henoured in the Common wealth. Being come to the place of interment, they are all fet in Chaires of Iuo-D ry according to their order : fo as a young man that thirsts after glory and fame, can behold nothing more beautifull. For who would not be encouraged, to see the Images of men whom they honour in regard of vertue, and as it were aliue? What other spectacle can wee finde more beautifull? Moreouer, he that makes the Funerall Oration, begins to speake of his other Kinsmen there present, and first of all the most ancient, relating the deeds and imployments of either of them. So as it falls out that by the Commendation of good men, many times remem-

bred by their vertue, their glory is immortall which have performed Mm

any honourable action: and their konour which have ferued their Countrey well, is made knowne to many, and multiplyed to posterity. Morcouer, young men are encouraged to that resolution, that they are ready to endure any thing that prefents it felfe for the publique good, to the end they might purchase the renowne which accompanies good men. Many Remans for this cause have fought man to man, to get an estimation among the people: Others have chosen an apparent death: some to faue others in Battaile: Others to the end they might procure a safety in peace to the Common-wealth. Some also having the command of an Army, have contrary to all custome and law, slaine their owne Children, having more regard to the good of the Countrey, then to the naturall alliance of those which were neerest vnto them. They write divers other things of many Romans: but it shall suffice at this time to produce one for an example and proofe.

They report of Horatine Cosles, that when he fought against two, right against the Bridge of Tiber before the Citty, and seeing a multitude of Enemies come to succour them, fearing left they should force the Citty, he retired to those that were at his backe, crying out vnto them that they should breake the Bridge, and in the meane time maintained the fight with great courage and resolution, receiving many wounds, and B stayed the fury of the Enemies: so as they wondred not so much at his forces, as at his resolution and courage. When by the breaking of the Bridge the Enemies enterprize was disappointed, Cocles casting himfelfe armed into the River, died according to his resolution, esteeming

more the preferuation of his Countrey, and his future glory, then his present life, or that which hee had remaining to line. It is likely that by fuch courses young men were inflamed with a defire to honest

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As for that which concernes gaine, the custome and proceeding of the Romans is much more excellent then that of the Carthaginians, to C whom nothing is infamous that brings profit : where there is nothing more vile and base among the Romans, then to be corrupted with gifts, and to wrest from another man contrary to duty. The more honourable they esteeme a benefit gotten from a great and powerfull man, the more they blame and condemne as infamous abundance purchased by vnlawfull meanes. For proofe where of, among the Carthaginians they attaine vnto the gouernment which have openly given presents: whereas among the Romans that corruption is punished with death if it be discouered. Wherefore as the rewards of vertue are contrary among them. It is apparent that the infititution of these Commonwealths is vnequall in these things. Finally, it seemes that concerning the opinion of the Gods, the Roman Common-wealth followes not the best. And I imagine that all the world holds it a dissensur that this is found among their actions. Ispeake of their superstition. It is in truth preacht among them for so excellent, and so anchored in men, as well in private as publique, as they cannot adde any thing, the which in truth will seeme admirable. I am of opinion they have done it for the comon fort. For if the Common weale could have affembled wife

men, this course happily had not beene necessary. But for that the multitude is light and inconstant, and subject to disordred affections, and to vnreasonable distempers of fury and violence, it was fit to restraine them by a disguised seare, and by this kind of strange language. Wherefore the Ancients did not without reason invre the Common fort with the knowledge of the Gods, and with Tales of Hell, which some at this day oppose foolifhly and without consideration.

Wherefore in paffing ouer with filence others which gouerne Com-A mon-weales, if a man lends to Grecians but fixe hundred Crownes, they cannot keepe their Faith, although he hath ten promises, and as me ny Signatures, and twice as many Witnesses. In regard of the Romans, in all their Commands, they which mannage great affaires and wealth, performe their duties according to the Faith of their Oaths: whereas in other states you shall find sew men carefull and sparing of the publique good, and performing the duty of an honest man: so it is a rare thing among the Romans, to finde any one accused of such a Grime. That Allthings subthere is corruption and alteration in all things, it is not needefull to ica to corrupto speake: For the necessity of Nature will give sufficient proofe. And as there are two menaes by the which every Common-wealth is vinally B ouerthrowne, whereof the one is exteriour, and the other of it felfe: That which is exteriour is in its confideration inconstant : But as for the order within it selfe, we have formerly delivered what kind the first is, what the second, and how it ends in a third Common-wealth : so as they which can appropriate the beginning of this present Subject to the end, may also fore tell the future the which in my opinion is

For when a Common weale hath gotten (after many and great dangers anoided) an excellency and unrefiftable power, it is apparent, that growing (as of custome) to abundance of wealth, the expences are C more fumpruous, and men grow more quarrellome touching Gouernments and other Enterprizes. By the continuance whereof begins a change to worfe, as to ambition which is a kind of ignomy : Moreouer, an arrogant kind of living and fumptuousnesse. The people will leave this Title of change, when as growne proude with ambition, sweetned with their good words which seeke to gaine them by couetousnesse. For then being furious, and mannaging all things with rage, they will no more obey their Princes, nor be equall to their Gouernours, but most commonly will have all the power. This done, the Common-weale will D change its name into a goodly shew of liberty and a Democracia; but in effect to a most wicked Orchlocracia. Finally, as we have declared the establishing, increase, with the vigour and disposition of the Commonwealth, and the difference from others, and what is good or bad in it, we will here make an endo f this Discourse.

Resuming then the parts which cohere with the time of the Histoty, from whence wee strayed, we will in few words make a briefe relation of an action : to the end that not onely in speech, but also in effect, atter the manner of 2 good workeman, we may plainely shew the vigour and power of the Common-wealth, as it was at that time, propounding Mm 2

Hamibalt pro fome excellent action. When as Hannibal had won the Battaile et rectaing a tery Gannes against the Romans, he tooke eight thousand men Prisoners. the Battail, of which had bin appointed for the guard of the Fort or Campe: fuffring them all to fend to their houses for their Ransome and safety. He sene tenne, of the most apparent to Rome, vpon their Faith to returne againe. Whenas one of them being out of the Fort, was returned, faving that he had forgotten fomething, and having taken that which he had left, he went on his way, thinking by this returne to haue kept his Faith, and to haue made his Oath voide and unprofitable. When they were come to Rome, they intreate the Senate not to hinder the delivery of the Prifoners, and that they would fuffer them to pay thirteene Livers for a man, and that they might returne fafely to their Families. They favd that Hannibal had so agreed, and that moreover they were worthy to be preserved, for that they had not playd the Cowards in the Battaile, nor done any act vinworthy of the Roman name: But being left to guard the Campe, all the rest being slaine in Battaile, they had beene suddain-Ivenuironed and brought under the Enemies Subjection. But when the Romans (having made great loffes during the Warres, and being in a manner abandoned by all their Allies, fo as they seemed to be in great danger for their Countrey) had heard this speech, they were not care- B leffe of their honour, to yeeld ynto their mifery: neither did they difdaine any thing that was needfull to be done. But confidering Hannibals intention, who thought by this practice to draw away their Treasure, and withal to diff inhearten & difcourage his enemies in battaile, thewing covertly that the vanquished had yet some hope remaining, and were so farre from yeelding to that which was required, as they were neither moned to pitty the Prisoners, normade any accompt of the future fault of men: making it knowne (in refusing to redeeme their men) that the conceit and hope which Hannibal had in them was vaine. Finally, they have enjoyned their Souldiers by a law, to vanquish in fighting or to die, C for that being vanquished there remained no hope of safety. After which things decreed, they fent backe the nine Embassadours, who willingly returned according to their promise, delivering him who had thought cunningly to breake his Faith to the Enemy, bound hand and foote: fo as Hannibal was not fo glad of the Battaile wonne against the Romans, as forrowfull, wondring at the constancy and magnamity of these men in their resolutions.

AA PARCELL OF the Seuenth Booke of the

History of POLYBIVS, concerning the Accord made betwixt the Cartha-

ginians and Messeniens, with the taking of the Citty of the sardines by Antiochus.



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He Citty of the Leontins is wholly scitus ted towards the North: In the midst whereof is a great place, where there are Pallaces built, Scates of Iustice, and a Market place for all Commodities. Vpon euery side of the place is a Hill, with a thicke Rocke, and the plaine of these Hils vpon the top, is fill'd with houses and Temples. Finally, this Citty hath two Gates: whereof the one is towards the South, at the end

of the place about mentioned, going to Saragoffe : and the other bends to the North, towards the Leontine Plaines and the errable Land. But under one of the Rocks which lookes towards the West, there dowes a River which they call Liffen: where there are houses built one against a- The River of nother, and many others vnder the Rocke, betwixt the which this River Liffon. passeth. Behold the accord sweine, which was made by Hannibal the Commander, Mago, Mercane, Barmocare, and all the Carthaginian Senators . which were then with Hannibal, and the Carthaginian Ar. an accord my which he had vnder his command, with Zenophanes the Son of Cle had berwize omachus, Embassadour for the Athenians, whom King Philip the Sonnelans, Macedoniof Demetrius lent vnto them as well for himselfe as for the Macedonians and, and Greciand shair Allies. And that before Junior Jane and Apalla. And before and their Allies: And that before Jupiter, Jane and Apollo: And before the Gods of the Carthaginians, Hercules and Iolas, Mars, Triton, and Neptune: And before the Gods of their Army, the Sun Moone, and Earth: And the Rivers, Gods, and Waves, and finally before all the Gods which possessed and all those which hold Macedony and the rest of Greece, and in the presence of all other Gods which are not compre-Mm 3

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hended in this Oath. Captaine Hannibal with the Senators of Carthage which were with him and the whole Army, have faid : according to your good pleasure and ours, wee Friends, Allies, and Brethren, 'shall give order to this Accord sworne, concerning the Friendship and good intelligence, so as the Lords of Carthage, Captaine Hannibal and his men, with the other Carthaginian Princes, which live vnder the same Lawes, and likewise the Bisartins, with all the Citties and Nations subject to the Carthaginians, Souldiers and Allies, and all Citties and people with whom we have any league or friendship, as wel A in Italy and Spaine, as in the Countrey of Genoua, and if there be any others in this Region with whom we have any friendship or league, shall be guarded and defended by King Philip and the Macedonians, and all other Grecians which are in league with them.

In like manner King Philip and the Macedonians with the Allies of the other Grecians, shall be guarded and defended by the Carthaginians, making Warre with them, and by the Bifartins, and by all the Cities and Nations acknowledging the Empire of Carthage, with their Allies and Souldiers, and all Nations and Citties which are in Italy, Spaine, and Genoua, and all other Allies which are in other Countries of Italy. Neither the one nor the other shall haucany practices, nor plot any War B by deuices, being of good affection and intelligence, withour fraud or deceit, Enemies to those which shall make Warre against the Carthaginians, except the Townes, Citties, and Ports, with whom they have a sworne league. We like wise shall be Enemies to those which shall make Warre against King Philip, except the Citties and Nations with whom we have sworne friendship. Finaly, you shall maintaine our party, in giuing aide and comfort according to the necessity of our affaires, in the War begun betwixt vs and the Romans, untill that by the grace of the Gods you and we may have a good end. And if by the helpe of the Gods you and we shall consent to to treate of friendship with the Romans touching the Warre we have with them, we will treate it in such forr, as you shall be partakers, so as it shall be never lawfull for them to make Warre against you: Neither may the Romans rule ouer the Cersgreins or Apolliniates, or Epidamnes, or ouer Phaire, or Demale, the Parthins, and the Antintanical And moreover they shall restore to Demetrius of Phaire all his Subiects, whom they have received for Burgesses. And if it happen that the Romans make Warre against vs or you, we shall succour one another as the common necessity shall require. The like also we will doe, if others make Warre against vs, except the Kings and Nations with whom we are in league. Moreover, we will adde or diminish what we ra shall thinke good of this accord sworne by a common consent.

During these things Philip taking the Bowels of the Sacrifices, the which according to the custome were brought vnto him, and bending himselse a little, he presented them to Arare, demanding of him what those Sacrifices fignified, and whether they would abandon that Fort orkeepe it fill. Then Demetrius as the most aged, said : If thou hast the indgment of a Soothfayer, we wil leave it fuddainly, but if the understanding of a warlike King, we will keepe it. And not to abandon it, thou shale

confider of another necessary occasion: For by this meanes in laying hold of the Oxes hornes, thou shalt haueit wholy in thy subjection. By the hornes he meant Isthomate, and the Acrocorinthe : and by the Oxe,

Then Philip returning to Arate, art thou of this aduice ? And when as Arace spake nothing, he intreated him to deliuer his opinion: who after he had confidered thereon, answered, thou mayst keepe it, if thou canst provide in such fort that the accord with the Atheniens may not be infring'd. If in taking it thou puts a Garrison, thou shalt loose all the A Fort, and the Garrison it selfe (meaning his fayth) which thou hast receiued from Antigonus, in giving the Guards to the Allies. Confider whether it be now better, that in putting me forth, thou loofest this fidelity, and that by this meanes thou fetlest Garrisons ouer the Messeniens, and other Allies. But Philip had a great defire to breake the accord: the which his following actions made manifest. And when hee had a little before beene sharpely reprehended by yong Arate for the defeate of some men, and that the elder (hauing spoke freely and with) authority) had intreated him not to giue an easie eare to such speeches as should be vsed vnto him, shame restrained him: and taking his right

B hand, well fayd he, let vs follow the fame course. In regard of the City of the Sardins, there were continually combats and dangerous encounters. For the fouldiers of eyther fide studied day and night to frustrate one anothers pollicies by new inventions: to write all which in particular would be no leffe unprofitable then tedious. And whenas the fiege had continued full two yeeres, Lagoras of Candy, a man well experienced in the art of warre, having confidered with himfelfe, that many times ftrong Cities fall eafily into the Enemies hands, by the negligence of the inhabitants, who relying vpon their fortifications made as well by nature as art, affure themselues and grow idle: And C knowing likewise how they are accustomed to set guards in strong places, which might make heads against the Enemies attemps: Seeing likewise according to his conceit the despaire of them all, that they should not be able to take the Sardins Fort by this meanes; and that want of victuals and munition, remained for their last hope to take it: The more he confiders thereon, and studies by what meanes he might finde some occasion to surprize the City. And when as afterwards hee found that the courting of the place, which they call Serie (it is that which ioynes the City with the Fort) was without guard, it happened sarding neglithat according to his hope and opinion, he discouered the negligence gence. of the guard by his presumption.

This place was very rough and steepe, having a valley necre vnto it, into the which they of the City cast their dead carrion: Whither reforted a great number of vulture and other rauening Birds. When this man faw that these Birds after they were full gorg'd, pearch daily vpon the top of the valley, and on the wall, he knew thereby, that of necessity this courtine was abandoned, and for the most part without guard. Then approaching wifely in the night, hee fought meanes to get vp. And when he found that in a certaine place of the valley they might Mm 4

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ascend, he advertised the King. Who conceiving a good hope, perswaded Lagoras to continue his enterprize, promising to doe what possibly hee could. Lagoras intreats the King, to give him for companions Theodore the Etolien, and Denie Captaine of his guard, and that hee would command them to beare him company to lay this Ambush: For they seemed to bee able men and sufficient for this enterprize. And when the King had fatisfyed his demand they agree together, and by a common consent make choyse of a night, when as part of the morning had no moone-light. After which the day before at Sunne-setting, they make choyce of fifteene strong and resolute men, A to mount up the ladders with them, and to gaine the wall, who in this hardy enterprize should be their companions.

Then they chose thirty other, to lycalittle distant of in Ambush: to the end that when they had recourred the wall, they should fall vpon the next gate, and striue to breake the hinges and ioynts, and the others within the barres and lockes. They also appoynt two thoufand men in the reare of thefe, who entring with them should recouer the place of the Theater: The which was made so conucniently, as it was opposite to the approaches of those of the Forts and those of the City- Moreover to avoyd the suspition of the truth, in regard of the choyse of these men, he gaue order that the Etoliens should give an assault vnto the City by a certaine valley: And therefore it was needfull that these should second them, according to a signe which should be given them. When as all things were ready, and the Moone growne darke they which were Lagoras, taking the ladders, approacht closely to the top of the valley, and hid themselves vnder the rocke.

When at the breake of day they had reliefed the watch which was on that fide, and the King had fent (as of custome) others to second them, and had appoynted a good number for a place where they runne their horses, no man suspected any thing of the enterprize: But when C as the two ladders were fet up against the wall, where Denis on the oneand Lagoras on the other mounted first vnto the top, their grew a great noyle, and alteration in the Campe. It fo fell out that they which mounred the ladders, could not be discourred by them of the City, nor by the rest which were in the Fort under Acheus, by reason of the Rocke which advanced over the valley. But their courage which ascended the wall and affailed the City, was apparant to the Army. Wherefore some wondred at there incredible resolution, others foreseeing the future, and fearing, remained partly amazed, and partly joyfull. Wherefore the King feeing the alteration in his Gampe, defiring also to divert D this fancie, as well from his owne men, as from those of the City, he led forth his Army, and befieged the two Gates, which they call Persides, On the other fide Achem, seeing the Enemies alteration more then of custome, was in great doubt, being ignorant of the present cause, and could not vnderstand the practife, Yet he sent men to the Gate, which fuccours came somewhat late, for that they descended by straights and hollow places. Aribaze who was Captaine of the City, went

fimply to the Gates, which he had seene Antiochus assaile: appoynting fome to goe vnto the wall, others to make fallies by the Gate, to keepe the Enemy from approaching; and to figlit with them. To the meane time Lagoras , Theodore , and Denis , with their troupe , hauing reconcred the walls, came to the Gate underficath, whereof some maintayned the charge which the Inhabitants gaugethem, others brake the barres and bolt of the Gates. The like did they without which were appoynted to that Quarter. When as the gate was opened, the other two thousand entred the City, and seize vpon the place of the Thea. A ter. This done, all they which had runne to the walls, and to the Gate which they call Perfide, who had beene fent by Aribage to defend it, against the Enemies affault, came running thither. After which retreate, the Gate was opened, fo as some of the Kings troupe pursuing those which abandoned it, entred pell mell. When they had taken the Gate by force, some entred the City, others forced the next Gates. They that were of Aribanes band, with all the Citizens, recoursed the Fort by flight, after they had made fome little reliftance. After this route; Legeras and Thodores band flood firme in the place of the Theater, ferning as a Fort to all the

B rest. Finally the rest of the Army charging of all sides tooke the City. The City of the Army charging of all sides tooke the City. The City of the Sardin tasks. By this meanes, the City was wholly fackt and ruined, fome killing ken by assault. those they encountred, others setting fire of the houses, and some gaping after spoyle for their private profit. And thus a Antiochus van-

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A PARCELL OF the Eighth Booke of the

History of POLYBIVS, concerning the Difference of a Perticular and Generall History.



O man can justly say, if they to whom these kindes of Calamines and disasters have befalne, ought to be blamed or censured, or shelde worthy of pardon and pitty in regard thereof: For that it falls and happens to many (to whom all things have beene done conformable and agreeable vnto reason) to bee subject to those which transgresse with great defire, the things

which are iust and reasonable before men. Yet wee may not be silent here, being necessary (hauing regard to the time and circumstance of accidents) to blame some Captaines, and to pardon others: The which will appeare plainly by this. When Archidamus King of the Lacedemonians suspected that Cleomenes aspired to the Crowne, he sted from Lacedemon. Who soone after being againe perswaded, put himselfe into his hands. Being therefore by this meanes stript of Crowne and Life, hee hath lest no excuse to posterity, of those things which he hath suffred. For what colour is there, the cause being still the same, and Cleomenes power increasing, but he should suffer the things which we have spoken, having put himselfe into their hands, from whom he formerly had sed, giving order for his safety contrary to all hope? Although that Pelopidus of Thebes had beene the cause of King Alexanders iniquity, and that hee knew well, that all Tyrants are capitall Enemies to those which defend liberty, yet he perswaded Epaminundas

to be Gouernour not only of the popular Common-weale of the Thebeins, but also of the Grecians. And as he was an Enemy to Thessaly, to the end he might ruine the Monarchy of Alexander, yet he presumed to go the second time in Embassie vnto him. Wherefore when he fell into the hands of his Enemies, hee was the cause of great preiudice to the Thebeins, and the ruine of their glory, which vntill that time they had preserved: for the considence he had in those, whom he should not have trusted.

The like hapned to Cheim Chiefe of the Romans, during the Warte of Szeily, for that he had indifcreetly thrust himselfe into the Enemies power. Divers others have suffered the like. Wherefore they are worthy of blame, who without great consideration, submit themselues vnto their Enemies, and not they who (asmuch as in them lies) mannaged their Affaires discreetly : for in truth no man can gouerne them well, relying vpon another. If thou doft them by certaine occassons, which are conformable to reason, thou shalt be blamelesse. The most likely causes of this kind are, an Oath, Children, Wife, and for the most certaine, the fore-passed life. And if it happens that vnder colour of these things, thou fast into an inconvenience, the faulte shall not bee thine in suffering, but theirs who commit the wrong. Wherefore we must feeke fuch Arguments and affurances, as in regard thereof, he in whom you truft, may not breake the falth which hee hath giuen. But for that there are few fuch, the best will beeto haue a care of those which are conformable to reason: so as if wee be decelued therein, wee may not loofe our excuse with strangers : the which hath hapned to many of our Predecessors.

It is a thing much more manifest in those times whereof wee have made mention, and of a later date, in that which hath befalle Acheus: who fell into his Enemies hands, although hee omlitted mothing that C might be done for his fafety, prouiding for all things as much as Humane sense could effect. Wherefore the euent bath caused commisseration and pardon, in him which hath suffered with strangers, and blame and hatred to those which have done the outrage. Moreover, I do not find it strange to my Enterprize and first intention; to aduertife the Readers of the greatnesse of these things, and of the ambitious defire of the Roman and Carthaginian Common weales. Who will not hold it fit to be confidered, how the Gouernours of fuch great Cities, not being ignorant of the things which had happened in Italy and Spaine, having moreover of either fide an equal hope of the future, and a present danger of the Warre, baue not beene contented D with this apparent discommodity, but contended for Sardinia and Sycily, imbracing the whole, not onely in hope, but with Expences and Preparations of Warre, which will mooue any man to wonder, that shall obserue it all in perticular ? The Romans had two sufficient Armies in Italy with their Consuls for their preservations: And two others in Spaine, where Gneius had the leading of that by Land, and Publim of the other by Sea. These are things which happened to the Carthaginians. Moreouer they fent an Army by Sea, to croffe the at-

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tempts of Philip in Greece : In the which Marcus Valerius commaunded first, then Publius Sulpicius, with whom Appius likewise ioyned with a hundred Quinqueremes. Moreover Marcus Claudius furnished with an Army at Land, had affailed Sycily : The like Amilear had done being fent by the Carthaginians.

By the which things I am confident, (the which I have often spoken in the beginning of this Worke) to find a certaine affurance by the accidents which confift in this, that it is not possible for those which Write perticular Histories, to be able to obserue the generall disposition of things: For how is it possible, that he which doth barely read A the Exploits of Sycily and Spaine, can know or conceive the greatnesse and continuance of Actions, nor in what fort or forme of a Commonweale, Fortune hath brought it to an end? The which is very admirable to vs, for that all the Countries of the World, which are come to the knowledge of men, are subject to one Empire and Power, the

which hath not formerly beene.

It is true, that it is not impossible to vaderstand in some fort by perticular Histories, how the Romans have Conquered Sycily and Spaine: But it is a difficult thing to know in what for they have attained to this Vniuerfall power and Commaund: Nor to what vse perticular Actions B haue serued to their generall Enterprize, nor with what succours, nor at what time they have attempted it, without a full and generall History of the proceedings : neither will it be easie for the same causes, to confider the greatnesse of Actions, nor the power of this Commonweale. For in that the Romans haue Conquered Sycily and Spaine, and haue made Warre there both by Sea and Land, it is no wonder if one man deliuer it in perticular. But if we confider that when these things hapned, this powerfull Common wealth had ended many others, and at the same time, and how it was effected, and with what calamities and Warre, they were affliced in their owne Region, which performed these Exploits at that time, finally their deedes wilbe held glori- C ous and admitable; and then the knowledge of these things will square well. This Discourse shalbee directed unto those, who by perticular Commentaries, thinke they are able to attaine vato the knowledge of a generall History.

Marcus furnished with an Army of threescore Quinqueremes, failed to Achrandine, either of which were armed with men, carrying Bowes, Slings, and Darts to repulse those which should defend the Forts. Hee had also eight Quinqueremes furnished with Pallisadoes, aswell on the right as left fide: with the which being joyned together with two thin inclosures, they approacht vnto the Wall, by meanes of the Pallifa. D do set without the inclosure, and they call them Sambuques. The manner of ordring the same Engines was in this fort. They had within the Ship a Ladder of foure foote broad, to the end that at the Defcent it might come to the top of the Wall : Vppon the fides thereof they made stayes, and armed them with a conering for defence, setting them croffe the inclosures, which kept the Shippes vnited together, fo as they did passe much beyond the Prow or fore part of the Shippe.

There were pullies fastned with Cords to the top of the Masts: and when as necessity required, they drew those which were at the poope or hinder part by the pulleys, with Cords tyed to the top of the ladder. The others which were at the Prowe, affured the Engine with stayes : and finally they approacht it to the wall, drawing neare to Land by the nauigation of the ships, which was done by the meanes of two Pallisadoes which are placed without. On the top of the ladder there was a planke, which couered three superficies with Persian Targets, to the which foure Souldiers mounted, and fought A against those which from the Forts sought to hinder the approach of the Sambuques. When by the loyning of the ladder they have gained the wall, in disarming the sides of their Targets, they mount to the Forts or Towers. The rest follow them by the Sambuques, by meanes of the transport of the ladder from Vessell to Vessell by ropes. Finally, this Engine was not vnfitly so called. For being finished and set vp, the figure of the ship and ladder reduced into one, make it like vnto a Sambuque. They imagined to come close vnto the Wall with this Engine.

But estrebimides having made provision of Engines fit for all distances, troubled them at Sea much, and thrust them into despaire, annoying them a farre off with casting Engines which were strong and B great. But if they went beyond them, he vsed leffer Engines, according to the distance, which disappointed and hindred their Enterprize and nauigation: vntill that Marcin being much perplexed, was forced to make his approaches couertly in the Night. When they had recouered Land, and were out of the Battery, he made another kind of Engine against those which were to fight by Sca. For hee made many holes in the Wall without, the height of a man, and of the bigneffe of a mans hand, where hee appointed within casters of Darts, and of Engines to repulse, making by the meanes thereof the Enemies attempts

in their mounting vnprofitable.

By this meanes he not onely repulf'd them farre off, and preuented their attempts neare, but also slew many of them. And whereas they made vse of their Sambuques, he likewise set vp Engines, to pull them ouer the Wall: and kept them alwaies hidden untill necessity required, fetting them vpon the Walles within, to passe forth and fall vpon the fayle-yards: some of them cast Stones, or Lead of twelve hundred waighr. And when as the Sambuques approach fometimes in turning, they cast from the top of the Engines with a Tower, Stones against them as necessity required. So as not onely the Sambuque hath beene broken, but also the Vessel: and all they that were within it in great danger. Againc, some Engines cast leffer Stones vpon the Enemy, comming to the affault couered with Targets, to the end they might not bee annoyed with the Darts and other Weapons, which they cast from the Wall, that they which fought in the Prowe might bee repulf d. They likewise let downe a hand of Iron tyed to a Chayne, the which laying hold of him which gouerned the toppe, drew the Prowe within the Walles with the tayle of the Engine. And if at any time in rayling the Prowe, hee set the Shippe vppon its Poope,

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hee held it firme and vnmoueable by his instrument, then by a kind of favour he let flip the hand and the chaine by the Engine. By this meanes some fell upon their sides, others were overthrowne, a great part of them (the Prow falling from the top to the bottome) were drowned with great confusion. Marcus discontented with Archimides repulses, seeing likewise his men prevented in their attempts, to his prejudice and difference, fayd (although hee were grieued with his misfortune) in scoffing at the deeds of Archimides, that he yied his ships as they doe nots, to draw water out of the Sea, and that being battred and beaten, they were as difloyall fallen infamoufly. This was the cud of the Siege at Sea. In regard of those which were with Appius, they cealed from their attempts, having endured the like affronts and losses. For although they were a good distance from the Wall, yet they were hurt and flaine with their casting of Stones and Darts.

In truth the Art, the number and the effect of all manner of Engines. whereof King Hieron had made good prouision, was admirable, the which Archimides nad forg'd and made, being the Architect and Engincerc. And when as they approacht the City, fome of them (as we have fayd) were flame with their Arrowes, and continually repulf'd B from their approaches: Others couered with Targets, and therefore affailing with greater force, were overthrowne, and flaine with Stones and the bodies of Trees: A good number likewise were slaine by the hands descending from the Engines as we have sayd: For they cast downe men being sailed up on high with their Armes. Wherefore they of Appins Army retiring to their Campe, and holding a Councell with the Captaines, were all of one opinion, and refolued to try all manner of hope, to take Saragoffe by fiege: the which in the end they did. For when they had befreged this City for the space of eight Moneths, they ceased not daily to make braue and valiant enterprizes of Warre : But they neuer durst attempt to take it by force.

By this meanes a man with good fortune seemed to bring to an end great and admirable things, when as they are fitly loyned together in great affaires. Finally, the Romans having fuch great Armies both by Sea and Land, attended to take the Towne speedily, if they could get an old man out of Saragoffe, not daring to approach it, whilft that Ar. chimides were present and could defend it. Wherefore conceiving that Saragosse might be taken for want of victuals and munition, confidering the great multitude which was in the City, they relyed upon this hope : and hindred by an Army at Sea that nothing might approach, and by that at Land, that no fuccours might come. Moreover, the Commanders being loath to spend the time in vaine, during the siege of Saragoffe, but withall to vndertake some good thing beside the fiege, they divided their Army in such fort, as two parts should remaine with Appins for the fiege of the City: And that Marcus with the third part should affaile the Carthaginians, who sent an Army into Sicily.

Finally, Philip having made the Meseniens his mortal Enemies,

could in nothing offend them that was worthy of fame: Although hee had affailed their Countrey to torment them, vfing great indignities to his best Friends. For soone after hee caused old Arate to bee poiso. Philip causerh ned in Atessee, for that hee was discontented with his course of life; pulsoned. The like hee did to Taurion, who had ferued him in Morea. Whereforethese his Actions were presently divulged and made knowne to strangers. His power ouer those whom hee then deseated was not new, but long before vsed, and practifed by custome: neither was Arate ignorant of this milchiefe, the which was discouered by this A meanes. And as he had concealed it from all others, vet he did not hide it from Cephalon one of his familiar Friends : But declared voto him his infirmity, the which appeared by the bloudy spittle against the wall, faying: Behold Gephalon, the recompence wee reade by Philips Friendship.

Truely, Mediocrity is fo great and honest, as hee which suffers, is more assiamed of the deed, then he that hath committed it. But such rewards they reape of Friendship, that have beene Companions in such great Actions, and done service to Philip. Finally, Arate after his death received sufficient honours, both in his Countrey and the Com- Honours done mon weale of the Acheins, as well for the gouernment which hee had to Arate after B often in charge, as for the many fauours hedid vnto that Nation. They his death, decreed him Oblations and Heroyicke I-onours, and finally, all things which serue to perpetuate the memory: so as if the Dead have any fense, it is likely he commends the acknowledgement done vnto him, and the communication of affliction and dangers which have happened

in his lifetime.

As Philip had long denifed how to take Liffe, and its Fort, defiring to reduce those places under his obedience, hee drew thither with his Army. Having marcht two dayes, and past the streights, bee campt neare vnto the River of Ardaxana, neare vnto the Citty. And when C he had viewed the scituation of Liffe, excellently well fortified both by nature and industry, as well towards the Sea as Land: And likewise the Fort joyning neare vnto it, the which in shew was impregnable to all the World by force, as well for its extent vpwards, as for the other fortification, he despaired to take it, yet he did not wholly despaire to take the Towne. Considering therefore that the space betwirt the Towne & the Mount of the Fort, was reasonable to besiege the Towne, he thought good to make a Skirmish there with his Archers, which was then his manner of proceeding: Suffring then the Macedonians to rest a day, whom he aduertised of things necessary, he layd an Ambush in the Night of a great part, and the ablest of his men, in certaine woody Valleys, and neare vnto a Mediterranian place, lying about the place wherof we have spoken : and retaining for the day following those that were armed with Targets, and the rest of the nimblest Souldiers, hee takes his way forthwith towards the Citty, marching of either fide towards the Sea.

When hee had past beyond it, and had made a stand there, it was apparent that hee meant to affaile the Citty in that place. As this

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comming of Philip was not vnknowne, fo a great number out of Selausnia were come into Liffe. It is true that for the great confidence they had in the fortification of the Fortresse, they sent but a meane Garrifon. Wherefore when the Masedomians approacht, the Inhabitants pre-A fally made by fently made a fally, relying in their multitude and the force of the place. The King ordred the Targetteers in the plaine, commanding the most active to recover the hills, and to fight valiantly with the Enemy. The which they performing, the danger feemed fomething equall. But in the end Philips men retired, for the difficulty of the place and the multi-tude of their Enemies. And as they retired to them that were armed with Targets, they of the City pursuing them with a kind of discaire into the Plaine, fought with the Targetteers. They likewise which had the guard of the Fort, feeing Philip retire by little and little with his Troupes, and imagining that he was going away, came running courtely, trufting in the nature of the place : Then leaving few men within the Fort, they came by vnknowne wayes into the Plaine, as if they were to take the spoiles of their flying Enemies.

But in the meane time they which were in Ambush, rise successing and gaue a furious charge with the Targetteers vpon the Enemies. The multitude was herewith lo amazed, as the Lifiens retired for their fafe. ty to the City. In regard of those which had abandoned the Fort, their returne was cut off by the Ambush. Whereby it happened that where. as before there was no hope, now the Fort was prefently taken, and without danger, and Liffe the next day by the valour of the Macedonians; and by their rough and terrible affaults Philip having conquered the faid places contrary to his hope, he made all the Neighbours thereabouts fubicet vate him, fo as a great part of Sclauonia, offred to submit their Townes to his protection. It is true, there were no Forts that could endure the violence of Philip: neither any fafety for those which refifted, after the taking of the faid Forts by affault.

Bolis.

Life taken by

Bolis was a man borne in Candy, who had long frequented the Court. and was aduanced to the prime dignity. Hee feemed to be very wife and resolute, with no lesse experience in the Warre. Whom when Sofibus had gain'd, and made affectionate voto him, he commanded him (after a long speech) to put a businesse in execution, telling him, that there was not any thing at that time, could be more pleafing voto the King, then to finde meanes to faue Acheius. The which Bolis having heard, and promised to consider thereon, he retired. Two or three dayes after, when he had thought of this Discourse, hee came to Solibim, and undertooke to effect it : faying, that he had long held the per-D ty of the Sardins, and had good knowledge of the Countrey : Adding morcouer, that Cambyle, Captaine of the Candiots which are in page with Antiochus, was not only a Burgeffe, but also his kiniman and friend. It happened that Cambyle and the Candiots that were under his charge, had the guard of the backpart of the Fortreffe, which was not fortified, but it was guarded by a multitude of Cambyles Souldiers. Whenes Softe biss found this advice good, studying how her might free Achess from calamity, or whether it were better to attempt it by some other

man then Bolis, but his humour concurring with Bolis, the businesse tooke this effect. Sosibius delivered money presently, to the end nothing should bee wanting for the Enterprize, promising great rewards if it succeeded well- So promising the Kings fauour, and that of Acheus if hee might bee preserued, hee sedde Bolis with great

This man being ready to vndertake the Enterprize, without any longer expectance imbarkes: and having Letters of Recommendation and credit, hee goes to Nicomache at Rhodes, who seemed to be affected to Achem, as well for his Fathers loue', as for particular Friendship : And likewise to Melancome in Ephesus. These in truth were the men, of whose meanes Acheus had formerly made vie, as well comming to Prolomy, as in other forreine and remote places

Being come to Rhodes, and afterwards to Ephefus, having acquainted them with this businesse, and finding them ready in any thing hee desired, hee sent Arian (being one of those that were vider his charge) to Cambyle, faying that he had beene fent from Alexang dria, to leuy forreine Souldiers, and that he had a great desire to conferre with him concerning matters of importance : And therefore he desired to appoint a time and place where they might meete voknown to the World. Arian came to Cambyle, discouering vnto him his charge : whereunto hee gaue eare, being ready to doe that whereunto they prest him, appointing a day and place knowne to them both : whither being come in the Night, he sent backe Arian?

As Folis was a Gandiot, and cunning by Nature, he studied of the refolution inquiring of all things. Finally, according to the agreement of Arian, he goes to Cambyle, and deliuers him the Letters: whereon they aduise and consult after the manner of Candiots. For they had no care A Treason to fuccour Acheus being in danger, but onely to proulde for their owne practifed a

C fatety and commodity. And as they were both Candiors, they were by Cambyle foone of one opinion as followeth : That the ten Talents which Sofibi- and Bolin. ss had deliuered, should be equally divided betwixt them: and then they should discouer the businesse to Antiochus, to make vie of him, and promise to deliuer Acheus into his hands, in giuing them money, and hopes worthy of their attempt. These things being thus concluded, Cambyle vndertakes that which concernes Antiochus : Bolis on the o. ther side resolues within certaine daies to send Arian to Acheus with Letters of recommendation from Nicomache and Melancome. But concerning the meanes how Arian might enter fafely into the Fort and re-D turne, he gives him charge to doe his duty. If this were done, and that

Acheus made answere to those things which concerne Nicomache and Melancome, Bolis held himselfe affured, that he might well deliver him into the hands of Cambyle.

After this resolution they part, eyther of them striuing to effect that which they had concluded. Cambile imbracing the first occasion, difcouered the businesse vnto the King. As this promise pleased Antie. chus, which offered it selfe contrary vnto his hope, so he tooke it partly joyfully, promising great matters: partly distrusting, he considered Nn_3

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of either of their opinions and refolutions. But in the end giving eredite, thinking that this Enterprize came Dininely vnto him, he often intreased Cambyle to bring itto an end. Belie wrought in like manner with Nicomache and Melancome. Who thinking thefe things to be guided by God, they suddainly prepare Letters from Arian, directing them to Acheus, Written by their Commonfest, as they had bbin accustomed : And in sending them they perswaded Acheus, togines credit to those things which Bolis and Cambrie should doe. They were written in such fort, as being surprized they could not be understood.

Arian enters the Fort by the helpe of Cambyle, and delivers the Letter to those that were with Acheus : and instructs him dilligently of enery thing, as one who from the beginning had beene prefent at that which was practifed. And although hee answered offner for Sofibius and Bolis, then of Nicomache and Melancome, and likewise for Camlyle, so hee often maintained by his owne invention, the Arguments which they made: And the rather being ignorant of that which had beene resolved betwirt Cambyle and Bolis. Acheus giving credit, aswell in regard of Arians answeres, as of the Letters of Nicomache and Me. lancome, made an answer, and sent Arian presently backe. And as this businesse was handled often of either side, in the end Achens people sent B word of themselues to Nicomache, that there was no more hope of fafsty remayning : And adulfe him to fend away Bolis with Arian at mid-night, as it were to take them. The resolution of Acheus was, that first he would flye the present danger, and then recouer Squia.

Finally, he was in a wonderfull hope, that if suddainly and contrary to all hope he shewed himselfe to the Inhabitants of Syria Antiochus being yet tyed at Sardainy, he should cause a great alteration, purchasing great praise, aswell with the Antischeins, as with the inhabitants of base Syria, and Phenicea. Acheus being in this hope and conceites expected the comming of Bolis. In regard of Melancomes peoples, efter the comming of Arian, and the Letters read, they presently fend away Boliswith all speede, making him great remonstrances, and putting him in great hope, if he effected his Enterprize. Bolis fending Arian before, aduertised Cambyle of his comming, and came by night to the place appointed. And when they had agreed on the day? and had refolued how to bring all to an end, they entred the Campe at night. This was their resolution : If it hapmed that Acheus came out of the Fortalone, or accompanied with some one with Bolis and Arian, he might be taken with an Ambush asabandoned. But if he came foorthwell accompanied, the businesse would prooue difficult, to D these to whom they had given the charge. Finally, they thought to take him aliue, knowing that by this meanes they should do great pleafurc to Antiochus. Wherefore they gaue charge vato Arian to march before, when he Gould draw forth Achens, for that he knew the turnings, by the which he had often entred and come forth. Belis was to follow the rest behind, to the end that being come vnto the place, where the Ambush faculd be ready by Cambyle, he might seaze vpon Acheus and Ray him, fearing that through the Allarum in the night,

he might sane himselfe through the Forrest, or being in Despaire, he might cast himselfe into some pit: and contrary to their Resolution, fall aline into the Enemies hands.

These things being thus concluded, when Bolis came to Cambyle, he was the same night brought by him to Antiochus being alone. And when the King had received him graciously, and had affored them of his promifes, making remonstrances to either of them, not to be negligent in the businesse, they then returned to their Campe. In the morning Bolis accompanied with Arian afcend, and at night they enter A the Fort. A cheus receiving him with great affection and love, demaunded many things of him dilligently. And as hec observed as well the countenance, as the familiar speech wherewith Bolis assured the plot, he shewed partly a joyfull countenance, for the hope of his fatety: So he partly languished, for the apprehension of the future danger. But for that he was a man of a great Spirit and great Experience, hee did not hold it fit to relye wholy vpon Bolis. And therefore he vled this Speech vnto him : That for the present hee could not go foorth; and that hee would fend three or foure of his friends with him, and that after conterrence with Melancome he would be ready. Acheus in truth did all that could be done: But hee was ignorant of the common Pronerbe : That hee must Candize with the Candvots. Bolis likewise To Candize with the Candize had fore-feene all things which concerned this bufineffe.

with the Came

But when the night came, in the which he fayd he would fend his friends, sending Arian and Bolis before out of the Fort, he commanded them to attend vntill the comming of those which should goe with them. Whereunto obeying, in the meane time he conferres with his Wife. But for that he had amazed Laodicea, with a bufinesse not wice of debeing fore-seene, he stayed sometime untill he had pacified her, and brought her to an expectance of good hope. Then making the fift, hee attired C the others meanly, and himselfe puts on an old and simple Robe, siewing himselfe to be a man of a base condition: and so he goes forth. He had given charge to one of his Friends to answere Arian continually to all that he should propound, and that he should learne of him whither they went, and should speake of the rest as of Barbarians. When they were come to Arian, he went before for the knowledge hee had

In regard of Bolis he followed behind, according to the first resolution, being doubtfull of that which was offered. For although hee were a Candyot, and did dive into all things neerely, yet he could not D know Acheus, by reason of the darknesse of the night, nor yet whither he was there. And as the descent was rough, and for the most part vncasie, and in some place vnsafe and dangerous for the steepnesse, and being come vnto a certaine place, where as some helde Acheus and others received him, (at that time in truth they could not wholy forbeare to yould him their accustomed reverence) then Bolis suddainely knew which was Acheus. When hee came to the place appointed to Cambyle, and that Bolis had given them a figne by his whiftle, they of the Ambush issue forth and take the rest: But Balis seazed upon Acheus, ha-Nn 4

Acheus taken and brought to

uing his hands wrapt vp in his Robe, fearing that in discouering the Ambush, he should attempt to kill himselse : for hee had a Sword ready. Being thus suddainly inuironed, he fell into the hands of his Enemies, and was presently led to Antiochus with his friends. The King remaining in suspence, expecting what would become of it, hee was alone in his Tent waking accompanied onely with two or three of his guard. But when as Cambyles Company was arrived, and had layed Acheus bound voon the ground, his Speech failed him for so strange an accident; fo as he continued long without speaking: And in the end toucht with Commisseration and pitty, the teares came into his eyes: A the which in my opinion hapned by a Confideration, that those things which Fortune brings, are incuitable and vncertaine.

The Race of Acieus.

Acheus was sonne to Andromachus, brother vnto Laodisea the Wife of Seleucus, and he had married Landicea daughter to King Methridate, and withall hee was Lord of all the Region on this fide Mount Tauris. As hee was then held to liue in a place of his owne wonderfull strong for the Enemy, so he was now set vpon the ground bound and mannacled in their hands : Neither was there any man that knew of the fact. but those which had the Execution. But when the day was come, and that the friends (according to the custome) were come vnto the Tent, B and faw this accident, it hapned vnto them as it had done formerly vnto the King. For in wondring at the businesse, they were in doubt of those things which they saw. When the Councell was assembled. The condemthey spake many things of him touching his defeate. First they decreed nation & death that his hands and feete should be cut off, and then having taken of his Head it should be sowed to an Asses skinne, and the rest of his body hanged upon a Croffe. Which being Executed and the Army hearing thereof, the fury and alteration was so great in the Campe, as Laodicea, who knew nothing but the departure of her Husband, looking from the Fort, coniectured of that which had happened by the trouble and C. alteration in the Campe.

A Herald was presently sent vnto Landicea, who advertised her of those things which had befalne Acheus, commaunding to consider of Her estate, and to leave the Fort. At the first they which held it made fo great cries and lamentations, as they could give no answere: Not so much for the affection they bare to Acheus, as for the accident which feemed to them all vnlooked for and not fore-feene. Finally, they were in great doubt what they should do. Antiochus after the ruine of cheas, prest the besieged more violently, perswading himselfe that in the end hee should have meanes to take it by the Souldiers themselves : the which happened accordingly. For they beeing divided among themselues, they parted into Troupes, some holding for Ariobaze, others for Laodicea. After which both parties yeilded for their mutuall distrust, and deliuered the place.

To conclude, as Acheus had done what hee could in reason, (being vanquished by the wickednesse of those which assured him) lost his life, feruing for a profitable Example to posterity for two causes. First, that no man should relye simply vpon any: And next, that no man should

mistake himselte for his good Forune, but be prepared for all accidents, which may happen to man. And therefore in the beginning they goe forth, as it were to take some spoiles, and come by night to the Carthaginians Campe: Others held the close way, staying at a certaine Heinres his place full of Woods. But Philimene and Nicon approach the Camper the confugition Whom the Watch led Priloners to Hannibal, they never discovering niant. of whence nor what they were: making onely a figne that they would

Being then brought vire Hannibal, they told him that they would A speake with him in secret. Who giving them Audience with great affection, they excuse themselves and their Countrey, accusing the Ro. mans in many forts, to the end they should not seeme to be come forth about this bufinesse without cause. Wherefore Hannibal come mended them much, and entertained them curteoully: Finally, hee sent them backe to returne speedily to conferre with him, ordering for the present that these men should be let go: when they were out of the Campe, and in the meane time he would confider what should be most fare. This he did to have conference with these young men, and to Tarmium bear inquire of their affaires: And to the end they should keepe their credit trayacto Hand with the Cittizens, as if by the Captaines leave they had made incut- wibit. B fions for spoile.

When as Nicon had Executed his Charge, Hannibal was very well fatisfied and joyfull: For that he might have meanes to effect his Enterprize which was then difficult. Philimene on the other fide afficted the buff reffe propounded, for that they had given him a fafe accesse to speake, and he had found Hannibal very attentine, promiting him so giue store of Victuals to the Cittizens. Then they not onely got credite with the Tarentins, but moreover they had a good Traine, afwell for the accord made, as for the Victuals whereof they had fufficient. Afterwards making a fecond incursion, and putting enery thing C in Execution, they affured Hannibal: and were likewise affured by him, (that is to fay,) that the Carthaginians should leave the Tarentina in their Liberty, not oppressing them with any Subside or Tribute, nor with any other impost: Being also lawfull for them, after they had Conquered the Citty, to ruine the Romans Houses. Finally they a. greed, that when they should come vnto the Campe, the Watch should presently take them.

Which things being concluded, they had power to come and speake often with Hannibal: parting from the Citty sometimes to get spoyle, D and fometimes to Hunt. These things being thus agreed upon for the future, most of them had a care of the occasion. In regard of Philis Philinteres. mene, they appointed him for Hunting. For as he was much inclined to pointed is it, they thought he could do no other thing but to attend it. Whereforethey gane him this Charge, to the end he might take wild beafts, fift to winne Caim Lybim Gouernour of the Citty, and afterwards those which kept the Gates, which are called Tomenides. Imbracing this Commission, he tooke some Beafts in Hunting, others were prepared for him by Haunibal. For his part hee continually brought his

prize, whereof he shared part to Caiss and to the Guards of the gates to the end they might speedily open the Gate called Rhinopile. He entred and went forth often in the night by this Gate, under colour of feare of the Enemy, but in the meane time hee made vse of it for his

Enterprize.

When Philimene had obtained this course with the Guards, so as without suspition approaching to the Wall, if he whistled, they opened vnto him the Gate Rhinopile: And withall observing that the Roman Gouernour of the Gate, should be on a certaine day with great Company at Musea neere the Market place, they appointed that day to Hannibal. He had long before invented this fiction, as if hee were ficke, to the end the Romans should not hold it strange, that he staied so long there; and then he feined himselfe to be more sicke. Hee had not beene in the Campe for the space of three daies vpon the approaches of Tarentum. The day being come, he makes choise of a thoufand of the ablest and resolutest men, both Horse and Foote: to whom he gives charge to carry Victuals for foure dayes. Finally hee marcht speedily, remooning his Campe at the breake of day. He gave commaund to foure score Numidian Horses to marche thirty Furlongs before the Campe, and that they should run of eyther side of the Coun-B try, to the end that no man might discouer the whole Campe, but taking some of them that fled, the rest which escaped might advertise the Citty of the Numidians courses. When as the Numidians were about twenty Furlongs off, they fet downe to Supper neere vnto a certaine River, in a Rocke which was not easie to discover.

Then Hannibal drawing the Captaines together, he discouers his Enterprize vnto them; and perswades them, that first of all they should carry themselues like braue men : for that there were neuer such great rewards propounded ento them: And that secondly enery man should keepe his Souldiers in obedience during the Voyage, and punish those seuerely, that should abandon their places thorough Disobedience. Finally, they should have a care of those things which should bee Commaunded, and that they should not attempt any thing of their owne fancy, contrary to his Commandement. This Speech being deligered in the presence of the Captaines, he marcht, (being yet night) meaning to come vnto the Walls about mid-night. Hee had Philimene for his Guide, to whom hee gaue synagrie for a Companion in that same

Action.

VV hen as Calus Lybius with his Company were in the day time at Musea, according to the conception of the Youth, they advertised D him that the Numidians ouer-ran the Country towards the West, when as their defire of drinking increased. Yet thinking to stay them, hee called for the Captaines, giuing them charge to go forth at the breake of day with halfe the Horse-men, and repulse the Enemy which spoythe Countrey. This was all the conceite he had of the businesse. As for those which kept Company with Nicon and Tragisque, affembling fuddainly within the Citty, they looked for the returne of Cains. And being suddainly ready, for that they had drunke in the day time, some

retiring to certaine places stayed there: Others among the Youth go to meete Cains, sporting and playing among themselues, making shewe to bring them backe which should be found at the Banquet, and moreouer as it were, transported by reason of the Drunkennesse of Lybins Company, as soone as they met they fell to laughter and immoderate sport of either side: then turning head they Conducted Caius vnto his House. He layd him downe to rest as a man soundly drunke, after the manner of those which drinke daily, having nothing in his braine that troubled him: finally, he was full of ioy and negligence. But Nicon and Tragifque; having affembled the Youth, divided themselves into three Band: and after aduice, they seazed vpon the most commodious approaches to the Market place, to the end that nothing might be vnknowne vnto them, of that which was practifed, aswell within the Citty as without.

Lib. 8.

They also approached neere vnto Cains House, being resolued that if he should have any suspition of the Enterprize, to kill him first: And that what societ they did they should beginne with him. As it often times happens at the returne from Banquets, when as the Tumult was suddainly past, and that the multitude was layd downe and a sleep, and by the advancement of the night, the hope of the Enterprize remained entire, then altogether attend the Execution. The Youth had An accord articulated and agreed with the Carthaginians, that Hannibal comming made by the to the Citty, neere vnto Musacce on the East, and to the Gates which youth of Tarken they call Temenides, he should make a fire vpon a little Hill, the which Carthaginians, fome call the Hill of Hyacinthe, and others of Apollo Hyacinthe. And that when I ragifques Company should see it, they should answere him by the like figne of fire: This done, Hannibal should quench the fire

which hee had made without the Citty, and then approach with a These things thus concluded, the Youth of the Citty having past the inhabited part, they came to the Monuments of the Deceased. The Easterne part of the Citty of Tarentum, was full of Monuments : For that all the dead are buried within the Walls of the Citty, according to a certaine old Oracle. They say that God gaue the Tarentins to vnderstand by an Oracle, that it would be best for them when they had most Inhabitants. For their parts they thought, that they should have a good dwelling according vnto the Oracle, if they retained the dead within their Citty. For this cause they interre them within their wals. When as the Youth of the Citty was come to the Pithyonique Hill, they D expected what would succeede. Hannibal approaching did what had beene concluded : and the Company of Nicon and Tragisque seeing the fire, they tooke courage, and kindled another fire. Againe seeing Hans mibals fire quencht, they made haft and ran vnto the Gate, meaning

to preuent Hannibals men in killing the Guards : for that the Carthaginians preparing to enter marcht flowly. When they had preusiled in their Enterprize, and the Guards being surprized, some slew them, others brake the Bolts. The Gares being suddainly opened, Hannibals men came with such a measured March, as without any delay they

Tarentum taken by Hannibal.

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affailed the Citty. When they had made their entry fafely and without Tumult, thinking they had done the greatest part of their businesse, they entred the Market place boldly, on that side which joines to the Sea. In regard of the Horse-men, they leave no lesse then two Thousand within the Walls for their supply, as well for the accidents which might happen without, as for other expected things which do vsually chance.

When they were come unto the places neere unto the Market, the Army made a stand. Philimene likewise being much troubled, how he might execute his Charge, staied without. For when they made the fice, they ranne not to that Gate: and they had fent him with a wilde Boare, and about a Thousand Lybians with him to the next Gate, meaning to execute their Enterprize, not by one meanes only but by many. When as Philimene was according to his Custome come ynto the Walls, the Guards suddainly were ready descending to Rhinopile. When as he called voto them to open the Gate, for that having a Boare, hee was foare laden, the Guard hearing those words open speedily, expecking to have a share of Philimenes prize, as formerly hee had done to others.

They kill the Porter.

Philimene being the first of this Battalion enters, accompanied by B another, wearing a Numidian Habite, as if hee had beene of that Countrey: after whom followed two others, carrying Venison. When there were foure entred, they slew him which opened the Gate, running fimply and without feare, to handle the Boare, there entred to the number of Thirty Lybians by the little Wicket, which followed them a flow pace and fecretly. This being done, some brake the Hinges, o. thers flew the Guards at the Gate, and others called the Lybians by fignes being yet without, leading them to the Market place, as it had beene ordred. Hannibal ioyfull of the adiunction of these men, for that matters succeeded according to his desire, he was attentive to that which he had begunne. Hee therefore drawes two Thousand Gaules C a part : and dividing them into three Bands, hee appoints to cyther of them two of the Youth which had mannaged this Enterprize, with fome of his Captaines, giving them charge, that they should gaine the most commodious approaches to goe vnto the Market place. After which they should receive the Youth of the Citty, and have a care to preserve the Cittizens, and that they should crye out to the Tarentins, to stay in the place which was affigued them for their safety. Finally, hee Commaunds the Captaines of the Garthaginians and Celes, that they should kill all the Romans they should encounter. Dividing them D felues one from another, they dispatch that which they had in charge. The Enemies entry being knowne to the Tarensins, the Citty was full of cries and vnexpected Trouble.

When as Cains was advertised of the Enemies entry, thinking that he should not be able to preuent the danger, by reason of his drunkennesse, he gets suddainly out of his lodging with his family: And when hee was come to the Gate which leads vnto the Port, and that the Guard had opened the Rhinopile, he escapes that way, and imbarques with

his people in a little Cocke boate which lay in the Port, and was carried to the Fort. Afterwards Philimene makes provision of Roman Trumpets, whereof some sounded neere vnto the Theater, as they had viually done. And when the Romans ran in Armes according to their Custome to the Fortresse, the Enterpize was dispatcht to the liking of the Carthaginians. But they which being dispersed and without order entred into those places, some fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, others among Celts: Who by this same meanes slew a great

The day approaching, the Tarentins rested in their Houses, not able to preuent this inconvenience. For they thought by reason of the founding of the Trumpets, that this combustion had beene made by the Romans; for that they made no spoile in the Citty. But when they faw some of their men slaine in the place, and some of the Ganles stripping the dead bodies of the Romans, they beganne to thinke of the comming of the Carthaginians. When as Hannibal had drawne his Army into the market place, and that the Romans were retired to the Fort, the which they held before with their Garrison, he causeth a Proclamation foorthwith to be made and proclaimed, that all the Taventins should come vnto the Market place without Armes. In re-B gard of the Youth, they went vp and downe the Citty crying liberty; aduifing and perswading the Citizens to rest affured that the Carthaginians were there for their good. But all the Tarentins which held the Romans party, being aduertised of this Action, retired to the Fort: The rest assembled without Armes at the sound of the Trumpet. To

whom Hannibal spake graciously.

When the Tarentins had generally conceived by his Speech, and vnexpected hope, he fent many of them away, giving them charge attheir returne, to be carefull to Write the name of the Tarentins vppon their doores: And if by fortune or chance any one did it to a C Romans House, he should be punished with Death. Wherefore hee made choise of men accustomed vnto this charge, and sends them prefently to spoile the Romans Houses, willing them to hold and maintaine the Tarentins lodgings for Enemies, which had not the marke of a Tarentine. Finally, hee kept the rest in battaile to succour the others. When he had drawne together great store of goods by this spoile, and that the commodities answering the conceived hope of the Tarentins, came to good, they then returned to Armes,

The day following Hannibal holding a Councell with the Tarentins, D decreed to seperate the Citty from the Fort, and to fortifie it, to the end they should be no more in feare of the Romans holding the Fort. Wherefore he beganne first to fortifie the Citty with pallisadoes, right against the Wals of the Hill which is before the Fort. And knowing that the Enemies would stirre and make some attempt, hee appointed sufficient Forces: Thinking that for the suture, there would bee nothing more necessary, to amaze the Romans, and to assure the Tarentins. When as they beganne to fet vp their impalement, and that the Romans affailed their Enemies with great confidence, courage and

Caius laucs himfelfe.

Lib. 8.

В

D

thaginians.

resolution, Hannibal fighting with them a little, prouoked them to the Combate. But when as many of them past beyond the Hill. he giuing courage to his men encounters the Enemy. When the Combate grew hot, as much as might be in a streight place inuironed with Wals, the Romans in the end beeing roughly repuls'd gaue backe. fo as many of them fell into the Numidians hands: Finally the greatest part

being repuls'd, and falling into the ditches; dyed.

After this, Hannibal fortified the Cuty with Pallisadoes without danger, and having done all things to his liking hee was at quiet. He likewise forced the Enemies to remaine shut vp in their Fort, in search and the standard of the follows have searched as the search of the sea not onely of themselves, but also of the Fort. In regard of the Citizens, hee hath so puft vp their Courage, as they helde themselues able to refist the Romans, without the helpe of the Carthaginians. Afterwards Hannibal leaving some little space, from the pallisadoe towards the Citty, hee made a Ditch answering the Pallisadoe and the wall of the Fort, from whence some time there were Souldiers drawn unto the wall of the Citty. Moreouer having Pallifadoed this Ditch, this fortification produed not lesse strong then a Wall. Besides the which within towards the Citty (leaving a reasonable space) hee beganne a VVall from that part which they call the Sauior, vnto that B which they call Deepe: So as without any Garrison, these Fortistications would bee sufficient to cause the Tarentins to dwell in safety. Leauing then a sufficient Garrison of Horse for the Guard of the Citty and wall, hee planted his Campe forty furlongs from the Citty, neere the River which some call Gallea, others Erota, which name it hath taken from that other River, paffing neere vnto Lacedemen, which they likewife call Erota.

The Tarentins in trueth have many fuch, as well in the Country as in the Citty, for that vindoubtedly they have taken their Collony and Race from the Lacedemonians. The wall beeing finished and ended, as well by the diligence and industry of the Taventins, as the helpe and affiftance of the Carthaginians, Hannibal resolues to ouer-throw the Fort. And when hee had prepared and made all things ready for the fiege, the Romans having received into the Fort succours by Sea, from Mesaponcia, they were something refresht and comforted, and in the night affailed Hannibals Engines, ruining them all with their preparations. This made Hamnibal to despaire of the siege of

the Fort.

the Tarentins.

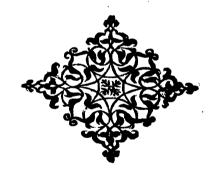
The River of

And when the Citty wals were made perfect, he affembles the Tarentins, and lets them vnderstand, that it was very necessary for them to be masters of the Sea, against the discommodities of the present time. But as the mouth of the Port was in the Commaund of the Fort, it was not in their power to helpe themselues with shippes at their pleasure, or goe out of the Port : VVhere as the Romans had all necessaries brought vnto them safely. So as the Citty should neuer enioy a perfect freedome and liberty. Hannibal confidering this, he let the Tarentins vnderstand, that if they which held the Fort, lost the hope of the comodity of the Searthey would presently yeild it to them.

The which the Tarentins hearing, they allowed of his Speech, but they could not at that time effect it, vnlesse they were assisted by the Carthaginians Army: The which could not then be done. Wherefore they could not conceiue whereto Hannibal tended, propounding

And when he maintained that they might well be masters of the Sea without the helpe of the Carthaginians, they wondred more, not being able to vnderstand his conception. When hee had viewed the place within the Wals, from the Port vnto the outward Sea, he was of opinion that the Ships might faile close vnto the Wall towards the A South. When hee had given this advice vnto the Tarentins, they not onely imbraced it suddainly, but commended Hannibal wonderfully. Presently after they had made Wheeles, they prepared a way for ships, which was sooner done then spoken, for that affection and the multitude of Worke men prevailed much. By this meanes the Tarentins past their ships into the open Sea, and safely besieged those of the Fort, who received their fuccours from abroad. In regard of Hannibal, leaving the Citty he raised his Campe, and returning three dayes after, to the Pallisadoe which he had made in the be-

ginning, hee stayed to spend the rest of the Winter.



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LED. 9.



A PARCELL OF the Ninth Booke of the

History of POLYBIVS.



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Ehold the most renowned and excellent Actions, comprehended under the aforefayd Olympiade, and within the space of foure Yeares which it containes: Of which wee will endeauour to speake of in two Bookes. I am not ignorant that our Commentaries have beene fomthing rough, and C. that they are pleasing to a certaine kinde of Auditors, and blamed by others. In truth other Historiographers, and in a manner

all. or the greatest part, helping themselues with all the parts of a History, draw many men to the reading of their Commentaries. The manner to Discourse of Genealogies causes a desire to heare: That alfo which speakes of Collonies, Voyages, Possessions, and Races, which please a curious man of little judgement, as that of Ephorus. And to a civill man, that wherein they Discourse of the Actions of Nations. Citties, and Potentates, whereunto applying our selues plainly, and D disposing all our Treaty to these things, wee direct and guide our selves by a certaine kinde of Discourse, as wee have formerly promised.

It is true, wee direct most Readers to that which is not much pleafing and delightfull. Finally, wee have at large delivered the cause. why in reproouing the other parts of a History, wee will thus write the Actions. There is no hinderance that for the better expressing and declaration, weeshould not briefly aductise the Reader heereof.

But as many of these things are related in divers manners, of Genealogics, Fables, and Collonics, and moreover of Races, Alliances, and Possessions, it will be necessary for him that would Write, to speake confequently of strange things as proper, which were an infamous thing: Or if he will not, hee must labour in vaine, in promising publiquely to pursue and Comment of those things, which have bin sufficiently declared, and delivered to posterity by the ancient.

For this cause, and for many others we have left them, receiving a relation of Actions: For that first, that as many new things offer A themselves often, so it is very necessary to vse a new kinde of Discourfe: The which happens not in the beginning of the Relation, fo as we deliuer the subsequent Actions. And secondly, for that this kinde hath beene before, and is most profitable, by the which the experience of things and Policies, have so much prevailed with vs, as they which haue a desire to know the Actions, may helpe themselves by an easie way, in all that which happens by the course of time. Wherefore having no such regard to the pleasure and delight of those which shall reade and peruse our Commentaries, as to the profit of the Hearers, we have (leaving the other parts) fixed upon this. Finally, they which shall diligently consider of our Commentaries, wilbe more certaine witnesses.

When as Hannibal had inclosed the Campe of Appius Claudius, Appius besieged being at the fiege of Capoua, at the first hee vsed skirmishes, seeking to by Hannibal. draw the Enemy to Battaile. But when as no man presented himselse, in the end he besieged them, which was an Enterprize wherein hee was frustrated as well as of the first, although the Horse-men of the Wings affailed them in Troupes, casting Darts into their Campe, with great cries: And the foote-men charge them by Bands, labouring to breake the Pallisado. Yet they could not disert the Romans from their former resolution, repulsing those which assailed the Palli-C sadoe with great strength and Courage: And being well armed, they went not out of the Campe with their Enfignes. Hannibal bearing these things impatiently, and the rather for that the Romans could not any way bee annoyed from the Towne, studied what order he might take for the present Affaires. For my part, I thinke that the case falling out thus', seemes to have made not onely the Carthagini. ans to doubt, but all other men to whom the knowledge thereof hath come.

Who will not wonder, hearing how the Romans have often beene To vanquished by the Carthaginians, and durft not present themselues, nor fight with them, have not abandoned their Fort beeing in the open field? It is certaine that in times past, they had alwayes Camped onely at the bottome or foote of Mountaines against the Enemies: But now being in a faire Plaine, and in the openest place of all Italy, besieging a strong Towne, they were assailed by them of all sides, a. gainst whom they durst not once thinke or immagine to make head, being so much disheartned. And although the Carthaginians premailed continually fighting, yet they were no leffe annoyed by the vanquished:

one of another: That is to fay, that the Troupes of Hannibals Horsemen, purchased the Victory to the Carthaginians, and a defeate to the Romans: Wherefore the vanquished made suddaine sallies after the fight. They also lodg'd their Troupes in such a place, as the Horse. men could not annoy them. The case falling out thus neere vnto Capaua, was common to them both. The Romans in trueth durst not come foorth to fight, beeing terrified with the Enemics horse. They kept themselues within their Fort, knowing well that the Cauallery vanqui-

Finally, I hold this to be the cause, that they consider the Enterprize

thing them in fight, they could not annoy them.

The Carthaginians likewise could not with reason stay long with fo great a number of Horses: For that the Romans had for that eause wasted the whole Countrey: Neither could they give order to have Hay and Barley brought on Horse-backe so great a way vnto their Cauallery and Sumpters: Neither durst the Carthaginians befrege the E. nemy without Horse, being fortified with Ditches and Pallisadoes: A. gainst the which in fighting without Winges vppon an equal danger. they should hazard an vncertaine Fortune. They seared likewise that the Roman Subjects, would joyne with them and fuccour them, and that cutting of their necessary Victualls, they would draw him into B great distresse.

A wife Confi-

deration of

Hamub.d.

Hannibal confidering these things, having opinion that they could not raile the flege directly, he takes another aduice. Finally, he makes his reckoning, that if in stealing away suddainly, he should shew himselfe about Rome, he might do something that might be profitable for the Carthaginians affaires, the inhabitants beeing amazed with such a new accident: Or if that did not succeede, hee should force Appins Army to raile the flege to fuccour and supply their Countrey, or else foorth-with divide themselves, so as they which should succour the Country, and they which remained at the fiege would be easie to van. quith. Confidering these things, hee sent a certaine Lybian messenger to Capena, perswading him to retire to the Remans, and so into the Citty, prouiding wisely by this meanes, that his Letters might bee fafely carried. He feared much, that the Capouans feeing his departure would yeilde, following the Romans party, as destitute of hope. For this cause hee acquaints them with his intention by Letters, for the which he fends the Lybian, after the departure of his Army, to the end that knowing his resolution and dislodging, they should maintaine the fiege couragioufly.

When as they which besieged Capoua, had intreated the people of Rome for assistance, that Hannibal held them besieged, they were all in great doubt and feare, for that the present Affaires required a finall end, and therefore they fought by frequent Embassies and attempts to affift that party concerning the Generall. The Caponans on the other fide (after they had received the Letters by the Lybian, and knowne the Carthaginians advice) hold good against the Enemy, resolving to aduenture and trie their Fortune. Wherefore Hannibal having fedde his Army the fifth day after his comming, and leaving fires burning,

heraifd his Campe, fo as he was not discouered by the Enemy. Taking then the difficult way by the Saunitide, discouering & gaining by his Ca. uallery the nearest places to his way, he past the River of Annion secretly, whilest that the Inhabitants of Rome were in suspence for Capona and that Warre: Approaching in such fort, as he planted his Campe within Hannihal with. forty Furlongs of Rome. And as he affailed it by this meanes, it hap-in 40 furlongs pened that they of the City were troubled and difmayed with feare, for o' Rome. that this accident came suddainly and contrary to their hope, and that Hannibal had not formerly belieged the City so neare. They had also a conceit, that he approaching so neare the City, their Army besieging The amazes Capoua, must of necessity be descated. The men flye to the Walles, mene of the Ro.

and out of the City to places of aduantage. The Women on the other manner fide make professions about the Temples, washing the pauement with The superflict. their haire. It was a thing they were accustomed to doe, if at any time on of the Ro.

the Countrey were in great danger.

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When as Hannibal was thus incampt, thinking to affaile the City the day following, there happened an admirable and cafuall accident, working for the preservation of the Romans. Caius and Publius had taken an Oath of the Souldiers which had beene leuied, to come to Rome the the same day in Armes. They also made another Leuie : so as at a certaine time a great number of men of Warre transported themselues suddainly to Rome. With the which the Captaines made a bold fally : and planting their Campe before the City, they restrained Hannibals fu. ry. The Carthaginians in truth arthe first made such an attempt, as they despaired not to take the City by affault. But seeing the Enemies to hold a Campe, and aduertifed by a Prisoner of that which had happened, they desisted from their Enterprize to take the Towne, falling the Carthaginito spoile the Countrey, and to fire their houses: so as at the first they ans waste the brought a wonderfull booty vnto their Campe, as being come to this bout Rome. C kind of hunting, to the which neuer Enemy thought to attaine. And when as afterwards the Confuls taking courage, had planted themselues The Romans in within Elegen Furlongs of the Enemies Campe, Hannibal lost all hope Field. oftaking the City, notwith anding the great spoiles which hee had made; and which is more, he parts at the breake of day with his Army, keeping a good reckoning of dayes, in the which according to his aduice taken from the beginning, he was in hope that Appius aduertifed of the danger of the City, would wholly raise the fiege, and that he would fuccour Rome; or leaving some portion of the Army, and taking the greatest part, he would make haste to succour his Countrey : D cither of which happening, his affaires would fucceed well. But Pabhus breaking the Bridges of the faid River, forced him to paffe his Army at a Fourde, being alwayes in the taile of him, and annoying

It is true, he could not defeate him for the great number of Horses, and the dexterity of the Numidians fit for all purpofes : yethe retired to his Fort, having recoucred a great part of the booty, and taken as bout three hundred men. Afterwards imagining that the carrhagins. ans hastned their recrease for scare, hee pursued them in the Reare by

A defeate of Night.

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Skirmishes. In the beginning Hannibal made haste pursuing his designe. But when as on the fift day he had beene advertised that Appicontinued still at the fiege of Capona, he stayed: then suddainly receiuing those which pursued him, he charg'd them in the Night, making a great flaughter, and chasing the rest out of their Fort. When as the day following he faw the Romans retired to a certaine Hill, strong by scituation, and rampred, he despaires to take them: Yet making his voyage by Daunia and Brette, hee affailes the neighbour places to Rhegium so suddainly, as he had in a manner taken the City: yet he sur-prised all those that were stragling in the Fields, with a great number of the Rheginow at his comming. In my opinion we ought with reason to observe at that time the vertue and enuy of the Romans and the Carthan

ginians in the conduct of the Warre.

Lacedemontakenby Epami-nundas .

Eeaminund**as**

For as all the World wonders at Epaminundas, Generall of the Thebeins in this, that when he was come with the Allies of the Warre to Tegee, and was aducrtifed that the Lacedemonians were with their league at Mantinea, affembling there to give Battaile to the Thebeins, hee gaue order to his Troupes to feede prefently: By this meanes hee caufeth his Army to march in the Euening, as it were to recour some con-uenient places to put them in Battaile. VVhen he had drawne many into this conceite, hee parts to affaile the City of Lacedemon. Vyhere entring about three houres in the Night, contrary to all hope, and finding it naked and destitute of helpe, he tooke it, and kept it on that side which was paued to the Riuer. As this disaster happened with a great alteration, and that a certaine Fugitive flying to Mantinea, had advertised King Azesilaus of that which happened, and that they of the league made hafte to fuccour Lacedemon, hee was out of hope to bee able to keepe it. But when he had fed neare vato the River of Erota, and had drawne his Army together, after that he had suffered many miseries and dangers, he returnes to Mantinea, taking the same way, with hope to finde it destitue and vnfurnished of Lacedemonians and their league, as being gone to succour Lacedemon : the which succeeded accordingly. Wherefore giving courage to the Thebeins, and marching in the Night with great labour and toile, hee arrived by noone at Mantinea, being destitute and void of succours. It is true that the Athenia ans who at that time held the party of the Lacedemonians, against the Thebeins, were come to their succours. When the foreward of the Thebeins arrived at the Temple of Possiden, standing seven Furlongs from the Towne, it happened as a thing fore-raft, that at the fame instant the Athenians shewed themselves voon a Hill neare to Mantinea, who D being discouered by them which remained in the Towne, they went to the VValles, taking courage to repulse the Thebeins attempts. Historiographers therefore have reason to complaine of the said actions. faying, that the Commander had done all that was fitting for a wifer and more excellent Captaine then the Enemies were, and that Epamivanquished by nunda was vanquished by Fortune. Some others likewise may say

Fortune, with reason, that the like hapned vnto Hannibal. For who will not wonder at this Commander, in observing that hee

endeauoured to raise the siege, in assiling the Enemy by Skirmishes : And when hee was therein frustrated in his attempts, hee assided Rome it selfe: And when this Enterprize did not succeed, for the casuall euents, hee againe endeauoured (turning head with his Army) to charge the Enemy, and to try if hee might trouble those which befieged Capona: And when in the end he prevailed not in his Enterprize, he resolued to annoy the Enemy in ruining them of Rhegium. It is true that some one will happily judge that at this day the Romans are to bee preferred before the Lacedemonians. Who vpon the first aduertif. A ment parting together, deliuered Lacedemon, yet lofing Mantinea for their parts: But the Romans preserved their Countrey without raising the flege from before Capona, growing constantly obstinate in their Enterprize, and have in the end affailed the Caponans resolutely. I have propounded this Discourse not so much to praise the Romans or Carthagimans, (for we have many times shewed them to bee excellent) as well for their present Captaines, and for those which hereafter shall haue the gouernment of these two Common-weales : to the end that remembring them, and having these things before their eyes with a defire of imitation, they may take courage, not of a desperate and dangerous rashinesse, but of a politique resolution, with an admirable industry and good discourse, which shall neuer be subject to forgetfulnesse, re-

taining fill in memory actions well mannaged; and Enterprizes without reason.

For this cause the Romans have decreed to set a part, and to carry into their Country the things we have spoken of, not omitting any thing. If this be well done and profitable to them, or otherwise, it requires a longer discourse: And moreouer whether it hath beene in former times, or is onely necessary at this day. If considering these things, they had instructed their men, it is certaine that according to reason they had transported to their vse the things for the which they had growne great : But if leading a simple life, they flye abundance and sumptuousneffe, and yet they vanquish those which many times have store of such good things, why should not their actions be turned to vice ? Some one may confidently fay, that they erre which have left the Victors course of life, to follow that of the vanquished, and having incurred enuy, a Companion of such things: which is a case much to bee seared in Great men. Doubtlesse a man thus possest, will neuer hold them happy which possesse another, and beares them enuie. Moreouer, who will take compassion of those which degenerating lose their principali-D ties? If Fortune smiles, and if a man drawes together all the wealth of another, and moreouer, inuites in some fort the disposses to see it, he sianes doubly. First the Spectators have no compassion, but are admonished as of their owne miseries: whereby not onely enuy but also choller inflames them against the fortunate. The remembrance of their owne calamities is as it were a stirring vp to hatred against the Authours. It is true, that it may be there is some shew of reason for the drawing of Gold and Silver. For they could not have attained to the Empire, if they had not gotten the power taken from others.

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In regard of those things which concerne not power, they might leave them with the enuy in those places where they were before, and make their Countrey of better fame, in beautifying it with honesty and magnanimity, not with Images and figures. I hold this Discourse for those which Potentates alwaies vsurpe, to the end that in sacking Cities they may not conceive that the mileries of other men, are the glory and beautifying of their Countrey. Finally, it is necessary that the accidents which happen in the Art of Warre, bee diligently confidered of. It may happen they shall duly fore-fee euery thing, if any one doth execute speedily that which is propounded.

If any man will know that executions done openly with violence, are of lesse consequence then actions of policy and time, hee may casily judge by the actions past. It would be no difficult thing to viderstand by the cuents, that in matters which are done by time, there are more found executed through errours then by reason. For no man doubts that many faults are committed through the ignorance and dulnesse of Commanders. Wherefore we must consider the reason of this kinde. It is not fit to hold for good feruice the accidents which without force fight happen in the profession of Warre, but rather for euents and cafuall accidents: and wee mult leave them, for that they are not gover- B ned by reason; whereas those should be apparent which are done with a setled resolution whereof we now speake. But for that every action hath time, space, and a determinate place, and hath neede of secretic, and of confident resolutions: and that it doth import by whom, with whom, and by what meanes they shall execute them: it is apparent that he which shall duly consider every one of these things apart, shall not stray from reason: if he omits any one of them, he shall be defrauded of his whole resolution. Nature in truth makes one of all the parts, and every one of them (although vulgar) sufficeth to cause a disaster of aduice if it be forgotten: Finally all the parts doe scarce suffice, although they be imployed to bring any worke to a good end. Wherefore Commanders should not omit any thing of this kinde.

The dury of a

Silence is the chiefe of those things which we have spoken of: to the end that through ioy if any vnexpected hope presents it selfe, or for feare and amazement, they do not through familiarity or friendship comunicate their enterprize to any stranger, but only to those without whom they cannot execute their resolutions: nor yet to them, but so far forth as necessity shall force them. He must be secret not onely in words but also in his affections. For it happens to many to discouer by signes, and sometime by their actions, their resolutions which the tongue hath kept filent. Secondly, it is necessary not to be ignorant of the wayes both by day and night, and the meanes to passethem as well by Sea as Land. The third point, and the most exquisite, is to know the opportunity of times by the circumstances, and to be able to coniecture it with judgement. He must make no little esteeme of the manner how to execute it. For many times thereby things which seeme impossible, prone possible, and those which vsually have beene possible, are made impossible. Finally, he must not disdaine the Accords and Articles an-

nexed, nor the choife of things by the which, and with whom that which hath bin resolued, is brought to an end. Of these things some are considered by the exercise, others by Histories, and some by the course and reason of experience. The knowledge likewise of the waies, and whither he meanes to go, and its nature would be very fitting; and consequently by whom and against whom they make Warre, and carefully to confider of the businesse, and not to trust all men. It is true that they which are led and gouerned, must alwaies insuch affaires give credit to those that lead them. Moreouer, Commanders may happily learne these things and other such like from a simple Souldier: some by their owne industry, and others by History, in considering the actions by experience. It is also necessary to understand the Mathematiques, and the Theorique, especially of Astrology and Geometry, the Art whereof is not very necessary in this trade: yet the vse may helpe much in the alteration of things. Their chiefe necessity consists in the confideration of the Day and Night. If they had beene alwaies equall, there would be no difficulty therein, and the knowledge would bee com-

But as the afore-faid things have a difference not onely betwixt them, but also in themselues, it is most necessary to know what bee their augmentations and diminutions. How can the course and perfections of the Day and Night beknowne without the confideration of the faid difference ? No man can without their experience attaine vito those things which concernes a competency of time, being otherwise forced to worke fooner or later then is needfull. Hafte in these affaires is more defective then the delay of an Enterprize. Hee that exceeds the time appointed, is frustrated of his hope: But hee may repaire it in giuing good order, knowing after what time it may be done: whereas hee that preuents the opportunity of the approaching time, and being C discouered, not onely failes of his Enterprize, but is in danger to be wholly defeated. Occasion is the Mistresse of all humane affaires, and especially in the Art of Warre.

A Commander therfore of an Army must have knowledge of the The knowledge Solftice of Summer, and of the Equinoctials, and of the intermixt in of the diverticreases and decreases of Dayes and Nights. By this onely meanes hee sies of Dayes may hold a meane in things which are to be effected, as well by Sea as necessary for Land Moreover her must know every point of the Development of Land. Moreouer, hee must know euery point of the Day and Night, to the end that hee may understand the time when to plant his Campe and to raise it. It is not possible that hee shall attaine to a good end which doth not consider the beginning. It is not impossible to see the houres of the Sunne by the shaddowes whilest he makes his course, and the distances which are made by it in this world: In regard of those of the Night, it is a difficult thing, vnleffe some doe sollow and observe the Starres after the disposition of the Heauen, and the order of the twelue Signes in the Zodiacke. It is in truth easie for those which diligently observe the Celestiall Starres. For although the Nights be vn. equall, yet in enery one of them fixe of the twelue Signes do moone, fo as it is necessary that to enery part of the Night an equall portion of the

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Zodiacke be turned, and as daily it is apparent what part the Sun driues behind, which is that which it separates from the Diameter; it is necesfary that accordingly there should be so much consumed of the Night. that after this part it appeares elevated from the rest of the Zodiacke. The Signes of the Zodiacke being knowne as well for their number as greatnesse, it falls out afterwards that they shew themselves such all times of the Night. But when the Nights are cloudy, we must observe the Moone: for her greatnesse, her light appeares universall in what part of the world foeuer she be. And wee must fometimes search by the times and places of the East, and sometimes of the West: for that in this A part there is a knowledge, so as she followes the Diurnall differences of the East. There is also in this knowledge a manner of casic consideration. There is likewise the same end almost within a figure, and all are of Sence. For this cause they inftly commend the Poet, who brings in Vlisfes an excellent Prince, taking coniecture of the Starres, not onely to directa Nauigation, but also to mannage Warre at Land. Wee may in truth exactly fore-fee vnexpected chances, although that many times they be of great perplexity, as inundations by Raine and Rivers, Snows and violent Frosts, and finally Fogs and Clouds, with such like things. Shall we not with reason be destitute and voide of many things by our B owne fault, if wee disdaine those which wee may fore see? Wee may not therefore contemne or despise any of these things, lest wee fall into such a consideration which they say hath happened vnto many others: Concerning which wee must now speake by way of Example.

The erroug of

Arate Chiefe of the Acheins, labouring to surprize the City of Cynethe, appointed a day to them of the Towne which had the same intelligence: who comming by Night to the River which fals to Cynethe, he was to stay there with his Army : and they of the Towne taking their occasion about Noone, should send forth one of them secretly out at the Gate, couered with a Cloake, and should command him to stay before the Gate vpon a Dunghill: and in the meane time the rest should take the chiefe men fleeping, who were accustomed to guard the Gate about Noone. Which being done, comming out of their Ambush, they should plant their Battalion against the Gate. These things thus concluded, Arate came at the time appointed, and keeping the accord, he laid his Ambush neare vnto the River. But about five of the Clocke, a man having weake Sheepe of those which are accustomed to feede about the Towne, came forth of the Gate in a Cloake, as it was needfull, who according to the reason of the time, enquired of the life of the Shepheard: And staying vpon the fayd Hill, looked where hee was. Arate thinking they had given him the Signe, makes haste to gaine the Towne with his men. But when the Gate was suddainly shut by the Guards that were present, for that they within had nothing ready, it happened that Arate was not onely frustrated of his purpose and intention, but was the cause of extreame calamities to the Burgesses, with whom hee had intelligence. For being apprehended, they were presently chased away or slaine. What shall wee thinke to be

the cause of this accident? Doubtlesse for that this Commander had executed this agreement with more lightneffe then was fit, who being young had not an exquisite knowledge of these two accords, nor of the things annexed. The affaires of Warre haue an alteration in a moment, wavering from one fide to another in the Euents. When as likewife Cleomenes the Lacedemonian, had resolved to take the City of Megalopolis by practice; he agreed with the Guards of the Walles, that hee The errour of thould come in the Night with his Army to the Committee the Chemene. should come in the Night with his Army to the Gate which they call Pholes, at the third renewing of the Watch. For they which held A his party, had then the guard of the Wall. But when he had not forefeene, that the Nights were shorter at the rising of the Plejades, hee parting from Lacedemon with his Army at Sun fetting, and as hee could not come thither in time, arriving when the Sunne was up, he was repuls'd, making his attempts in vaine and without reason, with a great and shamefull losse of his men, and in danger to lose all : Whereas if hee had aim'd truely at the time appointed by the agreement, and had brought his Army when as his Confederates had power to let him in, he had not failed in his Enterprize.

In like manner Philip (aswee haue formerly fayd) having plotted a The errour of fecret surprize of the City of the Meliseens, failed doubly. He brought Philip. not Ladders of a sufficient length, as the businesse required, neither did he observe the time. For having resolved to arrive at Mid-night, when as all the World flept, heedislodged before the time from Lerisse with his Army, and came too foone into the Meliseens Countrey. For this cause as he could not stay, fearing to be discourred by the Cirizens, nor yet fteale away, he gaue an affault to the City, the Inhabitants being yet awake. So as it was not in his power to get to the top of the Walles by his Ladders, for that they were not of a full length, neither could hee enter by the Gate, for that the Confederates which hee had in the City, could not fuccour him being excluded by the C time. And as hee had incenfed the Citizens, and made a great loffe of

his men, hee returned with shame and difgrace, it being a warning and caucate visto all others, not to put any trust or confidence in him hereafter.

As likewise Nicies which was Chiefe of the Athenians, might haue preserved the Army which hee had neare vnto Sarageffe, and The errour of hadraken a fit occasion in the Night to lay an Ambush, to the end Nician. hee might not bee discouered by the Enemy, hee retired into a safe place : Afterwards hee remouned not his Campe through superstition, for that the Moone was Eclipsed, as if shee had fore-told fome ensuing danger and misfortune. But it happened vnto all, as vell to the Army as Captaines, to fall into the hands of the Saragosins, when as the Night following Nicias raised his Campe, being discoucred by the Enemies. Notwithstanding hee might in such affaires have beene made wife by fuch as have had experience, that the comodity of time ought not to be neglected for fuch things, making the ignorance of the Enemy his comfort. Ignorance in truth gives & great helpe to men of experience, to bring their affaires to a good end.

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ought to be.

Wee must then for the afore-said things have recourse to Astrology, in regard of the measure of ladders, the manner is as followeth. If any one of the Conspirators have given the height of the Wall, they may presently know of what length the ladder shall be: As if the Wall bee ten foote high in some places, the ladders must be twelve foote long. Finally, they must give vnto the ladder good footing, according to the proportion of the staues: lest burthening it too much, it breake not easily by reason of the multitude: and againe set up straight, it will be very dangerous vnto them. If there be no meanes to take the meafure, nor to approach the Wall, let them take the greatnesse of those A things which are elevated on the Plaine, by the space of all the height, which is a kinde of measure not onely possible, but also easie for those which study to learne the Mathematiques.

Geometry ne. ceffary for the Warre,

Wherefore it is necessary for them that will sime truely in their refolutions of the course of Warre, to know the vse of Geometry: If not perfectly, yet at the least that they have the knowledge of proportions, and confideration of Similitudes. It is not onely necessary for this, but also for the comprehension of Designes in the scituation of a Campe: to the end that when as wee sometimes change its generall disposition, we may observe the same proportion of things which B are there comprehended: And if sometimes we retaine the same Defignes of Camps, we may extend the place comprehended by them. or straighten it according to the reason of things before decreed, or set apart : the which we have declared more exactly in our Commentaries for the ordring of Battailes. I doe not believe there is any man that will be discontented with our study, for that wee charge the profession of Warre with many things, commanding those that loue it. not to distaine Astrology nor Geometry. For my part, I striue especially, and with great defire to command things necessary, as I doe reproue and blame the excesse of vaine and superstuous things, in regard of the subtilities and dreames in every Science: So doe we those which are out of necessary vie. It is a strange thing that they which practife Dancing or playing of the Flute, take the preparatives which concernes the accords and Musicke: And likewise Wrestling, for that this kind of Art seemes behoouefull to bring this exercise to an end: And yet they which terme themselues Souldiers, are discontented if they must allow of any other Studies: So as they which practife Mecanique Arts, are more carefull and studious then those which challenge an Excellency in things which are of great honour and glory: the which no man of Sence will deny. But wee have spoken enough of this Subject.

The carelefnes of Souldiers for the Scien-

Megalopolis and Laccdemen.

Many copiecture the greatnesse of things by the Circuite: to whom notwithstanding it seemes incredible, that although the City of Megalopolis bee contained within the Circuite of fifty Furlongs, and that The circuite of of Lacedemon within forty eight, yet it is twice as great as that of Megalopolis. And if any one (meaning to make this doubt greater) fayth, it is possible that a City, or the Pallisadoe of a Campe, having the Circuite of forty Furlongs, may bee more ample and compleate

compleate then that of a hundred, this will seeme vnto them a mad and extranagant speech : the cause is, for that wee remember not the things which inhumane Disciplines are delivered vnto vs by Geometry. This is the cause why I have vodertaken this Discourse. For that not onely many people; but also some of those which governe the Common weale, and likewife Commanders and Captaines are amazed and wonder how it can be possible, that the City of Lacedtinon should be greater then that of Megalopolis, seeing the circuite is lesse: and that confequently they coniecture the number of men by the cir-

A cuite of the Campe. There is another fuch like errour which they commit in the description of Townes. For many conceius, that Cities containe more houses which are crooked and hilly, then those which are in a flat Countrey. But this is not true, for that the houses are not of a good building in a declining Streete, but in a plaine Countrey, for the which is happens that the Hils yeeld: the which may appeare by that which is apparent ina Plaine. If thou doest consider the houses which are built high and fet upon the declining of a Hill, fo as they are all of an equall hight, it is apparent that their tops being levell, the distance is equall, as well of those which are built under the Hils, as those which are seated on the B Plaine neare vnto the foundations of the Wall. It sufficeth at this time to have spoken to those which (defiring the preheminence over others, and to gouerne Common-weales) are ignorant of these things, being amazed and wonder at this relation. The City of Agragus is not onely more excellent among many other Cities, but also for the force of its The City of Rampire, and for the grace and building. It is built eighteene Furlongs Agraga. from the Sea, fo as every man may be partaker of her commodities, the Walles are excellently fortified by their scituation and the industry of man. The Wall is scatted vpon a hard and inaccessible Rocke, as well by Nature as by Art. It is enuironed with Rivers. For towards the South runs a River of the Townes name, and on the Westernepart towards the Winter Solftice, paffeth the River of Hypfe. The Fortreffe is seated vponthe side of the Summers East. The which hath without an inacceffible valley and within it one approach to the City. On the top is built the Temple of Minerua, and of Iupiter Atabarin, like as at Rhodes. For as Agragas hath beene peopled by Rhodiens, their God with good reason hath the same name, as at Rhodes. Finally the City is stately adorned with Temples and Porches. In regard of the Temple of Iupiter Olympian, it is none of the most sumptuous : But like. D wise it seemes not lesse in its height aud greatnesse then any other of



The Oration of Chlence, Embassadour for the Etoliens to the Lacedemonians.

T is so true my Maisters of Lacedemon, that your power hath beene the beginning of Santia hath beene the beginning of Seruitude to the Grecians, the which I hold so certaine, as no man at this day will say the contrary. Wee may judge of it in this manner. For what a multitude of Grecians are there in Thrace, whereof

the Athenians and Calsidenians have planted Collonies? What Ci- B ty hath had a greater estate and power then that of the Olynthiens? The which when as Philip had made Captine, and ordained to serve for an Example, hee hath not onely beene Lord of all the Cities of Thrace, but hath moreouermade subject the Thesalians, being terrified with feare. And when as afterwards hee had subdued the dthenians by Armes, he vsed his Fortune nobly, not so much for the good of the Athenians (for there wanted much) but to the end that by the fame of his benefits towards them, he might draw others to a voluntary obedience.

In regard of the authority of your City, it seemed for a time to fa-uour the other Grecians. Wherefore propounding what hee thought good, he went to Field with an Army, and in spoiling the Countrey. he hath ruined and fack't your houses, and finally your Countrey, difiributing pare to the Argines, part to the Tegeates, fome to the Megalopolitains, and the rest to the Messeniens : seeking without reason to benefit others, to the end he might endammage and and annoy you. Alexander hath fince taken vpon him the power and command. Who thinking that there was yet remaining some comfort for Greece in the City of Thebes, I conceiue you all know how hee hath ruined it. But what neede is there to relate in particular the Deeds of those which D haue succeeded them, and how ill they have intreated Greece? There is no man so negligent of the actions of Warre, which doth not know how Antipater (the Grecians being vanquished neare vnto Lamiai) did most wickedly intreate the miserable Athenians and others: To whom hee was so outragious and vniust, as hee sent Inquisiters for Fugitues, and sent to the Cities, against those which had contradicted him, or in any fort offended the honour of the Macedonians. Whereof fome being violently drawne out of the Temple, and others from the Altars themselues,

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themselues, have beene miserably defeated and slaine : the other Fugitiues haue beene chased out of Greece. There was no freedome but onely in the Nation of the Etaliens. In regard of the executions done by Cassander, Demetrius, and Antigonius, Gonas, who is ignorant of them? The knowledge hath beene manifest, seeing they have beene done without any disguising. Some of them placed Garrisons in Townes, others fetled Tyrants: By which meanes there hath not beene

any City free from the name of this kind of seruitude.

But leaving this Discourse, I come in the end to Antigonus : to the A end that none of you considering plainely my intent, may thinke him- antigonus, felfe beholding to the fauour of the Macedonians. Antigonis in truth hath not made Warre against you for the preservation of the Acheins: neither for that he was offended with the Tyranny of Cleomenes, he defired to set the Lacedemonians at liberty (it were too great a folly, if you were of this opinion) but for that he faw his power was not affured, if the principality of Morea were vnder your gonernment, and withall he faw the industry of Cleomenes, and that Fortune smiled vpon you, the which he feared with enuie. He came not to give fuccours to Morea, but to rauish your hopes, and abate your greatnesse. Wherefore the Macedonians are not fo much worthy of loue, Lording it ouer this B City which they have ruined, as to be held for Enemies and odious, feeing he hath alwaies hindred you, when you had meanes to command all Greece. In regard of the iniquity of Philip, what neede is there The blatte of to vie any long discourse . His execuation towards the Gods, for the Philip, outrages committed in the Temple of Thermes is plainely declared: And as for his cruelty to men, it is fully exprest by this prevarication, and the accord violated with the Meseniens. Finally, the Etoliens haue alone among the Grecians made head against Antipater in the view of all the World : fo as they lived in fafty which were outragioully afflicted. They have also withstood the attempt of Brennus and C the Barbarians which accompanied him : And they alone being called, haue endeauoured with you to fet the principality of Greece at liberty. But it is enough of this Sublect : Wee must now adulte in some fort, and take order touching this present Councell, as with them that resolue for the Warre. Wee must consider it according to the truth.

I am also of opinion that as the Acheins as the weaker. should not onely forbeare to spoile your Countrey, but also give great thankes vnto the Gods if they may preserue their owne : The Eliences and Messeniens will make Warre against them for the league they have with val the like you will doe. As I understand, Philip will desist from his Enterprize, being affailed by the Etoliens at Land, and by the Romana and Astalus by Sea. It is moreover easie to judge of the future by the actions past. For making Warre onely against the Etoliens, hee could neuer subdue them, how then will hee support this present Watre ? Take these words according to my first propositions that it may be notorious to all men, that you ought not by a rash and vnaduised Councell, but by a mature & setled deliberation rather give succours to the Etcliens

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the Macedonians. And if you have formerly preuented, and given order for those, what meanes can there remaine? If you have granted vs present succours, before you have received the benefits of Antigonus, wee must with reason enquire, if it be fit that in yeilding to the fucceeding benefits, you should contemne the precedent which you haue enjoyed. How this liberty and safety being published hath beene confumed by Antigonus, there are some which reproach it vnto you, and turne these things to euill, demaunding often whither you should follow the party of the Etoliens or Macedonians : You would enter League with vs in many things, to whom in these affaires you have A given your faith, and you have it mutually from vs, having mannaged the former Warres with vs against the Macedonians. Who can doubt iustly of these things.

It is certaine that the Affaires which you have with Antigonus and Philip, is palliated under the Title of courtesie. Finally, what neede is there to declare that, which fince hath beene done vnto you? Either in regard of the outrage of the Etoliens, or the bounty of the Macedonians, or for any other thing which hath beene availeable vnto them? How can you being now changed, confirme the Accords and Oathes with them, (which are great Testimonies and Tyes among men) to whom formerly you had wisely resoluted not to obey? When as Chienee B had Discoursed of these things, and had spoken in such fort, as hee thought no man could contradict him, hee made an end of his Speech. After whom Lucifque Embassadour for the Acarnanians, entring, contained himselfe at the first, seeing many discoursing of the afore. fayd things : But when silence was made, hee beganne in these Termes:



The Oration of Lucisque Embassadour of the Acarnanians to the Lacedemonians.



Ou Masters of Lacedemon, we are come hither, as sent by D the Common-weale of the Acarnanians. We conceine that this our Embassie, is common to Vs and the Macedonians: For that in a manner daily, they and wee are Companions in the fame hope. And as in dangers wee involved together, by reason of their excellency and

the greatnesse of their Vertue, to the end that by their forces wee may liue in safety : In like manner the commodity of the Acarmanians, is according to the care of the Embassadours, contained in the right of

the Macedonians. Wherefore you have no cause to wonder, if we make a long discourse of Phillip and the Macedonians. Chlence making an end of his Oration, addes a briefe recapitulation of the right by the which you were bound vnto them : For hee hath faid, if theire bee nothing which hath beene done Since by the Etolieus, which doth hurt or difcontent, after the Succours granted vnto them: or any courte fie done by the Macedonians, this present deliberation, is of a just consideration. If likewise they have not committed, in producing the things which concerne Antigonus, the which formerly have beene allowed by you, I am of opinion that you are the simplest men in the World, if you renew the Oathes and Accords. For my part, I say you are the simplest men in the World, and take the vainest resolution, if when as there hath beene nothing done according vnto his Speech, and the Grecians Affaires remaine such as they were before, when you made the League with the Esoliens.

But if this cause hath a very different disposition, as I will shewe in continuing my Discourse, I thinke it will appeare plainly, that I say fomething which will be commodious vn:o you, beeing vnknowne by Chlence. We are come hither to that end, being perswaded that we are to speake it, tomake it knowne. Wherefore it is necessary, if it may be done, that when you have heard the calamities which hangs ouer all Greece, you should resolue on that which may be honest and fit, and to enter into League with vs in the same hope. If this cannot be done, but at this present you will rest your selues. Yet I hold it neceffary, that in Discoursing in few words of this Subject, (for that the others have presumed to accuse the House of the Macedonians) wee should cleare the ignorance of those, which have given credit to their

Chience hath fayd that Philip the sonne of Aminea, Conquered the C Principality of Thessaly by the ruine of the Olynthieus. Contrariwise I am of opinion, that not onely the Thesalsens, but the rest of the Grecians have been eptelerued by Philip. Who is there among you, that knowes not that at fuch time as Nomarche and Philomale, going to Theblame of Delphos, had vsurped the Gouernement vniustly, and raufhed the Nomarche, and Treasure of the Gods execrably, what great forces they then rayled, against the which none of the Grecians durst once open his mouth publickely. As they were wicked towards God, fo they laboured for to Viarpe the Principallity of all Greece. At what time Philip imploying his forces willingly, defeated the Tyrants, and restored the things safe-D lywhich belonged to the Temple: Deliuering withall vnto the Greeians an occasion of liberty, as the effect doeth testifie to Posterity. The Grecians did nor make choise of Philip to be their Commaunder, both at Sea and Land, as having offended the Theffaliens, as this man hath presumed to say, but as a Benefactor vnto Greece: Which dignity no man before had euer receiued. It is true, hee came to Lacedemon with an Army. This was not by his owne aduice, as you know: Bur being called and often prest by his Friends and Allies of Morea, whom hee obeyed vnwillingly. And when hee arrived there, confider Chlence

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how hee carried himselfe. When it was in his power to make vsc of the fury of their neighbours, aswell in the spoile of the Lacedemonian Region, as in debasing the Citty; whereby hee should purchase their fauour, but he would not follow this aduice: But terrified both the one and the other, and forced them to make an end of their Quarrell, for their common good and profit. Neither did hee Constitute himselse a Judge in this Contention, but established men chosen through-

Is this an Act worthy of reproach and reprehension? Thou hast A likewise made the same reproach to Alexander, as if hee had wrongfully afflicted the Thebeins: But thou hast made no mention of the punishment which hee inflicted upon the Persians, to reuenge the common outrage done to all the Grecians: Nor how hee delivered you from great miseries, reducing the Barbarians into servitude, and defeating their Succours, with the which they ruined Greece, making Warre sometimes against the Athenians, and their Ancestors, sometimes against the Thebeins: and that in the end he made Asia subject to the Grecians. As for his Successours, how dares he presume to speake? They have beene themselves many times the cause of good to some, and of hurt to others, during the Galamities of their time : Against B whom some happily may have cause to remember outrages: But it becomes not you, from whom they neuer diuerted any good, but contrariwise presented you many times from harme. Who are they which have called Antigonus the sonne of Demetrius to subvert the Acheins? Who are they moreouer which have made a League, and fworne it with Alexander the Epirote to ruine Acarnania, and to divide it : Have not you done it? Who hath fent such Commaunders contrary vnto the publique good, as you have done? Who were not ashamed to infringe

Alexander the

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How hath Tymeus fackt the Temple of Neptune in Tafmare, that of Artimedes at Lufes ? In regard of Phariques, he hath ruined the Temple of Iuno in Argos. And Polycrates that of Neptune in Mantinea. What hath Lattabe and Nicostrates done . Have they not infringed the Accords of the Pambiolates with Panegyre, and practifed the cruelty of Sytheans, and Gallatians, or Gaules, fo as nothing hath beene done by the Successours? And when you could not excuse them, you holde it a glory that you have broken the attempts of the Barbarians, falling vpon Delphos : Saying moreover that for this cause the Grecians ought to give you thankes. And if they must acknowledge this commodity from the Etoliens, what honour do not the Macedonians deserue, who imploy the greatest part of their liues continually, to maintaine the fafety of the Grecians against the Barbarians? What is hee that doeth not know that the Grecians have beene continually subject to great dangers, if the Macedonians and the bounty of their Kings had not ferued them for a Rampire ? VVhereof behold a great Argument : For when as the Gaules disdaining the Macedonians, had vanquished Ptolomy sirnamed Ceraune, they came presently into Greece with Brennus Army: The which had often happened, if the Macedonians had not had the

charge. And although I could holde a long Discourse of ancient deedes, yet I thinke these presents will suffice. But for that which among other things Philip hath done, hee turnes to cruelty the ruine of the Temple: But hee doth not adde their outrage and insolency, which they have committed in the Temples and Oratories of the Gods, which are in Die and Dodone, the which hee should have spoken first. You relate the wrongs and miseries you have indured, and make a greater thewthen is needfull, passing ouer in silence, those which you have formerly committed in great numbers : For you know, that cuery out-A rage and wrong that is done, is by all men reichted vpon those, who haue first done the wrong vniustly.

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As for the deedes of Antigonus, I will onely make mention, to the end his Actions may not feeme to you worthy of contempt : neither must you lightly regard a deede of great esteeme. I doe not thinke there were euer so great a benefit seene, as that which hee hath imparted vnto you. It seemes vnto me soexcellent, as there cannot be a greater: The which may appeare by this, Antigonus made Warre against you, then in giving you Battaile, he vanquished you by Armes: Hee was in the end Lord of the Country and Citty, hee might by the Law of Armes haue intreated you roughly : But hee was fo far from offering you any outrage, as beside other Benefits, he hath (chasing the Tyrant) restored your Lawes and proper rights. For which Face ordaining a Testimony to the Grecians by publicke praises, you have cale led him Antigonus your Benefactor and Saujour. VVhat should you then doe: I will tell you, feeing there is hope of your good Audience: The which I will doe, and not without reason, not to charge you with reproaches, but for that the quallity of matters forceth mee, to speake that which is necessary in publicke. VVhatshall I then say ? That in the former VVarre you should have imbraced the League of the Ma-C sedonians, and not of the Etoliens: And that at this day you should rather revnite your sclues with Philip, seeing hee calls you then with them.

You answere, that in doing so, you shall breake your Accords. But tell me, if you shall commit a greater mischiese, in leaving the Accord which you have made in particular with the Etoliens, then in Tranfgreffing those which concerning all the Grecians, are grauen and Confecrated vpon a Pillar ? Why doe you so superstitiously flie the disdaine of those, from whom you neuer received any benefit : Andbeare no respect to Philip, nor to the Macedovians : from whom you have D the power to hold this Councell? Thinke you that right and equitie, ought to bee preserued to Friends ? Yer the Sanctitie is not so great to observe the Faith reduced in Writings, as the sinne is prophane and execrable in bearing Harred, and making Warre against a publicke body. What the Etoliens require now of you? But we have spoken enough of this Subject, the which would be held by the Enuious, not to concerne the present businesse. I returne therefore to the Continuation and Discourse of the cause which consists in this. If the Affaires be at this day a like, as when you made an Alliance of Warre with them,

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the election of things propounded in the beginning must remaine in you. If they be altogether changed, it is fit you should consider judi-

ciously upon that which they require.

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I demand of you Cleonice and Chlence, what allies had you when as you called these men to a Common warre. Had you all the Grecians? With whom at this day have you communication of your hope? Or to what league doe you inuite these men ! Is it not of Barbarians ? Thinke you this present warre is like vnto the precedent, and not different? You contended then with the Acheins, and your kinfmen the Macedonians, and with Philip. for principality and glory: And now the warre is made by strangers against Greece for its servirude, whom you thinke to draw again ? Philip. Are you ignorant that their forces are call'd in against your selues and all Greece? Like vnto those which during a warre retire into their City a greater Garrison then their owne forces for their owne fafety, make themselues subject to their friends, as foone as they are freed from the feare of their Enemy: The Etoliens thinke the same at this day. Whilft they defire to vanquish Philip, and to humble the Macedonians, they doe not observe how they blind themselues with a westerne fogge, the which happily may bring fome darknesse to the Macedonians, and in the end be the cause of great miseries to all the Grecians. It is therefore necessary for all Greece, to prouide for the threatnings of this time, and especially for the Macedenians. Otherwise what cause thinke you my Masters of Lacedemon; had your Ancestours, when as Xernes demanded by an Embassadour which he sent vnto you Water and Earth, they cast him that was sent into a Well, and cast Earth vppon him : Then taking him out againe, they gaue him charge to tell Xerxes that hee had Water and Earth in Lacedemon: Moreouer, for what reason did the Company which was flaine with Leonides, cast themselves vppon the Enemy in view of all the World? Was it not to the end they might see them undergoe the danger, not only for their owne liberty, but also for the rest of Greece? Consider now, if it be decent and fitting for their posterity, to take Armes, and to make VVarre with the Barbarians, in allying themselves with them, against the Epirotes, Acheins, Acarnanians, Beocians, Thestaliens, and in a manner against all the Greeians, holding nothing infamous, so as it were profitable. VVhat must they attend that doe such vnlawfull things?

As the Romans have beene vnited to them, so the others have endeauoured (hauing the faid comfort and aide from the Sclauenians) to make the war by Sea, and to breake the Accord at Pyles: And have by D Land besieged the Citty of the Clitoriens, ruining that of the Cynetheins. It is true, they first made an Accord with Antigonus, in regard of the Acheins and Acarnanians. But at this day they are Confederate with the Romans against Greece in generall. These things underflood, who doth not suspect the comming of the Romans, and detest the fortishnesse of the Etoliens, who presumed to enter into such a League? They spoile the Vines, and the Iland of Acarnania, and have already taken the Cittle of the Tallaneins and Auticyra, which

they with the Romans have ruined, who carry away their VViues and Children, suffring (as it seemes) the common accidents of those which fall into the hands of strangers in regard of the foile of these miserable people, the Esoliens enjoy it. Wwere without doubt a very honeft and pleafing thing that the Lacedemonians should imbrace this League, who would have the Thebeins alone among the Greefans live in peace, when the Persans descended : and have refoligit to make vowes vnto the Gods to vanquish the Barbarians.

Your dutie and Honor, my Mafters of Lacidemen, depends thereon, to the ende that having recourse vnto your Ancestors, and searing the comming of the Romans, and suspecting the bad intent of the Etoliens, and putting you in minde of the deedes of Antigonus, you may detest the League of the wicked, and flie the amitie of the Esoliens, allying your selues by a common hope with the Acheins and Macedonians. And if some of the chiefe yelld not vnto it , at the least budge not, nelther make your selues Companions of their Outrages. It is true, that affection to friends is very profitable, if it bee commodiously made: But if it be forced, and finally flow and defective, it hath no comfort: and therefore you must observe, if onely in words, or else in actions they will keepe their League with you.

A parcell of the River of Euphrates.

Vobrates takes its fourse and beginning in Aunenia, running its course by Syria, drawing towards Babylon, and falls as it seemes, into the Red Sea; whereof the figne is. It loofeth it felfe in hollow places vnder ground made in that Region, before it falls into the Sea. VVherefore it hath a different nature to other Rivers. The course of others augment as they passe by many places, and are very high in C VVinter, and low in Summer. But Euphrates growes very high at the rifing of the Canicular, especially in Syria, and continuing its course decreaseth. The cause is for that it is not augmented by the concurrence of the winter raine, but by the melting of the Snow : It decreafeth likewise for that it extends vpon the plaine, and is dispersed for the watring of the Land. Then the trapsport of Armies is slowly made, for that the shippes stay in regard of the burthen, the River beeing low: and finally the swift course of the water is some hinderance vnto the Nauigation.

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A PARCELL OF the Tenth Booke of the

History of POLYBIVS.

The Coast of Tarentum.



S from thence vinto the Sea, and from the Citty of Rhegium vnto Terentum, there be aboue two Thoufand Furlongs, yet the Coast of Italy hath no Ports, except those which are at Tarentum. That Coast turnes to the Sicylian Sea, and bends towards Greece. It is much peopled C with Barbarians : So there are very famous Grecian Citties. For the Brucians, Lucain, and fome Countries of the Samuites, and moreouer the Calabriens, and many other nations inhabite this Country:

Euen as among the Grecians, lies Rhegium, Caulone, Locres, and Croton. Moreoner the Metapontins, and Thurins, possesse this Maritine Region. And therefore they which come from Sycily and Greece, are (when as they faile vnto any of the faid places) by necessity carried to the Ports of Tarentum : And are forced to Traffique with their Merchandizes in that Cittie, with all the inhabitants of that Coast. Some happily may coniccture, that the Commoditie of this place, proceedes from the abundance and fertillitie of the Crotoniates. And although The Crotoniales they have some Summer stations of small revenew, yet it seemes they will challenge to themselues a great fertillitie, and from no other thing but from the fruitefulnesse of the place, which is not to bee compared to the Ports and Region of the Tarentins. There is also a Commoditie

from this place to the Adriaticke Ports, at this day great, but in tormer times greater. All they which failed from high Pouille wife, Sipuntes in Front, and were carried into Tealy, landed at Tarentage, and made vie of this City for their Commerce and Trafficke, as in affaires. Then the City of the Bretenfins was not yet built. Bt Wherefore Fabi. much effeeming this abode, was addicted vnto it, scauing all other. things. All others hold him for a very fortunate man, and thetman ny times, and for the most part, he ended his Enterprizes, without reafon and accidentally : holding this kinde of mento bee more, dinne A and admirable, then those which attempt all things by a discourse of reason : Being ignorant withall, that by these words the actions of the one are worthy of Commendations, and those of the other, hap the one are worthy of Commendations, and those of the other improvements by and fortunate. Moreover, the one is common vinto the people to more commendations of the other people to the o But the other is proper to wise and judicious men, whom we must hold dable then Fordivine and beloved of the Gods.

For my part Fabins feemes to me to haue a Nature and disposition. like voto Lycurgus, the Law-giver of the Lacedemonians. We must not thinke that Lycurgus had beene lo superstitious, as obeying Pisheas, he had established the Lacedemonian Common-wealth : Nor likewise Publim Scipio moued with Dreames and Dininations, had purchasted so B great a power in the Countrey. But for that the one and the other faw many men not greatly to affect doubtfull affaires, not likewife to prefume to vindertake matters that were grave and dangerous without the hope of the Gods: For this cause Lycurgus making vie of the fame drawne from Pytheas in his opinion, hee made them more pleasing and certaine. Publius Scipio in like manner had made an impression in many of a conceite of him, that hee executed his Enterprizes by a certaine Diuine Councell 1. By this meanes he made his men more affured, and willing to attempt difficult things. That he hath brought enery thing to an end by sufficient reason and wisedome, and that C for this cause all his actions have had an end concurrent to reason, will appeare manifest and plaine by the Discourse which I shall, hold

concerning him. It is certaine he was bountifull and generous: But as for his industry, fobricty, and vigilancy in his resolutions, no man can conceive them, The disposition but fuch as haue lived with him, and have exactly fearcht the depth of pio. his disposition: amongst the which was Lelyus, who had beene his Companion from his Infancy in all his actions and discourses vnto his Death : for that hee feemes to speake likely things, and conformable to his actions. First hee reports this Noble deede of Publica,

when as his Father had resolued to fight with Hannibal neare vnto the River of Poe. For at that time being as it seemes but seventeene yeares old, going into the Field, hee had received from his Father a Troupe of the best and strongest men for his defence

And when he faw his Father in danger, and enuironed by the Enemy, accompanied onely with two or three Horse, hauinig received a dangerous wound, he began at the first to encourage his company to succour

Publius Scipio

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Ediles.

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his Father: But when they wavered, for the great multitude of the The courage of Enemies, hee cast himselfe desperately as it seemes, and charged them couragiously. Afterwards when the rest were forced to fight, the Encinies amazed with feare, ceas'd the Combare. Old Publiss being thus preferred contrary to all hope, hee was the first who (in hearing of them all) called him his Saujour. When by this action the fame of his proweffe and dexterity began, he afterwards ingag'd himfelfe in greater dangers, whenfocuer the supreame Hope of the Countrey required it by necessity: This was not with a courage relying in Fortune, but of a judicious Captaine.

> Afterwards Lucius his elder Brother, aspiring to the Dignity of Edile, the which among the Romans was the Noblest command of the Youth, and that by custome they made choise of two Ediles among the Patrici, and that there were many at that time which aim'd at it, he was long before he durst demand it of his Brother. When the Election grew neare, and that he had made a conjecture by the humour of the multitude, that his Brother would hardly obtaine it, feeing himfelfe on the other fide in great fauour with the people, and might attaine vnto his attempt, if with their confent he vndertooke the cause, he fell into this conceit. When he saw his Mother visite the Temples, and sa. B crifice vnto the Gods for his Brother, and that the entertained a great hope of the future, which she had in singular recommendation, and that his Father being then Commander of the Army in the favd War. had fayled into Spaine, he told his Mother that hee had one dreame twice and that it feemed vnto him that he returned being made Edile with his Brother, from the place to goe vnto their house: And that running vnro the doore, shee had saluted them with imbracings. When hee had ended this Speech, the Mother being very passionate with an efferminate affection, and answering I know not what, shee added; Oh that I might see that Day : will you saies he, that wee make a tryall & C Whereunto confenting, for that the did not thinke he would dare to attempt to great a matter, confidering that he was very young, thee required (as it were in sport) that he should presently provide him a long Cloake. For they which stand for gouernment, are accustomed to be so attired. In regard of his Mother, shee had no confidence in

> his Mother being yet asleepe. When the Multitude had received him with amazement, as well for this nouelty contrary to all hope, as for the love and affection they had formerly borne him, and afterwards drawing to the place appointed, he was neare vnto his Brother, many adjude'd this government not onely to Publiss. but alfo to his Brother for the love of him: and being both of them created Ediles in this manner, they returned to their house. When the Mother had receiued the newes, the ran vnto the Gate, and with affection and loue falu-

Publime when he had this brane Robe, went suddainly to the place, ted them. Wherefore although that Publim disdained Dreames, yet it scemed by this action to all those which have heard speake of it, that he had speech with the Gods, not only sleeping, but much more in the day

waking. But for that he was bountifull and pleafing in his words, and had well observed the affection of the Commons towards him, and had accommodated the time to the people and his Mother; hee not onely perfected his Enterprize, but also feemed to haue dispatcht it by some Dinine inspirarinn. They without doubt which cannot duely confider the occasions, nor the causes and dispositions of enery thing by the vice of Nature, or ignorance and dulneffe, referre vnto the Gods and Fortune the causes of things which are decided by industry and discrecte reason. These things I speake for the Readers, to the end that falling A through errour into the vulgar opinions of this man, they should not leave good and commendable graces that were in him, that is to fay, his Dexterity and Industry. In regard of that which I speake of him, it

will appeare manifelt by his actions.

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Publim Scipio being then Generall of the Army in Spaine, calling his Troupes together, he aduled them not to be amazed for the aduentures and difgraces past. For the Romans had never beene vanquished by the prowelle of the Carthaginians, but by the treaton of the Celibe- Alemonstrance rians: And the raffinesse of the Commanders seperated one from ano of publish sel ther, for that they trusted in them : which are things he fayd were then among the Enemies. For besides that they made Warre being faire diffant one from another, they offer'd outrages to their Allies, and made them Enemies : And that for this cause some were already sent home: and the rest will speedily (when they shall be affured) come when you have once past the River, not so much for the good will they beare you, as to seeke a reuenge for the wrongs received by the Cartha. ginians. But moreouer the Captaines are in diffention among them. felues, and will not willingly joyne together to fight with you . And being thus divided, they would be defeated, and fall eafily into their hands. Wherefore he perswaded them, that considering these things they should passe the River boldly, promising to give good order for C the rest. When he had vsed this speech vnto the other Captaines, he lest his colleague Marcus vpon the passage of the River, accompanied with three thousand Foote and fine hundred Horse, to the end hee might succour his Companions being in the River : hee himselfe past with the rest of his Army, holding his intention secret from all the World. Hee resolued things which he did not impart to many men. His resolution was to lay siege to the City of Carthage scitnate in Spaine, by the way of course: The which every man might understand, and that it is an excellent presumption of his esteeme, wheren of I have formerly spoken. For as hee was but seuen and twenty yeares old, he gaue himselfe first to things which in the judgement of the World seemed desperate, for the great precedent dangers and misfortunes : leaving all things that were vulgar and easie : and resolued and attempted those which seemed impossible vnto the Enemie, enery one of which required an exact wiledome, knowledge, and vnderstanding.

In the beginning being yet at Rome, when he had confidered by himselfe, and eniquired diligently of the treason of the Celsiberians, and

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of the division in the Armies, what might happen, and what fortune had befaline his Father, he was nothing amazed at the Carshaginians. neither did he faint as many viually doe. But after that he understood that the Allies on this side the River of Ebro, continued constant in their Friendship, and that the Commanders of the Carthaeinians were in discord, and oppress the Subjects, hee affected the Warre with an affured courage, having no confidence in Fortune, but in wife Councell. When he arrived in Spaine, he moved them all, and hauing enquired of the Enemies actions, he understood that the Carthaginians Armies were divided into three a and that Mago made his A abode within the Pillars of Hercules, at certaine places called Conies: And that Aldrubal the Sonne of Scone, was neare the mouth of a River by Portugale; the other Afdrubal in the Carpentins Countrey held a City besieged : Either of which places were many dayes journey distant from the City of the ceneteins. Studying then whether he should resolute give Battaile vnto the Enemy, if it were against all their forces, he should be in danger to be defeated, as well in regard of that which had befalne his Predecessors, as for that their Armies were great. If likewise he laboured to fight with the one, it was to be teared that in Aying the Battaile, the other Armies would B come, and by this meanes hee should be inclosed, falling into the like Disasters, whereunto his Vacle Caim and his Father Public had beene subiect.

Wherefore leaving this advice, when he vnderstood that Garthage was a great ease vnto the Enemies, and would be a great annovance to him in this Warre, he confidered of enery thing, wintring among the Bilotes. When he was advertised in the beginning that it had Ports which might containeall the Sea-army of Spaine: having likewife a Maritine scituation, spacious and commodious for the Carthaginians. for the Nauigation which comes from Lybia: and likewife for that the Treasure and Baggage for the Army, with all the hostages of Spaine, were kept there : adding thereunto the great advantage, for that the Fort had not about a thousand Souldiers in Garrison, for that they never sufpecked that any man would prefume to beliege it, the Carthaginians being in a manner Maisters of all Spaine: and that finally the rest of the people are in great number, yet they were Artizans, Mechannickes and Fishermen, who had no great experience in the Warre: He imagined that his comming to this City would be vnexpected with amazement. He was not ignorant of the scituation of the Towne, nor of its fortification, nor likewise of the disposition of the Poole: which things he had learned from Fishermen which had frequented the place: This Poole was generally muddy, and yet wadcable for the most part: and withall the water retired daily about Sun-fetting. Wherefore concluding that if he prevailed in his Enterprize, he should not onely annoy the Enemy, but it would bee a great benefit for the Warre: And if his aduice and councell fucceeded well, hee might preserve his Subjects as Maister of the Sea, if he might once fortifie and strengthen his Army. The which was easie: for that the Enemies were far off. Leauing

Leauing therefore all other resolutions, hee attends this during

And when he had once refolued, being of the age we have mention ned, he concealed his resolution from all the World, (except to Caius Lelyus) vntill he thought it fit to manifest it. Although that Historiographers give testimony of this resolution, yet when they come to the end of the action, they attribute this excellent worke to the Gods and to Fortune, and not to him nor his wifedome; without any probable arguments, and the testimony of those which lived with him: A for that Scipio himselfe declares plainely in an Episse which he had written to Philip, that making vie of the aduice which wee have mentioned, he had undertaken the Warre of Spaine, and the flege of Carthage. Moreouer, commanding Lelyus fecretly touching the Army at Sea, he gaue him charge to faile aboue the City. Hee alone was priny to his designe, as I have sayd. Himselfe taking the Troupes of Foote-men, marcht speedily. There were in the Army at Land about fine and twenty thousand Foote, and two thousand fine hundred Horse. Being The number of come vnto the City on the seuenth Day, hee planted his Campe on at Land. the North pare, and fortified it without with a double Rampire and Ditches from one Sea vnto the other, without doing any thing to-B wards the City. The Nature of the place had fortification enough.

To understand well how this City hath beene befieged and taken, I hold it necessary in some fort to describe the neighbour Countries and its scituation. It is seated in Spaine about the middle of the Maritine The scituation Region, in the Gulfe which hath its aspect towards Affricke : whose of Carebage. depth is about twenty Furlongs, and the breadth at the entrance about ten : All this Gulfe makes a kind of Port, where there lies an Iland at the mouth of it, leaving on either fide a little entrance. And when the Sea is troubled with any torment, then all the Gulfe is calme, but when the Westerne Winds of the Winter Solstice, beating vpon C the two entrances, cause the storme: But as for the other Windsit is not troubled, by reason of the sirme Land which enuirons it. Behinde the Gulfethere tifes a Cape, whereon the City is scituated, enuironed with the Sea towards the East and South, and with a Lake vpon the West and North, so as the space which remaines from one

Sea to another, by the which the City is joyned to the firme Land, is not aboue two Furlongs.

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In regard of the City, one moiety of it is concaue: and towards the South it hath the approach of the full Sca : Finally, it is full of Hills, D whereof two are rough and difficult: the other three are very lowe, but strong and hard to passe, whereof the highest bends towards the East, advancing to the Sea : There the Temple of Afelepie is built. Right against the which is another of the same scienation, whereon stands a sumptuous royall Pallace, the which some say had beene built by Afdrubal affecting a Regall power. The rest of the lesser Hills haue their tops towards the North. That of the three which lookes directly towards the East, is called Phose : to the which is ioyned that of Alete. It seemes that Phefe hath beene the in-

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uentor of Silver mettals, and for this cause purchased divine honours. The third is called Crone. In regard of the Lake loyning to the Sea: it hath taken its course by the worke of man, for the benefit of Fisher-men. and others trafficking by Sea. But at the breach of the Banke by the which the Lake and Sea are divided, they have made a Bridge, to the end that Sumpters and Carts might bring things necessary from the Countrev.

This was the scituation of those places, the Romans Campe was fortified in Front, without any provision as well by the Lake, as Sea on cither side. In regard of the space which ionnes the City to the firme A Land, he did not fortifie it, for that it was in the midft of his Campe: to the end he might amaze the Citizens, and make vse of it for Skirmishes, and to fally forth and retire to his Campe. The Walles in the beginning had not aboue twenty Furlongs: Although that many haue giuen it forty: which is not true. Wee spake not by heare-say, but vpon a certaine knowledge, for that we have seene the places: and at this

day they containe no more.

Scipio having drawne his Army together with that at Sea, began to make remonstrances vnto them, without vsing any other arguments and reasons, then simply to propound the things whereof wee have partly B spoken, and shewing them that this attempt was feazable: and in relating in particular things done by prowesse, he extenuated that of his affaires. Finally, he promised Crownes of Gold to those which should first ascend the Wall: and the accustomed rewards to others which should carry themselves openly like brave and valiant men. And in the meane time he affirmes that Neptune had appeared vnto him in sleepe, and had shewed him this kind of attempt to assaile the City: And confequently promifed, that during the affault, he would worke so apparently, as the efficacy of his Succours should be manifest to the whole Army. By his remonstrances and euident reasons, together with the promise of Crownes of Gold, and moreouer by the prouidence of God, he imprinted a vehement defire and courage in the Youth.

The next day hee drew his ships into the Maritine places, furnished with divers Engines to cast, whereof he gave the charge to Caim Lely. w: And taking at Landtwo thousand able men with those that carried Ladders, he began the assault three houres after. Mago on the other fide who had the guard of the City, dividing his Battalion of a thoufand men, leaving the one halfe within the Fort, and plants himselfe on the Hill which lookes towards the East: and appoints about two thoufand strong men, furnished with Armes which were in the City, to the Gate which drawes to the Istomus, and the Enemies Campe: Commanding the rest to runne vp and downe the Walles, and to defend them with all their power. When as Publim Scipio had caused the The beginning Trumpet to found to the affault, Mago caused a fally to be made by the Gate, hoping to terrifie the Enemies, and to frustrate their attempt. As they fought valiantly with those that came marching in Battaile towards the Isthmus, there was a braue Combate, every man giving cou. rage to his Companion. But the attempt was not equall, for that their Succours

Succours were not alike: For that the Carthaginians came running forth but by one Gate, within the space of two Furlongs: whereas the Romans came suddainly and from many places. Scipio restrained his men neare the Campe, to drawe the Enemy farre from the City, being confident that if he defeated this Battalion of Commons, he should subsequently descate the rest, and that no man would dare to make a fally. It fell out that the Combate was for a time equall: for that on either fide they had made choise of their ablest men to make the point. But The carthaginiin the end the Carthaginians being repuls'd by the force of those which ans repuls'd. A came running from the Campe, turne head : fo as many were flaine during the Combate and retreate. There were many likewise flaine at the Gate.

After this all the people of the City were so amazed, as they which were on the Walles fled : and the Romans had like to have entred with the Run-awayes. Moreouer, they fet up the Ladders diligently, where- carthage all aulas Scipio undertooke the danger : the which he did wifely. He was ac. ted by the Rocompanied with three men carrying Targets, (the which coucring mans. Scipio, hindred the fight from the top of the Wall) defended him thus couered. By this meanes striuing vpon the slankes and difficult places, he was of great vie in taking this City. When he saw what was done, being also discouered to all the Souldiers fighting, he gaue them great courage, so as no danger was avoided : and hee imployed himselfe cheerefully with the rest (as it was reasonable) in enery occasion that was offered to purpole. When the first ascended the Ladders resolute. ly, the multitude of Defendants did not make the affault so dangerous, as the height of the Walles. For this cause they which defended it, were more affured seeing the difficulty which happened. For some of the Ladders brake by reason of the multitudes which mounted on them. They also which ascended first, were so dazeled with the height of C the Ladders, as if the resistance and defence had beene any thing, they must have cast themselves downe headlong: Aud when as any such accident happened, strining to get ouer the Wall, they were ouerthrowne to the ground. And although fuch things happened, yet they could not repulse the Romans from their affault : so as when the first were fallen, their next neighbours stept into their places.

But as the day was farre spent, and the Souldiers tired with the toile of the affault, the Commander caused a retreate to be sounded. Wherefore they of the City reioyced as if they had repuls'd the danger. But Scipio attending the time when the Tide should retire, appointed five D bundred men for the Lake with Ladders. In regard of the Gate and Isthmus, he set fresh men : and after that he had preacht vnto them, he deliuered them more Ladders then formerly, to the end they might mount vpon the Walles more thicke. When they had founded to the A Geond afaffault, and that the Souldiers went vp the Ladders with great courage, fault given to there grew a great trouble and alteration in the City. For when they Romani. thought they had beene free, they faw the danger renewed by another affault. But when they found themselves destitute of Darts, and were heavy for the great number of those which perished, they were discontented

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contented at that which happened, yet defending themselves no lesse valiantly. Finally, the ebbing of the Sea beganne during the Combate of the Ladders : The height of the Poole was much diminished, by the ebbing of the Tide, the which was great, falling by the mouth into the Sea, fo as it seemed incredible to those which saw it without confideration.

Scipio having his guides ready, commaunds those which he had appointed, to enter and to carrie themselues valiantly. Hee was as fit and industrious as any man, to put courage into his Souldiers, and to make them resolute to whom he preacht. When they obeyed him, and A striued thorough the mud, all the Army held that which happened to be done by some Divine providence. Wherefore remembring those things which they had heard, and the prowesse of Scipio, they were fo inflamed, as they drew to the Gate close and with a violent course, and seeke to breake it open with Hatchets and Axes. The others approaching the VValls through the mud, and finding the toppenaked of men, they fet vp their Ladders not onely without danger, but they past the Wals without difficultie. The Citizens in truth were drawne to other places, neither did they thinke that the Enemy would cuer assaile the Wali by the Lake. Moreouer by reason of the extreame eric B and the confused noise, they could neither see nor heare any thing that was done.

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The Romans having gotten the VVall, seeke first under colour of making the round, how they might draw the Enemies vnto them. For ken by affault, the effecting whereof their Armes was of great service. Finally, they come to the Gate, where as some going downe cut the barres, others entred from without. In regard of those which made their attempts at the Ishmus with Ladders, after they had defeated them which defended the VValls, they lept ouer, and by this meanes the VVall was gotten. As for the Hill scituated towards the East, they which entred by the Gate recouered it, chasing away the Guards. VVhen as Scipio C faw that there was a sufficient number entred into the City, hee fent many of them according to the Custome, against the Citizens, giuing them charge to kill all they met without taking any to mercy, and not to busie themselues with spoile vntill they had a signe given them. The Romans doe this to terrifie them. And therefore wee often see, that when they take Cities by force, they doe not onely kill the men, but they cut their Dogges in pieces, and dismember their other Cattle. Many such things happened in that Citie, by reason of the multitude

Scipio afsailes

Maco deliuers the fort.

Finally Publius Scipio accompanied with a Thousand men affailes the D Fort : whereunto making his approaches, Mago at the first striues to defend it : But when hee viderstood the Truth of the taking of the City, hee fends men to parley for his fafety, and by this meanes hee deliuers the Fort. This done, a figne being given, the massacre ceased, and they fell to spoile. And when as night approached, some remained in the Campe ordained for that end : And the Generall spent the night in the Fort, accompanied with a Thousand men : Appointing the

rest being retired from the Houses, by the Captaines of Thousands, to carry the boory to the Enfignes in the market place. In regard of them that were lightly armed, called from the Campe on the Hill, hee fent them to the Easterne parts. The Romans tooke Carthage in Spaine after this manner. The day following after they had carried the baggage of the Carthaginian Souldiers, and the substance of the Burgestes and Artizans to the place, the Captaines of Thoulands according to Custome, divided it among their Bands.

Among the Romans this order is observed touching Cities taken. The order of Sometimes to enery day they number the men, and diffributing them the Romantin Sometimes to every day they number the men, and distributing them according to the greatnesse of the City, sometimes they divide them the spoile of a by Enfignes. They neuer appoint aboue halfe the Army for this bufi- Towne. nesse. The rest remaine in Battaile for the Guard, sometimes they are without, and fometimes within the City, vnto the end they may be alwayes ready. The Army being disided for the most part in two of Romans, and two of Allies, they which are deputed for the division, do every man bring his booty vnto the Campe. This done, the Millanneers or Captaines of Thoulands divide it equally to them all : Not onely to those which remaine in Battaile, but also to the Guards of the Tents, to the ficke, and vato all those which are or-

dained for any publicke feruice. When they are together in Campe to go vnto the War, they sweare The Souldiers not to commit any fraud in the pillage, and that they keepe their faith Oath outhing according vnto the oath which they have taken. But wee have spoken the pillage, fufficiently heereof in Discoursing of their pollicy. Finally when an Army is thus divided, one part attending the Booty, and the rest standing in Battaile for their Guards, yet the Romans had neuerany difference through Couctoufacffe. For when as none of them are frustrated for the Hope of gaine, and that in the meane time some follow C the spoile, and the others remaining in Battaile guard them, no man abandons his Enfigne: The which many times is the cause of great losse and danger to others. Many suffer losse, and are in danger in regard of gaine : For it is apparent, that they which remaine in Campe, or are in Battaile, containe themselues vnwillingly : for that most commonly all the spoile under his Commaund and power which rules, if he be an absolute Monarch : And if he be a Commaunder, euery man holds that his owne, which may be hidden and purloind, although that all things be carefully brought together. And for that most pare of mendefire booty, and for this cause are in danger, having no D meanes to obtaine an absolute Victory, it fals out that they are in danger to lose all. The which happens to many, who although they have preuailed in their Enterprize, whether they have cast themselues into the Enemies Campe, or haue taken a City, yet they haue not onely beene repuls'd, but moreouer had lost all, and for no other cause but that aboue mentioned. Whereefor Comanders ought to have nothing ingreater recommendation and care, then that whereof wee speake : which is, that (as much as may be possible) this hope may remaine to the greatest part : that if such an accident happens, the division may be

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equall to them all. Then the Captaines of Thousands gaue order fo the Boory : and the Roman Commander having drawne together their Prisoners, (which were little lesse then a thousand) hee commands them first to separate the Citizens with their Wives and Children, and then the handy-crafts-men. This done, hee aduiseth the Citizens to imbrace the Friendship of the Romans, and to remember the fauour which they received, and then hee fent them backe to their houses. Whereof some weeping, and others joyfull for their vnexpected safety, they retire, having done their duties to the Generall.

In regard of the Worke-men and Artizans, hee told them, that for A the present they were publique Servants to the City of Rome : But if euery one did his duty cheerefully and willingly, he promifed them liberty, if the Warre vndertaken again the Carthaginians had a good end. Then he gave charge to the Questor to take the Names of these men, and that he should appoint thirty Roman Commissaries, for the whole multitude contained in a manner two thousand. He also made choise of the strongest, and the most flourishing in age and forme, to furnish the Troupes: and fill'd the captive ships with all the Marriners, exceeding the former one halfe: fo as every ship had in a manner twice B The number of as many men. There were eighteene captine thips, and in the beginthis that were ning they had beene five and thirty. To whom he promifed liberty if they showed themselves friends and valiant, and that if in this Warre he should happen to vanquish the Carshaginians. When he had declared himselse in this manner, he made the Burgesses affectionate and loyall, as well to himselfe as to the Roman Common-weale: The Worke-men and Artizans are in like manner joy full upon the hope of liberty.

But when he had by this sapply much augmented the Troupes, in the end he separates Mago and the Carthaginians. For he had two Senators and fifteene Councellors: whom hee gaue in charge to Caim Lelym, C commanding him to have a speciall care. Moreover, hee calls all the hostages vnto him, which were about three hundred. Then he makes much of the Children, willing them to reioyce, and that within few dayes they should see their Parents. In like manner he perswades the rest to be of good hope, and to write vnto their Cities and Friends, that first of all they had their lives saued, and were well intreated : And that fecondly the Romans would fend them all home to their houses in fafety, if their Friends could imbrace their alliance. This Speech being ended, he gaue the most commodious spoiles of the Army to every one according to his Race and age, as to Children Feathers and Bracelets, D and to young men Swords. When as among the Captiues the Wife of Mandenin, the Brother of Andebale, King of the Lecheteins, had cast her selfe at his feete, demanding with teares that he would have a better respect to her honesty then the Carthaginians had had, being moued with compassion, he demanded of her what necessary things she wanted. Shee was an aged woman, and carried the shew of some great Dignity. And when she held her peace, he calls for those which had the charge of the women, who presenting themselves, and affirming that the

The Wife of Mandonin.

Carthaginians had furnished the Women with all things necessary : the touching his knees againe, repeated the fame words. Scipio viewing her, and thinking that they vinto whom he had then given the charge, ficwed themselves lyers through negligence, commaunded the Women not to be discontented', and that hee would give order to place other Commissaries, to the end nothing should be wanting that was needfull for them. Then flaying a little, Captaine the faid, thou miftakest my words, if thou doest thinke that I require thy affistance to content the bellle.

Then Scipio hearing her conceite, and observing in her face the vigour of Andobales daughters, and of many other Potentates, was forced to weep; for that this Lady discouered her Calamitie in few words. Wherefore when it appeared that he understood her conceit, taking her by the Hand, as he did the reft, willing them to reioyce: promifing to have them in as great recommendation, as his owne fifters and children : and that according to his promise, hee would appoint trusty and confident mento haue the Charge ouer them. Finally, having deliucred voto the Questors all the Wealth found in the publicke Treasure of the Carebaginians, which amounted to aboue eighteene hundred Thoufand Crownes: So as loyning them vnto other twelue hundred Thoufand, which the Questor of Rome had, the whole summe would be about three millions.

At the same time certaine Young men having taken a Virgin, passing in the flower of her age, and the beauty of her body all the reft of the Women, knowing that Scipio tooke delight in it, they came vato him bringing this Virgin, and staying him, told him that they presented her vnto him. Publius amazed and-wondring at her beauty : if I were (fayth he) a private person, there is no gift could be more pleasing vn- The chast and tome : But being a great Commaunder, there is nothing leffe in my swere of scipio, C affection : Letting them understand (as it feemes by this answere) that in time of rest and idlenesse, the vse of such things is pleasing to young men : But when affaires do presse, it ingenders in them which vie them, great hinderances both in body and minder Finally heethankt the young men: And calling for the father of the Virgin, hee restored her vnto him, gining him charge to marry her as he thought good, to some Cittizen. By this meanes having made shew of the Chastity and modely of his Heart, he became very pleasing to the Subiccis. These things being thus ordained, and the rest of the Prisoners delivered to the Captaines of Thousands, hee sent Caim Lelyms to Rome to the sine N Yeares Sacrifices, with the Carthaginians and the other prisoners of note, to make knowne in their Countrey, the accidents which had happened.

Many in truth which despaired of the Warre in Spaine, applied them. selues vnto the present in divers manners, resuming Courage againe, where as the newes was directed publickly. Scipio staying some time at Carthage, practifed the Army at Sea continually : And hee taught the Captaines of Thousands this kinde of Exercise for the Foote men. He appointed the Souldiers to runne thirty furlongs armed on the first

day: And on the second they should all furbush and cleanse their armes: And on the third they should rest : But on the fourth they should fight with Swords of Wood couered with Leather, and with plummets, my both at Sea feaching them to cast Darts: And on the fift to fall to their running, as in the beginning. In like manner he folicited the Artizans and Workemen carefully, to the end that nothing should bee wanting in the true Exerciscs of Armes. Healfo appointed part of the Commissaries to this Worke, and went up and downe daily, foliciting enery man vnto that which was necessary.

Finally, whilst the Armie at Land practised often before the Citie, the Marriners vsed their Exercises at Sea, with their turnings and returnings. And they which should be in the Citie, should Furbush, Forge, and Worke : and that all should be carefully imploied to prepare Armes. There is no man but would have held the City for a shoppe of Warre, according to the faying of Xenophon, if he had feene it then. As all things seemed good vato him, and conveniently dispatcht for necessary vie, and that consequently hee had put a Garrison into the Citie, and rampred the Wals, he dislodgeth with his Army, as bending both by Sea and Land towards Tarragone, having the Hostages with him. He marcht with his Army, as in his judgement such B marches are requisite in all occasions. In the which bee must alwayes accustome the Horse-men, as to mannage a Horse, to handle a Jauclin, and moreover to bound and gallop, and to turne on the right hand or the left. Sometimes they disbanded the Commanders of ten out of the midft of the Army, and they which commaunded twenty upon the two wings: and sometimes they drew them together, and flayed them according to the troupes of horsemen upon the wings: or else they made an extent of two wings by an interpolition, or by the pollicy of the Captaines of the reareward. In regard of their exercise in a thiong, hee sayed it was not necessary, as having one course vpon the way.

They must in all alarums bee accustomed to charge the enemy, and to make their retreate, that they should alwayes approach as nimbly as they could, marching united and in the same order. They must moreouer obserue the spaces betwirt the bands, for if the horsemen undergoing the danger breake their rankes, there was nothing fo dangerous nor preiudiciall. When hee had taught them all these things, especially to the Captaines, hee enters into Citties, to inquire first if most of them obeyed the things which had beene commanded them, and finally if they which had the gouerment of Citties, D were sufficient to execute the constitutions with judgement : holding nothing more necessary then the Prudence of Gouernors. These things being thus ordred, hee affembles the horsemen of Citties in a certaine place, and himselfe making certaine bounds and Curuets, hee taught them all the managing of Armes. Hee did not march in the head of the army, as Captaines viually doe at this day, thinking the first place to belong vnto them. This without doubt takes away the comanders experience, and draws him into danger

It is true that he is seene by them all, but sees not any. It is necessary The duty of that the Commander of an Army shew example, not by a Military the Commanauthority, but by experience of a Captaine, and his proweffe in der of an Ar-Armes, marching fometimes with the force ward and femetimes with my. Armes, marching sometimes with the fore-ward, and sometimes with the reare-ward, and sometimes in the Battaile: the which this man did, riding and confidering them all, who being doubtfull he taught, correcting their errours in the beginning : the which seldome happened by reason of the precedent diligence. Demetrius Phalerius hath shewedit, faying, that as in buildings where the houses are comprehen-A ded under one Roofe and ligature, it happens that the continuance is the stronger : So a whole Army is made more sirme, in the which all is diligently pursued in particular, and by the Chambers. That which is done at this day, is very like to the gouernment and order of a Buttaile. Light things and those which are most vsuall in an Army, many times perish wholly in it. In regard of the Role of rhose which dilband, and are armed with aduantage, the Battalion containes them. Now the Etoliens fight like a forlorne hope : So doe they of Morea their Allies: whereas the Romans make head holding the order of a Battalion. And if the others bee repulft, and returning from the Combate perish, the Romans retire with-B out losse: and if they vanquish, which God forbid) they will make all the rest of Greece subject.

A Parcell of Media

Edia according to the Circuite of the Countrey, is the most defencible among all the Potentates of Afia, in regard of the multitude and vallour of the men, and likewise of the Horses. It doth furnish in a manner all Asia with this kinds of Cattell : so as the Royall Races which are bred and entertained there, C are of great benefit to the Medians. It is also inhabited with Grecian Cities, the which Alexander caused to bee built for the guard thereof, by reason of the neighbour-hood of the Barbarians i except the Erbatanes, whose City is built upon the Northerly marches of Media. Yet it is neare the parts of Asia which confine vpon the blacke Sca and the Euxine.

In the beginning the Royall City of the Medians was amongst all the rest the most excellent in riches and sumptuous buildings. It is scituated vnder the Mountaine Countries, and neighbours to Oronte without Walles, having onely a Fort that is well furnished and fortified with great Art. Under which is scituated the royall City of the Persians. It is a question whether we should speake of it in particular, or The Royall be silent. Release meetinging a strong argument to those whose City of the be silent. Beleeue mee, it giues a strong argument to those whose respans. intention and custome is to relate rare and admirable things, and to speake some adding much vnto them : which breeds a doubt in those which wisely receive all that which is out of common fancy.

This royall City hath in greatnesse and circuite almost seuen Furlongs, and the sumptyous action of enery building such, as it showes a

great abundance of wealth in those that first founded them. For as all the Carpenters worke is of Cedar or Cipresse, yet they have not left one cloud, but haue lin'd the Ioists, Wainscor, and Pillars with the vaults of the Galleries, with plates of Gold and Silver: and in regard of the Vessell it was all of Silver. Yet the greatest part was carried away at the comming of Alexander and the Macedonians : and the rest vader the government of Antigoniu, and of Seleucus Nicanor, and likewise at the comming of Antiochus, when as the Temple of Enee had about it many Pillars gilt, and a great quantity of Silver veffels. and finally, there were some small number of Tiles of Gold, A but many more of Silver. Moreover, there was a great heape of Silver within the Royall City, couned of the aforesaid things, to the number of about two Millions and foure hundred thousand Crownes.



A Parcell of Antiochus, and of his Army into Hyrcania.

Neiochus hopes to come vnto those places. Arfaces like wise thinkes that he dare not passe the Desarts there confining with so great an Army, especially for the want of Water. It is true that in the faid places the Water shewes it selfe voon the superficies, and that there are many Dit-C

ches having deepe Wells, bur vnknowne to those which did not frequent them. Of which they have a Tale in the Countrey: that at such time as the Persians enjoyed Asia, this Countrey had in certaine places (In the which formerly there was no Water) fine Springs or Fountains. And therefore as Tauris hath many great Rivers, they imployed great labour and cost to fill the Ditches from farre, the which succeeded: neither doe they know which vie these Waters, the Spring of these Ditches, nor whence they come. When as Arfaces faw him take the way by the Defart, hee refolued to shut up the Wells and to corrupt them. The King having this newes, he dispatcht some from Nicomedia with a thousand Horse, who finding Arfaces gone with his Army, leaving some Horse men to fill vp the Ditches. To whom suddainly after their comming they gaue the chase, and then returned to Antiochus. The Desarts Heeatomphilon. being past, the King arrived at a City called Hecatomphilon, scituated in the midst of Parthyene. It hath taken its name for that all the passages of the neighbour Countries ioyne there: Here he refresht his Army, and made his reckoning that if Arfaces had beene able to ioyne Battaile with him, hee would not have retired leaving his Countrey,

Many Rivers TAHris.

Lib. 10. Of the History of POLYBIVS. Countrey, nor fought other places more commodious for his Army

to fight in, then those which are about Hecatemphilon. By his departure therefore it is manifest to him that will consider this action, that hee had taken another resolution. Wherefore Antiochus resolued to take his way to Hyrcania.

But when he was come to Tages, and had notice of the difficulty of the places by those of the Countrey, the which hee was to passe vnto the tops of the Mountaines which bend to Hyrcania, and that the Barbarians held the most difficult places, hee resolued to take a A good number of the ablest men, and to separate their Captaines, and to informe enery one of them how to performe the way, and likewise hee appointed Pyoners, marching with them to seuell the way for the Souldiers, Leginaries, and Baggage. This being concluded, he gaue the first Battalion to Diogenes, adding thereunto the Archers and Slangers, who from the Mountaines might cast their Darts and Stones : the which held no order of Battaile, but came alwayes in time to the place of danger, and were of great service in difficult places. Hee accompanied them with about two thousand Candiers armed with Targets, of which Polinenides had the charge. In the Rearcward hee ordaines the armed men and the Targeteers: The B Commanders whereof were Nicomedes of Chio, and Nicolas the

As these men march before, it fell out that the roughnesse and streights of the passage were found more difficult then the King had conceined. All the length of the ascent was about three hundred Furlongs, and for the most part by the deepe Fourd of a Torrent, into the which were fallen from the high Rocks Stones and Trees which made the passage inaccessible. To the which the Barbarians gaue greataffistance: casting continually Trees which were cut downe, and gathered together great heapes of Stones: and seazed (keeping with-Call the length of all the Valley) on the Hills of aduantage, which might serue them for defence : so as if they had not beene frustrated, Antiochus had giuen ouer his Enterprize as destitute of his forces. For as it was necessary for the Enemies to take their way, and to ascend by that Valley, they seazed on the sayd places and fortified them. But they did not observe that it was impossible for the Leginaries to passe there with their Baggage vntill the way were made : for these could not approach or come neare the Confines of

They that were lightly armed and the valiant often, could not a-D feend the Leucopetres. For this cause the Ordonance changed when they were joyned vnto the first Guard of Diegenes Troupes who ascended out of the Torrent. Suddainly the Combate began as the accident thewed: Diogenes Troupe marching flowly through as the accident thewed: Diogenes 1 roupe marching nowly through the Countrey, gaue a rough charge to the Enemy: And in throwing Diogenes fights with the Barbaran and the Countrey with the Barbaran and the Countrey of the C of Darts and Stones prest the Barbarians, annoying them much with viane. their Slings which they cast from their Pallisadoe. Having chased the first, and had taken their place, they gave charge to the Pyoners to make

the passage euen, the which was presently performed by reason of their

great number.

By this meanes when the Slingers, Archers, and Darters had marcht to the higher places, scattred here and there, and sometimes together. feazing on the most commodious places, and the Targeteers held the lower Countrey, marching in Battaile a flow pace along the Torrent: The Barbarians stayed not, but abandoning the place, they drew together on the top of the Mountaines. In regard of Antiochus Troupes, it past the difficult passages safely after this manner: But slowly and with great difficulty: They could hardly eight in a Ranke recouer the A top of the neare Mountaines. And when the Barbarians were there affembled, having an humour they should bee able to keepe the Enemies from gaining the top, there fell out a braue Combate. By these reasons the Enemies were repuls'd, who revniting themselues sought against the Leginaries, and made head against them with great cou-

In the Night the brauest of them turning about recourred the top; and the places lying behind. The which the Barbarians feeing, and fuddainly amazed, they turned head. The King is very carefull to restraine the fury of his Souldiers pursuing the Enemy, causing a re- B treate to be founded, defiring they should enter into Hyrcania vnited and in good order. This kinde of march being ordained according to his will, hee comes to the City of Tambrace, destitute of Walles. yet having a royall and large Pallace: where hee campt and befieged it. Bnt when as many, as well Souldiers as of the Countrey had retired to the City of Syringe, (it was not farre from Tambrace, and was as it were the Capitall of Hyrcania, as well for its fortification

as for its wealth) hee resolued to ruine it by sorce.

Springebelieged by Antio-

The City of

Tambrace.

Marching therefore with his power, and planting his Campe about it, he besieged the Citie. The greatest part of his worke was to make platformes in the fashion of a Tortoise. The Ditches were triple, being about feuen Fathome and a halfe broad, and foure deepe. Vpon either banke there was a double Pallifadoe with a strong outwall. There were continuall Skirmishes whilest they wrought : from whence they carried from either fide men slaine and hurt : for that they fought very valiantly, not onely voon the ground, but also vnder it in the Mines. But by reason of the multitude of Pyoners and the Kings diligence, it happened that the Ditches were fuddainly fill'd vp, and the Walles fell being shaken with the Mines. This done, the Barbarians being confounded, and much terrified and a-D mazed with feare, they kill the Grecians which were in the City, and taking their richest stufferetire by Night. The King seeing this, fends Hyparbase with the Mercenaries : with whom the Barbarians fighting, and in the end abandoning the Baggage, retire againe in: to the City. But when the Targeteers prest them valiantly, not able to beare the burthen being so grieuous, they presently yeeld having no more hope.

Syringe taken

The Commanders of the Army being desirous to see the Enemics A defect in the

Of the Hillory of POLYBIVS. Troupes enuitoned on the Hill, they command those which were in the Pallifadoe not to budge: in regard of themselves they goe to view the places, being accompanied with two Troupes of Horse, and some Footmen lightly armed, with thirty executioners of Iustice. Certaine Numidians accustomed to Darts, comming out of the Enemies Fort to lye in Ambush, they had by chance stolne from the Hills: who having notice given them by a Spye, that some were on the top of the Hill higher then they, they prepare themselues and march crosse the Hill, and casting themselves betwirt them and their Campe, they shut them A in and take them. Claudius Marcellus the Consull was at the first cellus wounded charge wounded, and taken with some others, forcing the rest being and taken. wounded to flye into Caues and Pits. The which they of the Campe feeing, they could not relieue them in this danger. For whilest they cryed out and wondred at this accident, and that some bridled their

Horses, and others arm'd themselues, the Execution was ended. The

Sonne of Glandin faued himselfe with difficulty, and contrary to all

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hope being wounded. Finally, Claudius fell into these dangers more through simplicity then by any true judgement of a Captaine. For my part I am forced to admonish the Reader of these kind of aduentures through the whole tract of our Worke, where I fee not onely B ordinary Souldiers, but euen Captaines themselues to have erred by mae nifest ignorance. What profit can a Prince or Gommander reape, which hath northe knowledge of dangers which hee must avoide, lest the whole Army perish with him : Who knowes not that if necessity doth force them to attempt a thing, that a great part of the Troupes must perish before the Commanders feele it? The tryall must be suddainly made not by the Commander. That which they vivally fay, I did not Common oxthinke it : and who would ever have thought that should have hap-cules of ignopened! Seemes to be a great argument of ignorance, and of a weake tance and negiudgement in the Commander.

For this cause I hold Haunibal among the good Captaines for many reasons, and which may herein be commended, who hath imployed much time in the profession of Armes, and who making vie of judge; ment in many and divers occasions, hath many times by his industry frustrated the Enemies in particular encounters, and was neuer circumuented in such great Battailes: who as it appeares hath preserued himselfe with great providence. And that with good reason. For the Commander being safe, although all the rest perish. Fortune produceth many occasions by the which the damages received by those miserable accidents may be repaired : But if he perish like vuto a Pilot in a ship, there growes no profir, although that Fortune give the Victory to the rest against the Enemy: For that the hope of all depends vpon the Commander. I speake these things against those who by a glorious prefumption, or a youthfull humour, or by stupidity, or disdaine, fall into this inconfideration. One of the faid things must of necessity be the cause of these missortunes.

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A Remon-

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Of Publius Scipio and of the VV arre of the Romans against the Carthaginians.

S Publius Scipio Generall of the Romans in Spaine, being in the Region of Tarracona, had first drawne the Spanis ards to his Friendship, and made them faithfull, for that he had restored them their hostages, he had in this action Edecon, a powerfull Prince for a voluntary affiftance: who B

suddainly after the taking of Carthage, and his Wife and Children reduced vnder the power of Publius, confidering the alteration of the Spaniards towards him, he refolued in the beginning to be the Authour, beleeuing confidently that by this meanes he might recouer his Wife and Children, and that hee should seeme to joyne vnto the Romans willingly, and not through necessity: The which succeeded accordingly. For when the Army had beene newly fent to winter, he came to

Tarracona accompanied with his Friends.

Being admitted to the speech of Publius, he sayd, that he was wonderfully bound vnto the Gods, that before all the Princes and Potche tates of the Countrey, he had retired himselfe vnto him; and that of C the rest, some sent and depended on the Carthaginians, and in the meane time they fued vnto the Romans with joyned hands: and that for his part he was come not onely to yeeld himselfe but also his Friends. Wherefore if he received him into his Friendship and alliance, he was confident that he should be able, not onely for the present, but also for the future to doe him great service. For as soone as the Spaniards should fee him admitted to his Friendship, and to have obtained his demands, they will likewise come all to recouer their Friends, and to purchase the alliance of the Romans: and that for the future they would imploy themselues with emulation in his other affaires, if their hearts were D once possess with this honour and humanity. He required to have his Wife and Children, and that being admitted into Friendship, he might returne to his house, where having found some good occasion, hee might shew his affection, and that of his Friends towards him and the Roman Common-weale. This Speech being ended. Edecon was filent. As Publius had long expected this, and confidered of Edecons reasons, he deliuered him his Wife and Children, granting the alliance. More-

ouer during his presence, he drawes the Spaniard by many meanes to his Deuotion, and imprinted in his followers a great hope for the future, sending him backe to his House. When this accident was divulged, all the Spaniards inhabiting within the River (being formerly no friends to the Romans) followed their party in a manner with one accord. These things fell out to the content of Publius Scipio. After their departure hee sent backe the maritine Bands, seeing no shewe of danger at Sea. Yet he made choise of those that were most servicea. ble, and divides them among the Enfignes, to the end he might make A the Bands of foot-men the more compleat.

Andomale and Mandonin, men at that time of great power among the Spaniards, attended a fit occasion, having long carried a secret ha- andomsle and tred in their hearts against the Carthaginians, although they helde Mandonin. them for their trusty and confident friends : For that Afdrubals men (making shew to have no great confidence in them) they had exacted a great summe of money, and their Wives and Children for Hostages,

whereof wee have formerly spoken. When as then they immagined they had found a fit opportunity, they retire their Bands from the Car-Ibaginian Campe, and in the Night recourred certaine places of great strength, where they might remaine free from all danger. This done, many other Spaniards abandoned Astrubal, having beene long difcontented with the pride of the Carthaginians: Hauing recoursed this Administration first occasion to shew what friendship they bare them: the which many spaniards.

You must vinderstand that the Execution of great matters, and a Vi-Acry gotten by force vpon the Enemy, be of great consequence, yet there is required great prudence and Wisedome, to make good vse of things decided by Armes. So as there are more that enjoy Prerogatives, then they which vie them well: The which happened to the Carthagi-C nians. For after they had defeated the Roman forces, and slaine Pub-

lius and Gains Scipio, father and Vnckle of this Publius, of whom we now Treat, thinking that Spaine was then in no more danger of Warre, they intreated the Inhabitants roughly. For this cause in steed of friends and Allies, their Subiects were incensed and deadly Enemies. The which fell out inftly. They had an humour that the meanes to Conquer Principallities, diffred from that of preserving them. They were ignorant that they keepe their preheminence well, which observe the fame will and humour, wherewith principallities haue beene first

It is manifest and observed in many, that men are of that Nature, that whereas prosperity offers it selfe, they shewe themselves kinde to their Neighbours, promising hopefull things. But when they have attained to their desires, then they deale wickedly, and raigne ouer their Subjects as ouer flaues. Wherefore not without reason the affections of Subjects, change with the alteration of their Princes: The which hapned to the Carthaginians. Afdrubal takes much advice vpon this accident for the euent of things. The retreate of Andomale troubled him. So did the hatred and abandoning of the other Commaunders.

ouer

The aduice of Aldrubal for the Warre.

Finally, hee was discontented at the comming of Publius, whom hee fill expected to come against him with his Army. When he saw himfelfe abandoned by the Spaniards, and that all in one League retired to the Romans, he tooke this aduice. He refolued that in making preparation of a good Army, hee would fight with the Enemy. If thorough the fauour of Fortune he had the Victory, he would then confider safely and wisely of the rest, but if it should be auerse voto him in fighting, hee would retire into Ganle with the remainders of the Battaile, and from thence with a multitude of Barbarians draw into Italy, A and ioyne with his brother Hannibal vnder the same hope. Aldrubal being of this aduise prepares himselfe. Publius having received Caine Lelyus, and vaderstood the decrees of the Senate, marcheth, hauing retired his Army out of the Garrisons: To whom the Spaniards come at the passage, and march with him with willing and joyfull hearts. Andobale had before sent vnto Publius, but when he approached neere vnto this Country, he came vnto him accompanied with his friends: Where after he had spoken vnto him, hee concluded the League of friendship which he formerly had with the Carthaginians, giving him to vnderstand what seruice and loyalty hee had observed towards him; and finally he exposeth the outrages and injuries which hee and his had fuffered, intreating him to be the ludge of that which he fayd: And if he feemed to accuse the Carthaginians vniustly, hee might certainly know that he would never keepe his faith to the Romans : If being forced for the necessary respect of many iniuries, hee had desisted from his affection, yet he had good hope that ioyning to the Remans to keep his faith firme with them. After he had vied many fuch Speeches, he inade an end.

Andebale peaks to Publius Scipio.

to Andobale.

Publics faluned

ioyne wi h the Ro nans

To whom Publims answering, sayd, that he believed it; and had visderstood the outrages of the Carthaginians, which they had vsed to o. ther Spaniards, and their lasciniousnesse towards their Wines and C daughters. Of whom notwithstanding he having taken many, reduced rather into the chate of Captives and flaues, then Hostages, hee hath kept them with such honesty, as the Parents themselves could not have done. And when as Andobale and his Company confest it, and making an obeifance vnto him, they faluted him as King, the affiftants obforued those words. Publim blushing, commands them to be of good hope, promifing them they should finde curtesie and fauour with the Romans, and presently deliuers them their Daughters : and the day following makes an accord with them. The principall Articles of their The Spaniards Accord was, that they should follow the Roman Princes and obey D them willingly.

These things thus concluded, they returne vnto their Campe, and come with their Army to that of Publius, and making Warre with the Romans, they march with them against Astrabal. The Commannder of the Carthaginians staying neere to Catologne, fast by the City of Babylis, and neere vnto the Mines of Gold and Siluer, he changed his Campe when he was aduertifed of the comming of the Romans, fo as he had the Riuer at his backe in mapner of a Rampire; and in front and

on the sides a Pallisadoe with a sufficient depth for the Fortification: there was finally a length in the Vallies sufficient to put them in battaile. And as for the fide of the Hill there were viually men. When as Publius approacht, he was ready to hazard the Combate: although hee were in doubt seeing the advantage and force of the places, where the Enemy lay in Campe. But when he had contained himselfe two daies. and was in feare that Mago and Afarubatthe fonne of Gefcon comming, he might be inuironed round, he resolued to fight and to hazard a battaile : Miking therefore another Army, he labours to gaine the Pal-A lisado. In regard of those that were lightly armed and the choise footmen, he sends them to the side of a Hill, giving them charge to assaile,

and to view the Enemies forces.

And when that this was done with great Courage, the Commander of the Carthaginians attends the event from the beginning. But when he saw his men prest, and in danger by the courage of the Romans, he drawes his Army into the field, and plants it neere the fide of the Hill, relying vpon the opportunitie of the place. At the same time Publiss fends his brauest men to succour those that were in danger; and stayed the rest ready: He takes the one halfe and affailes the Hill vpon the left B fide of the Enemy, fighting against the Carthaginians: And delivers the rest to Lelyus, giving him charge to affaile the Enemy on the right hand. When this was done, Afarubal drawes his Army our of the

Fort. He had hitherto kept it, relying vpon the fortified places, having and affailed by an opinion that the Enemies durst not assaile him. But for that this the Remans. charge of the Romans came vnexpected, hee puts his Army into Battaile later then was needfull.

The Romans undergoing the danger of the fight, whileft that the Enemies were not yet vpon the Wings, they not only affailed the Hill without danger, but in approaching flew those which crost them, C whilest that the Enemies made ready their battaile : forcing those to turne which prepared themselves and made head against them. When as Afarubal, according to his first resolution, saw his Army giue backe and shamefully repuls'd, hee had no will to fight vnto the last gaspa. Taking therefore the Treasure and the Elephants, and all those hee The defeate could draw together in the flight, he retires to the River of Tagno, and of Afdribal, to the Hills of the Perinee Mountaines, and to the Gaules inhabiting there. Scipio held it not fit to pursue the Victorie suddainly, doubting the comming of the other Commaunders: Finally, he gaue the bootie of the Fort to the Souldiers.

The day following, he drawes together all the Prisoners, whereof there were ten Thousand foote, and two Thousand horse, to dispose of them. All the Spaniards of that Countrey which were allied vinto seipie filated the Carthaginians, come and submit themselves to the favour of the king or the Romans. And when he had given them andience, they saluted Scipio Spaniards. as King. The which Edecon beganne when he did his obeifance; and after him Andobale with his friends. Scipio at that time regarded not their words but was filent: But when after the Battaile all faluted him as King, he was mooued therewith, fo as hee forbad it. Drawing

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all the Spaniards together, he told them that he would be truely Rovall and so held : but hee would not be called a King by no man living. This done, hee ordained they fhould call him Chiefe or Commaunder. The Commen. It is not without cause, that we may justly commend the magnanimity of this man: By the which being yet young, having the fauour of Fortune fuch, as all the Subieces had him in fo great efteeme, as they faluted him by fo excellent a name, yet hee was alwaies fo continent, as hee would not accept of this will and humour of the Subjects. But he will wonder much more at the excellency of his magnanimitie, if hee A lookes to the last daies of his life: when besides the valiant exploits which hee hath done in Spaine, hee hath ruined the Carthaginians, and made subject vnto the Romans many good Countries in Lybia, from the Philenin Altars, to the pillars of Hercules. Hee hath also ruined Alia. and the Assirian Kings. Finally, hee hath reduced to the obedience of the Romans the best and greatest part of the World. And therefore if hee had pleased hee might well have imbraced the opportunity to vsurpe a royall power, in these Countries which hee hath inuaded and taken. The disdaine of such things (as Scipio hath wisely done) surpasseth not onely humane nature, but a divine. This magnanimity doth B fo much excell other men, as no man would demaund of the Gods a ereater fauour : Imeane then a Crowne, the which hee hath so often refused, being deliuered vnto him by fortune, and hath had his Country in more esteeme, and his owne honour then the great command of a royall power. Hee gaue leave to all the Spaniards, being fet a part, to returne into their Country without ransom, except three hundred horse whereof hee gaue the choise to Andebale, giving the rest to those which had not any. Finally, being now feazed on the Carthaginians Campe. hee staved there in regard of the firtility of the Country, expecting the Carthaginian Commanders which were remaining : hee also fent torces to the topps of the Perenes Mountaines to watch Afdruball, and then C when the feason was come hee retired to Tarracona, to winter his Army there.

Hee returnes to the History of the Grecians.

S the Ecoliens lifted vp their hornes for the new hope and confidence they had in the Romans, and the arrivall of Assalus, they amazed all the world, making Warre by Land a s Attalus and Publim did by Sea, for this cause the Acheins intreate Phillip to succour them, for in truth they not onely feared the Etoliens, but also D Machains, for that he had feaz'd vpon the Argine Mountaines with an Army, the Beecians fearing the enemies Army at Sea, require a commander and fuccours. The Negrepontins demanded instantly some provision against the enemy, the like did the Acarnanians, there was also an Embassadour from the Epirotes, they said likewise that Scerdilaide and Pleurate affembled their Armies, and that moreover the Thracians, who confine vpon Macedony Would indeauour to affaile it if the King should retire from thence, in regard of the Etoliens, they had seazed

vpon the straights of Thermopiles, and fortified them with Dirches, Pallisadoes, and a great Garrison, hoping they should be able to keep in Philip, and wholy to Roppe vp the passage in succouring his Allies

These aducatures seemes worthy of Consideration,) and not without reason) by the Readers, in the which is the true Experience and practife of Princes according vnto their Corporall power. For as in Hanting Beafts are mooued with their Forces and Power, when they are ingaged in an apparent danger, fo it befals Princes : the which they A might then discouer in Philip. Hee dismisseth all the Embassadours, Attaluragains promifing them to doe what possibly hee could. His whole inclinati- Philip by Sea. on was the Warre, expecting by what meanes and against whom hee should first beginne. But when the forces of Attalus were come against him, and had affailed the Iland of Peparethon, hee sends men to guard the Citty: And dispatcheth Polyphantes with a small Army towards Phoces and Beocia, and Menippus to Chalcis, and the other Negrepont, with a thousand Targetteers, and fine hundred Agrians. In regard of himselfe, hee went to Scotafe, whether he Commanded the Macedonians to repaire.

When he had newes that Attalus Army had taken the route of Nicea, and that the Chiefe of the Etoliens affembled at Heraclea, to conferre of the Affaires of the Warre, hee parts from Scorufe with his Army, and made hast to dissolue their Assembly. Hee arrived too late, yet hee wasted their Corne, and after that hee had spoiled the Inhabitants about the Gulfe of Ence, he returned, leaving his Army at Scotuse, and taking his way to the Demetriade: With his ablest men and the royall Wing, hee stayed there expecting the comming of the E-

nemy. And to the end nothing should bee vnknowne vnto him, hee fends to the Peparethiens, and Phociens, and likewise to the Negrepon-C sins, giuing them charge to make him a signe by fire of all things that should be done, vpon the Tifee which is a Mountaine in Thessaly, which in regard of the places is very commodiously scituated. But as this manner of figne by fire, is of great commodity for the Warre, and hath formerly not beene vied, I doe not hold it good to paffe it, but in this passage to make some reasonable mention. No man is ignorant that opportunity and occasion are the principall parts in all things: But much more in the protession of Warre, to bring enterprises to an end : Advertisements But among those things which are viefull, fires are of great efficacy, by fire. They vie them at this day, and are the cause of some opportunities, to

D be able to aduertise him who hath the care of that which is done, although it be three or foure dayes distant, or more: To the end that by the figne of fire, they may suddainly give succours voto them that demaund it, although that in former times they have held it of small moment, for that the most part knew not how to vie it. But the vie ought to bee ordered and fetled vppon certaine and determinate agreements. But whereas things which they will fignifie are not resolutely fet downe, they cannot make vie of thefe fires, as those are whereof wee will speake.

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fignes by fire.

If the Army at Sea were come to Orea, or Peparethon, or Chalcis, they might fignific it to those, with whom this hath beene resolved. But if any of the Cittizens will turne their Coates, or practife a Treafon or Murther within the Citty, or any fuch thing as hath vivally hapned, and yet cannot be divined (matters which happen fuddainly and vnlookt for, have neede according to the occasion, of Counsell and aide) yet it may be fignified by fire. For of those which consideration cannot preuent, they cannot make any Conclusion. Eneas seeking to correct this kinde of doubt and perplexitie, hath in few words made A Ence touching the Commentaries, of the inflitution of the heads: And hath abundantly comprehended for the vnderstanding, the summe of those things which are required; the which may eafily be discouered by this speech, faying: That they which will give notice by the advertisement of fire of any of great and preffing businesse, must make provision of pots of earth, whose breadth and depth must be equall, and they must have three foote in depth, and one and a halfe in breadth: Then hee must make flender Corkes in the mouth of it; in the middest whereof hee must tie them in equall parts of three singers distant; and in every part a great Circumference, in the which are also painted the most vulgar and generall things which happen in the profession of Warre. As by the first, that Horse-men are suddeinly entred the Countrie: In the second, that foote-men armed; in the third, that men lightly armed: And confequently in others, that foote and Horse-men, or an Army at Sea, and that there is Corne. You must in this fort paint the things which do viually happen in Regions, according to the providence and time of the motions of Warre.

> This being done hee Commaunds to observe dilligently the pots of the one and the other, so as the pipes may be equall and runne c. qually: And when the pots shalbe full of Water, they must put in the Corkes with stickes; and then let the pipes runne together. This hap-ning it is apparent, that all being equal, the Corkes of necessity abate as the Water runnes, and the flickes hide themselues in the Vessells. When these things are equally ordered, and they are to vie them, then they must transport them to the places, where the one and the other are to observe the fires, and then must set them on either side upon the Vessels. Finally, in what thing soener that any portraite of the sticke shall fall, hee ordaines they should set up a light which must continue untill the Deputies answere him with the same. And when both fires are discourred, then hee must take them away and suffer the pipes to runne. But as for the falling of the Corke and the sticke, that which D of the Images shall approach vnto the brinke of the pot which wee will let you see. hee orders that they shall set up a light : and that they should stoppe the pipes, and see what image of those which are figured vpon the flicke comes to the brinke.

This may be done when as all the things which they manifest, are of either fide mooued with the same dilligence. The which may bee in some fort by a light set up by agreement to serue for an aduertisement, vnlesse they be vndetermined: For it is impossible to see su-

future things, or that that bee figured vpon the sticke which wee forefee. Finally if by Fortune any vnexpected accident happens, it is certaine that it cannot be declared by this invention : Nor any thing of that which is figured in the Ricke be determined. They cannot give aduertisement of the number of Horse-men or of foot, or of ships, nor of the quantitie of Corne. For wee cannot dispose of things, whereof the knowledge cannot be made before they be done. And by confequence how can any man resolue of succours, if he knowes not the multitude A of the Enemies, and the place where they are ? How can a man worke Another kinds fafely, or otherwise ? Or how can hee plor any Enterprize, which of aduertile knowes not the number of the Enemics, nor the quantity of Corne ment by fire inwhich is come vnto them from their Allies?

A latter kinde hath beene inuented by Cleomenes and Democrites. In morries. regard of that which is vulgar and of ready vie, we have determined: the which may aduertise exactly all that which is necessary to bee knowne. The vie whereof requires dilligence, and an exact obseruation; and it is in this manner. You must divide the Letters according to their order in flue parts, enery one confishing of flue: But in the ende there shall want one, which is no matter of Consequence. And when as they which shall make vie of lights for an advertisement, shall prepare fine little Tables, and write vpon either of them the parties according to their order, and then they agree together, that hee which giues the aduertisement, shall fet up the first lights and two together, which shall not bee taken away vntill the other hath answered in like manner. This serues to the end that by this light they may understand, that they are discoucted. These others being taken away, they must thew the first which are on the left hand, and declare by the Table the things whereunto they must have a care. As if the first Table he lifted C vp, it fignifies one : if the fecond two; and fo confequently. They must alfo lift vp those which are on the right hand, after the same manner,

to advertise what letters he shall write that takes the light. When they which have agreed together vpon these matter, come vnto the place, they must first have a Dioptre, having two Cauels: to the end that hee that is to lift up the light right against it, may see the place both on the right hand and left.

The Tables must bee fixed straight and by order, neere voto the Dioptre, and the places on the right hand and the left must bee separated ten foote, and the height of a man. Moreouer they must be carefull that the lights may be visible when they fet them vp, and likewise D hidden when they take them downe. These things being thus prepared on eyther fide, and that they have an intent to give some advertisment, as that a hundred Souldiers are retired to the Enemy, they must fire vse the Dictions which by the small Letters may signifie that which we haue faid; as that a hundred (Candyots) haue abandoned vs. Theletters Kenris. now are leffe, and yet that is fignified. This which is written in the Table will showe it selfe thus. The first letter is thus x, the which is in the fecond part and fecond Table: they must also set up the lights upon the left hand, to the end that he which hath the charge, may vnder-

giue order when as they will viethem, to be able to giue full and certaine fignes. Whofoeuer pleafeth, may eafily know in many kinds how great soeuer the difference of the sayd things make shew of, and which they have beene accustomed to observe. For many things not onely difficult, but which seeme impossible having gotten the successi-

on of time and custome, become most casie.

There are many and divers examples which deferue credite; but the most excellent is that which happens in the Arte of reading. If any B one instructs a man without Experience, and not accustomed to read, although hee be industrious, and that finally hee produceth an infant bred up to it, and that a Booke being given him hee appoints him to read the Contents, it is manifest that theother will not believe, that hee can know first how hee may by the looking of it read enery letter, know their powers, and how they ought to be loyned; forth at either of the faid things require much time. Wherefore when he hath not attained this Art, and sees this little Boy continue with one breath fine or fixe lines, he would neuer eafily believe, but that hee hath formerly read the Booke. And if moreover he hath a good pronunciation, and observes the points, aspirations, and pauses, he will not be perswaded and beleeue no more.

Wherefore wee must not disclaine any thing that is profitable, in regard of the cuident difficulty: But we must apply our selves to that which makes all good things comprehensible to men, and namely in those wherein most commonly the supreame safetie doth consist. Wee have vndertaken to speake these things, according vnto that which we have promised in the beginning. For wee have said that all Speculations have so prevailed with vs, as for the most part they are methodicall Sciences. Wherefore it is a very profitable portion of a well composed History.

Of the History of POLYBISV.

Of Antiochus.



He Aspassens dwellberwixt Oxus and Tanais: Of which Rivers, the one fals into the Hyrcanian Sea, and Tanais into the Lake of Meotis. They are Nauigable for their greatnesse: So it seemes wonderfull how the Tartarians passing Oxus aswell by toote as Horse-backe,

come into Hyrcania. There are two opinions conceiued : The one is credible, the other strange although possible. Oxus drawes his Springs from Mount Concasus, but augmented much in Battria by the descent of smaller Rivers, it passeth by a violent Course by the Country of Pedia. There it fals into a Defart, and runs with B a violent streame, thorough certaine Rockes and Pits, for the great number and vehement beating of the places lying under it, fo as its violence ouer-flowes the Rocke in the lower Countries aboue a Furlong. By this place neere vnto the Rocke the Afpagens, as they fay, paffing the River both on Foot and Horse-backe, descend into Hyrcanin. The other opinion hath a more propable reason, saying, that for that place hath great Ditches, into the which this Riner fals with its force, flee makes hollow and opens the bottome by the violence of her Course: And by this meanes the River takes its course vnder ground, for a small space, and then riseth againe. The Barbarians having experience here-C of, passe there on Horse-backe into Hyrcania.

When as Antiochus was advertised, that Euthideme was about Tagure with an Army, and that a thousand Horse kept the passage of the River of Aria, hee proceedes and resolves to besiege ir, having no more confidence in his resolution. And when he was within three daies journey of the River, he marcht the two first slowly: And on the third having fed his men, hee cantes his Campe to march at the breake of day : Then taking the Horse-men and his strongest souldiers, with a thousand Targetteers, he makes haft in the night. Hee had vnderflood that the enemies Cauallery was at the guard of the River in the day time, but at night any resired to a City for the way time. But at night the resired to a City for the way in the night (for those when hee had performed the rest of the way in the night (for those Countries were convenient for Horsemen) he wast the River at the break of day with the greatest part of his Army." The Battrian Hotse-men being aductifed by their Scouts, crie out and fight with the Enemy vp.

on the way.

The King seeing that hee was to maintaine their first Charge, gives Courage to those which had beene accustomed to accompany him in

fuch encounters, which were two thousand Horse; and commands the rest to cast themselves betwixt both, with their Troupes put into battaile as of custome. Finally, hee fights with the Ballrian Horse which presented themselves. Antiochus seemed in this danger to have sought with datiochus more valiantly then his men: so as many perished on either side. Yet the Kings men defeated the first troupe of Horse: But when the second and the third charged them, they were repuls'd turning their heads basely. But when as Etole had given charge to the great power of the Horse to march in Battaile, he freed the King and his Company, terrifying the Bactrians who were in disorder, and put them to flight. A Wherefore when they were charged by all the Etoliens, they cealed not to flie vntill having make a great loffethey were joyned vnto Euthideme. And when as the Kings Horse-men had made a great saughter, and taken many in the Citty, they presently retired, and planted their Campencere the River. It happened that in this same Combate Menippe was wounded and dyed looking fome of his Teeth with a blow: Finally, hee purchased a renowne of Valour.

After this Combare Euthidemeretired with his Army to Zariaspe a Citty of the Bactrians.

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A PARCELL O the Eleventh Booke of the

History of POLYBIVS.



Lib. 11.

Sarubal did not allow of any of these things. But (feeing the Enemies march in Battaile) when as matters changed nor, hee caused the Spaniards and Gaules that were with him to fight. Setting the Elephants in Front, beeing ten in number, and after hee had joyned the Battalions close, vnited, and in length, and had put all the Army in battaile in a short time, casting himselfe in the middest of the Ordonance neere to the Elephants, hee affailes the Enemy vpon the left flancke, having refolued to

die in that battaile. The Lybian presents himselfe with great Courage to the enemy, and in charging fights valiantly with his troupes. Claudius Nero one of the Confuls, appointed for the right fide could not joyne with the enemy, nor yet inclose them, for the vneuennesse of the ground: A Battaile bewherein Afdrubal trusting, he had charged the enemy on the left hand. and the Romant D Wherefore as he was perplexed and in doubt, for that he lost time, hee in train, learned what he had to doc. Taking therefore the Souldiers of the right wing, he goes beyond his Campe neere vnto a passage behind the Battaile and on the left hand, and gives a charge vnto the Carthaginians, neere vnto the wing where the Elephants had their station. At that time the Victory wauered. For in truth the danger was equal of both fides, confidering that neither Romans, Spaniards, nor Carthaginians had any hope of fafety remaining, if they were frustrated of their intention. Finally, the Elephants were of vie to both of them in the fight: For Sf3

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when they were inclosed in the middest, and assailed with Darts they aswell brake the rankes of the Spaniards, as of the Romans. But when as Claudius Troupe had charged the enemy in the reare, the Combate was vinequall; for the charge glien vito the Spaniards both in Front and behind. So is it happened that in the beginning of the Combate, there was a great laughter made of Spaniards: So likewise there were sixe Elephants state by the force of the men they carried: the other foure brake the projectes: being alone and destitute of their Indians they were takents.

Asdrubal brother to Hannibal slaine.

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And when as Alexandrag beene formerly and vnto his ende an able A man, hee loft in fighting valiantly his life, worthy to be commended. Hee was brother to Hamibal, who vndertaking the Voyage of Italy, gaue him the Conduct of the Warres of Spaine. And afterwards being practifed by many encounters against the Romans, hee hath indured many and variable Fortunes: And in this also that the Carthaginians sent Commanders to succeede him, hee alwaies carried himselfe like a man worthy of his Father Barca, bearing vnto the ende like a man of Courage all disgraces and losses. Wee have declared these things in regard of the precedent. But now we will decide the last Combats, in

that which feemes worthy of Consideration.

Seeing before our eyes many Kings and Commanders which hauing great Combates concerning their whole estates, have alwayes cast their eyes vpon the most excellent Actions, and of Consequence; and who often enquire and Discourse how they shall helpe themselves in euery good Fortune: And who moreouer care not for mischances, nor consider of the meanes, nor that which they are to doe in every action and event: For that this other is in their hands, and this requires a great preparation. And therefore many having beene vanquished. carry themselves poorely by their basenesse and inconsiderations : Although that the Souldiers have many times fought valiantly, and with good direction: And have by this meanes dishonoured their precedent actions, making the rea of their Liues infamous. It is an easie thing for him that will know how many Commaunders faile, and are frufrated heerein, and that there is much difference betwixt man and man. Precedent times have affoorded many examples in these things. In regard of Asarabal he was no lesse provident in dangers, then for his fafety, whilest he had any hope conformable to reason, to be able to do any thing worthy of his Predecessours. But when as Fortune had deprined him of all hope for the future, and had concluded him to his last end : omitting nothing for the Victory, nor that which concerned the preparation and danger, hee carried himselfe like a man of prouldence: And although that all was in danger, yet hee obeyed the present time, neither did he suffer any thing vnworthy of his Predecessors. Behold the reason which I have delivered concerning those which apply themselves to the mannaging of Warre: to the ende that vndertaking dangers rashly, they draw not them into despaire which are under their Charge, nor by defire of an infamous life, they make their deaths disho. norable and blame worthy. The

The Romans having gotten the Victory by force, presently breake the Pallisadoe of the Enemy, and kill like Sacrifices many Celts sleeping The Celts in Drunkennesse vpon their Mattresses, and assemble together the rest shaine sleeping. of the Prisoners: By the which there did accrew sine score thousand Crowness to the Common weale. There died in this Battaile as well of the number of Garthaginians as Gaules, neare ten thousand men, and about two thous the dead. sand Romans. Some Nobles among the Carthaginians were taken, the rest were shine. When this Newes came to Rome, they were scarce believed for that they desired wonderfully to see it done, but as there are many men declaring not onely what had beene done, but every thing in particular, then the City entred into an immoderate loy: all the Temples were adorned, and fill'd with Sacrifices and Oblations: Finally, they grew so consident and assured, as at that time they did not thinke that Hannibal (whom they had formerly so much seared) was in Italy:



An Oration to the Etoliens of the Warres of Greece.

Y Mastersthe Etoliens, Itbinke it is very manifest that King Prolomy, the Citizens of Rhodes and Constantinople, with those of Chio and Miteline make no great accompt of your League. It is not the first nor the second time that wee haue treated with you of Peace : But euen at that time when you moued Warre, applying your selfe vnto it, and imbracing all occasions, wee have not ceas'd to admonish you. New we coniecture the ruine of your selucs and the Macedonians, and for the future we are in care for your health and for all Greece. As fire thrust into a Forrest is no more in his power that hath kindled it, but consumes all that it encounters : Being moreouer gouerned by the Winds, and by the confumption of the Forrest, and that many times it sweepes a-D way suddainly the Incendiary himselfe: so the Warre being once inflamed by some, ruines them first : Then it runnes without reason, destroying all things it encounters, agitated by rathnesse, and the beastlineffe of those which kindle it, as it were driven by the Winds. Wherefore my Masters the Etoliens, seeing that the Handers, and the Grecians which inhabite Afia, doe often fue vnto you, that disdaining Warre, you would make choise of Peace, for that the case concernes you refume your fences, confenting with those who with reuerence admonish you. If with some good forrune you did mannage a Warre which

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An accord beswixt the Ro. mans and the

Eteliens.

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were profitable, commodious, and glorious (it is that vndoubtedly which they expect most therein) according to your first intention and deligne of cuents 41 they might with reason pardon you as men of great courage. This Warre is altogether infamous, full of ignominy, and cursed, is it not necessary to stay and deferre it? Aduice without doubt should be freely gluen, you will heare (if you be wife) my words patiently. It is much better for you to be preserved with a commodious reprehention, then in hearing pleasing words, to perish the first foone after : and then subsequently the rest of Greece, set your ignorance before your eyes. You say you make Warre against Philip for Greece, to the end that being preserved they should not obey his Command. ments: But in truth you make Warre to its ruine and defeate. It is that which your accord with the Romans declare, the which in the beginning confifted in writing, but now they are scene in actions. The letters were then dishonourable vnto you, but at this day they are vifible to the eye, and manifest by your workes. Finally, Philip carries the Name, and is made the colour of this Warre: although hee suffers nothing that is grieuous: But as he hath many Allies in Morea, as the Beocians, Negreponsins, Phociens, Locrines, Theffelians and Epirotes, you have concluded against them vinder conditions, that the bodies and B moneable goods should belong to the Romans, and the Cities and Countries to the Etoliens.

But as you are Lords of this City, you would not endure they should offend any Free-man, nor fet fire of your City, holding such actions cruell and barbarous; and yet you have made a League, according to the which you have delivered the rest of Greece to Barbarians as your owne by gift, by an outrage and a most ignominious iniustice. These are the things which in the beginning you understood not: But at this day you are made manifest vnto the World by the misery of the poore overins and Egineses, for that Fortune hath of purpose rais'd your ignorance upon a Theater. The beginning of this Warre and of the actio ons which happen are fuoh. But what can wee expect more, if in the end all things succeed according to your defire: shall it not be a beginning of great miseries to all the Grecians? Beleeve me, that after the Romans have ended the Warre in Italy (the which will foone happen, Hannibal being shut up in a Corner of Brutia) they will imploy all their forces against Greese, under colour to give succours to the Etoliens 2gainst Philip, but the truth is to make all Greece subject: the which will foone be manifest. For whether they are resolued to carry themselves like honest and honourable persons, having the Victory, the thankes shall be theirs: If otherwise they shall bauethe profits of the Defeates. and the power ouer them that escape. Then you will call upon the Gods, when as none of them or any man will offer to affift you. You should then in the beginning fore-see all things: This was lawfull for you. But as many future things are out of humane providence, how at the least you should take a better aduice, shauing seene the event of this Warre. I intreate you and exhort you not to enuy your owne fafety and liberty, nor that of the rest of Greece.

And when by his Speech (as he conceived) fomewhat moved the opinions of many, Philips Embassadour entred: who leaving the things which might be spoken in particular, he sayd, that he had two points in charge : That if the Etoliens brake the peace, he was ready to appeale voto the Gods, and to the Grecian Embassadours there present, that they were to be held for the Authors of those things which hereaster should fall vpon Greece, and not Philip. Glory faith he, doth much amaze the Enemy, but a reasonable preparation of Armes is of greater fernice for necessity. Then they should doe that which is necessiry,

A if they transferre the diligence and care which they have at this day for their apparrell, to the preparation of their Armes, observing in their apparrell the ancient negligence. For by this meanes they may give order for their private course of life, and preserve their Common wealth. And therefore (faith he) it is not needfull that he which gives himfelfe to Armes, and to the profession of Warre, should looke when he puts on his Boots, whether they be handsome, and if his strops and pantables be braue : nor whether his Cloake and lacket be rich, when he must put on a Head-peece. Beleeue me, the danger is manifest which they must expect, which have an exteriour shew in more recom-

B mendation then things necessary. Finally, it were fit they should consider, that this curiosity in habits sauoured of a woman, I meane that is not much chaft : whereas the charges in Armes and seucrity, restraine a good man, desiring to preserve himselse and his Countrey.

All the affiftants found this Speech fo good, in wondring at the adnice of this remonstrance, that after they were gone out of the Court, they pointed at those that were richly clad, forcing some to leave the place: and finally, they prepared themselues to Armes and to make Warre accordingly. Behold how one fole Oration pronounced by a man of esteeme and inscason, not onely retires men from great vices, C but also incites them to great Enterprizes. But if he which gives good aduice, leads a life answerable to his words, it is necessary that his councell should purchase credit: the which happened in this man. He was fober and simple in his apparrell and living, and in the vlage of his body. Finally, he was of a pleating speech without enuy and rancour. He studied wonderfully to be found veritable in all his life, and therefore when he vied any ordinary speech, the Auditors gaue him great credit. And as his life ferued for an example in all things, so the Auditors had no great neede of any long Discourse. Wherefore he hath often in few words, by his credit and knowledge in things, ouerthrowne the D long speeches which seemed to have beene delivered sufficiently by the Enemies. When the Councell was ended, every man retired to his Countrey: And in commending as well the man as his words, they had a conceite that they could not doe amisse vnder his gouernment.

Finally, Philopemen went speedily to the Cities to make preparation for the Warre. Then he trained vp a multitude affembled : and when he had not imployed eight Moneths in the preparation of these Phylogenen forces he leads his Army to Martinearo fight with the Transaction makes Warre forces, he leads his Army to Mantinea to fight with the Tyrant for against Machathe liberty of all Morea. Machanides likewise taking courage, and mides, Tyrans

thinking of Lacedemon.

lightly

thinking to prevaile over the Acheins at his pleasure, gives the Lacedemonians to vinderstand the things that were then necessary, as soone as hee was aduertised of the assembly of the Tegeans at Mantinia : Then fuddainly the next day at Sun-rifing hee takes his way towards Mantinia, marching on the right wing with the Legionaries, and placing the Mercenaries on the right and left, going a flow pace in the beginning of his voyage: He addes moreouer Chariots carrying a great abundance of instruments of Warre and Cros bowes.

The order of Philopomens Battaile.

The order of

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At the same time Philopomen having divided his Army into three, A he caused the Sclauonians and Corslets to goe forth by the Gate which tends to the Temple of Neptune, and withall the strangers and strong men: then by that which lookes to the West, the Legionaries: and the Horse-men of the City by the next. Moreover, he seazed (with the best of his aduenturers) of a little Hill lying right against the City, the which extends upon the way of strangers and the Temple of Neptune. And ioyning the Corflets, he lodgeth them on the South, ordring the Sclauoniaus in a place neare vnto them. Then casting the Legionaries behind them in a round, he lodgeth them in the space neare the Ditch which drawes to Neptunes Temple, by the midft of the Mantinians Plaine, and ioynes vpon the Mountaines neare vnto Elif. B fasiens. He orders moreover vpon the right wing the Acheian Horsmen. of which Aristonete of Dymee had the leading : and wpon the hee had all the Strangers, having their distinct Ordonance amongst

When the Enemies Army approacht, he comes to the Legionaries, admonishing them in few words, but with the efficacy of the present danger. But most part of his words were not heard : for the multitude prest the cause so much for the affection they bare him, and the impetuofity of the people, that the Army as it were moved with a certaine divine fury, perswaded him to worke without seare. Finally, he endeauoured (iftime would have permitted him) to declare vnto them diligently, how this present danger concerned some in regard of infamy and a base scruitude, and others in regard of liberty alwayes memorable and glorious. Moreouer, Machanides instructs first the Battalion of the Legionaries which they call Orthie, that it should fight with the right wing of the Enemies. Then he marcheth, and after he had gain'd a meane space, makes the forme of a Snaile, and drawes his Army in length, putting his right wing in Front to the left of the ... cheins. In regard of the Targetteers, he placeth them before the whole Army with some space.

Philopomen seeing his attempt, who thought by the Targeteers to glue a Charge to the Legionary Bands which offended the Souldiers. and caused a great alarum in the Army, so as hee delayed no longer making vse in effect of the Tarrentins at the beginning of the Combate neare to Neptunes Temple, vpon the Plaine which was commodious for Horse-men. Machanides seeing this, is forced to doe the like, and to cause the Tarrentins (which were with him) to march, Finally, they fought valiantly in the beginning. But when those that were

lightly armed, prevailed something over them that were weaker, it fell out in a short time that the Combate began of either side betwixe the forreine Souldiers. And when as they had joyned together, and had fought long like braue men, the danger was equall, fo as the reft of the Armies, expecting the iffue of the Battaile, could not fight there. for that many times both the one and the other in fighting, exceeded their first station. Yet the Tyrants souldiers had for a time the better. confidering their multitude and dexterity, with their Armes and Experience. The which did not happen without cause. For as the mul-A titude in Comminalties, is more cheerefull in Combats in Warre, then the Subjects which are Enemies to Tyrants, fo strange Souldiers ta king pay of Monarches, excell those of Common-weales. And as fome Subjects fight for liberty, and some are in danger of seruitude. some also of the Mercenaries fight for a certaine profit, others for the defence of their Lines. But a popular power puts not her liberty into the hands of Mercenaries, after they have defeated their Enemies; Whereas a Tyrant the greater Enterprize he makes, the more fouldiers he hath need off. For as he doth more outrages, so he hath more watchers ouer his life.

The fafety then of Monarches confifts in the good affection, and B forces of his forceine Souldiers. Wherefore then it hapned that the The fafety of forreine Souldiers fought with fuch great Courage and Refolution, as the Sclauenians and Horacites being in front of them could not indure their Charge: Aying all as repuls'd towards Mantinia, seauen Furlongs distant. Then that which some men held in doubt was made plaine and certaine. It is manifest that many actions in Warre breed Experience of things, so do they ignorance. It is a great matter for him that hath purchased Authority in the beginning, to extend it farther; But it is a farre greater matter to fixe vpon him whose first attempts have not beene successefull : and to consider the indiscretion of the va-

C fortunate, and to observe their faults.

You shall oftentimes see that they which seeme to have the better. are within a short space frustrated of all in generall : And againe, they which at the first were beaten, have by their industry restored all: the which appeared then betwixt these two Princes. For when the bands of Souldiers which the Acheins had wavered, and that the left wing was broken. Machanides leaving his good Fortune and the Victory of those of the Wing, and to affaile the others in Front, and finally to attend the Victory, he did nothing of all this, but scattred with the Mercenaries, without order like a young man, he purfued the Chase, as if seare had not beene able to pursue those which fled vnto the Gates. The Chiefe of the Acheins imployed all his power to stay the Mercenaries with cries and perswasions, calling to the rest of their Commaunders. But when he saw them forcibly repuls'd, he was not amazed if they turned head, or despairing, abandoned the place, but he with drew the Wing which charged and purfued them. And when the place where the danger was, was abandoned, he fent prefently to the first Legionaries, that they should couer themselves with

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their Targets; and in keeping order he went speedily before. Being come suddainly to the place abandoned, hee defeated the pursuers. having great advantage vpon the Enemies battailion. Hee likewife perswaded the Legionaries to have a good Conrage and resolution, and not to budge, vntill hee gaue them order to march close in Battaile against the Enemy. And as for Polybins the Megalopolitaine, having gathered together the remainder of the Sclanonians which had turned Head, with the armed men and the Strangers, he enjoynes him to haue a great care to keepe the Battallion in good order, and to looke to those which were retired from the Chase. The Lacedemonians A likewise resuming Courage and strength, for that they were esteemed the most valiant, charged the Enemies with their Iauelings without Commaund.

And as in this pursuite they were come vnto the brinke of the Ditch, and had no more time to returne, for that they were in the Enemies hands, and that finally they for fooke and diffained the Ditch. for that it had many descents, and was drie and without Trees, they ranne into it without any discretion. As this occasion offers it selfe against the Enemy, Phylopomen having fore-scene it long before, he then Commaunded all the Legionaties to advance with their Jaue. B lings. And when as all the Acheins with one resolution had cast themselves upon the Enemies with horrible cries, having formerly broken the battalion of the Lacedemonians, descending into the Ditch, they turne Head with great Courage against the Enemy which held the higher ground. It is true, that a great part was defeated afwell by the Acheins as their owne men. That which I have spoken happens not by chance, but by the prouidence of the Commaunder, who had suddainly made this Dirch. Philopomen fled not from the Battaile as some had conceived: But considering and adulfing dilligently like a good Commaunder of all things in particular, that if C Machanides should lead his Army thither, it would happen that by ignorance of the Ditch, he would fall into danger with his Battalion, as it succeeded in Effect. And if considering the difficulty of the Dirch, hee should seeme to feare and turne Head, hee should then be wonderfully frustrated of his Enterprize and Designe, for that hee should have the Victory without fight, Machanides beeing defeated by a vnfortunate disaster. It had happened to many which had vndertaken a Battaile, that finding themselves insufficient to loyne with the Enemy, some in regard of the disaduantage of places, others for the multitude, and some for other causes, and by this same meanes D shewing and expressing themselves in their slight to bee of little Experience, some hoping to be fronger upon the Reare, and others that they might escape the Enemy safely. Among the which were these Commaunders.

But Philopomen was not deceived in his fore-fight: by whose endeanour it happened, that the Lacedemonians made a speedy flight. And when hee faw his Legions to vanquish, hee laboured to bring that vnto an ende which remained of an absolute Victory. Which

was, that Machanides should not escape, and therefore know, ing him to be at the pursuite of the Chase, on that side of the Ditch which lay towards the City with his Mercenaries, had not beene retired and with drawne, he attends his comming. But when as Machanides flying after the Chafe, faw his Atmyturne head, and heating that all hope was loft for him, he laboured with his forreine Souldiers in turning head, to escape thorough the Enemies dispersed, and scattred in their Chase. Whereunto they likewise having regard, stayed with him in the beginning, feeding themselves with the same hope of safetva A But when as at their comming they faw the Acheins keepe the Bridge vpon the Ditch, then all amazed they abandon him and fled, euery man looking to his owne preferuation. And when the Tyrant despress red of the passage of the Bridge, he went directly to the Ditch . and endeauours to finde a paffage.

Of the History of POLYBIVS.

Philopomen knowing the Tyrant by his purple Robe, and the capar riffon of his Horse, leaves Polybius there, and gives him charge to keepe the passage carefully, not sparing any of the Mercenaries, for that most commonly they fauour and support the Tyrant of Lacedemon. In regard of himselfe, he takes Pelyene, Cypariffee, and Simie, of whom he then madevie, marching against the Tyrant and his Company on B the other fide of the Ditch. Machanides had atthat time two men with him, that is to fay, Anaxidamus and a strange Souldier: When hee prest his Horse to take a certaine commodious passage of the Ditch, Philopamen doubling upon him, gaue him a mortall wound with a laueling, and soone after another, killing the Tyrant valiantly. The like Mathanides happened to Anaxidamus by the Horfe-men which marcht with him. Authidamus The third man despairing of the passage, escaped the danger by slight, slaine. whilest they slew the other two. After their death Similes Company stript them, and brought away the Head and Armes of the Tyrant, to make his death knowne vnto the Troupes: whereby they might with C more diligence pursue the Enemies into their City : the which served much to moue the Commons. For by this meanes they reduced the City of Teges under their obedience : after which prize they camped Tegestaken

of the Champion Countrey. And as they could not chase the Enc.

my out of their Countrey for a long time, they then wasted all the La.

redemonian Provinces without feare, having lost few men in Battaile.

and the Lacedemonians about foure thousand, besides many Prisoners.

and the taking of all their Baggage and Armes.

heare vnto the Riuer of Erota, after they had made themselues Maisters

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Of Hannibal and the Carthaginians.

The excellency of Hannibal.

Divers Nationa

ding of Hanni-

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Nd therefore who will not wonder at the gouernment, vertue and power of this man, in his valiant exploits of VVar decided in Field, having regard to the length of time, and knowing Hannibal as well in Battailes as encounters, as in sieges of Townes, alterations, and cuents of times, and

in the fulnesse of all the Enterprizes and resolutions, according to the which hee hath made Warre in Italy against the Romans for the space ofseuenteene yeares, and having never broken up his Campe, but kept it still entire as vnder a good Leader, and commanded so great a B multitude either without mutiny towards him or among themselues, although he did not imploy in his Army men of one Nation, norof one Race. He had vnder his command Lybians, Spaniards, Phenicians, Italians, and Grecians: among the which the Lawes nor customes, nor the Language had any thing common. But the industry of the Commander made this great multitude of different Nations obedient to the Commandments of one man, according to his defire: although the Euents were not alwayes answerable, but divers : and that many times Fortune smiled vpon him, and was sometimes opposite. These things confidered, you may fafely fay (in wondring at the vertue of this Commander, in that which concernes this point) that if hee had C first assailed the other Countries of the World, and then the Remans, he would have prevailed in all that he had attempted. But feeing at this day hee hath begun the Warre against those which hee should haue affailed last, hee hath made both the beginning and the ending.

As a rubal having drawne together the Souldiers from those places where they had wintred, prepares for his voyage, and campes neare vnto a City called Elinge, building a Pallisadoe on the side of the Mountaine, with plaine spaces before, sit for skirmishes and encounters. Hee had three score and ten thousand Foote, soure thousand Horse, and two and thirty Elephants. Publims Scipio on the other fide sends Marcus Innius to Lochis to receive the Bands which hee drawes his Ar- had leuled: being three thousand Foote and fine hundred Horse. In regard of the other Allies, he accompanies them, taking his way to

the place appointed.

When hee was come to Catalongne, and to the places which were about Becyle, and had ioyned his Army with Marcas, and

with the Troupes of Colichante; he fell into a great perplexity for the apparent dangers. For in truth he had not a sufficient Roman Army without the fordes of the Allies to hazard a Battaile. It seemed an vnfafe thing, foolish, and rash for those which put their hope in the forces of their Allies to hazard a Battaile. But as he was for a time in suspence, and that the affaires concluded that he must vie the Allies, ha came to fight with the Spaniards : to the end that by this meanes he might make the Enemy imagine that hee fought with his whole Army. / Panellings bake

A ... This being refolu'd, he marches with all his Troups, being forty flue thousand Foot, and about three thousand Horse. And when he was neare the Carthaginians, fo as he might well be discouered, he camps about certaine little Hils right against the Enemy, Astrubal think- Astrubal charing to have found a fit time to charge the Romans in Camping, he mans. fell upon their Campe with the greatest part of his Horse-men, and Massanisa with the Numades, having a conceite to surprize Scipio fuddainly. But he having formerly fore-feene the future, he layd an Ambush of Horse-men behinde acertaine Hill, equall in number to charge of the those of the Carthaginians : who charging by surprize, many in the Romanisgainst B beginning turning head, in regard of this when people and Charge of the Ro-the Carthagini-

mans, fell from their Horses, others affronting the Enemies fought valiantly. But for the dexterity of the Roman Horse men in fighting, the Carshaginians being troubled and discontented, after some little resistance gaue backe, retiring in the beginning in good order : But when the Romans pursued them, they tooke their flight under the Campe. This done, the Romans affure themselves the more to vndergoe the danger: and the Carthaginians did the contrary. The dayes following they draw their Armies into the Plaine which lay betwixt them, and making skirmishes as well of Horse-men, as of C their most valiant Foote, and trying one another they resolved to Battaile.

It feemed then that Scipio had practifed a double stratagem. For when he faw Afdrubal flow in ordring of his forces, and to put the Lybians in the midft, and the Elephants vpon the two wings : Then as hee was accustomed to observe the opportunity of the time, and Thedoublepol to make head against the Lybians by Romans, and to mingle the Spa-licy of Scipio. niards upon the wings, on the day which hee resolued to fight, bee doth now the contrary, giving by this meanes great comfort to his forces for the Victory, and weakning the Enemy. Presently at the D Sunne-rifing he gives all the Souldiers notice by men appointed, that all they which were to fight armed, should stand before the Pallifadoe. This done, when they had obeyed him cheerefully, for the hope they had conceiued for the future, he sends the Horse-men before, and the ablest Souldiers, giving them charge to approach the Enemies Campe, and that in skirmishing couragiously they should begin the Battaile. For his part, he marcheth at Sun-riling with the Footmen. And being come into the midst of the field, he drew his Army in Scipiopus his Battaile after another forme then he had bin accustomed. For he put the menin battaile Tt 2

Spaniards

aldrubalcamos Accreto Elinge.

my together.

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Spaniards in the midft, and the Romans upon the wings. When as the Horse-men approacht the Pallisadoe and that the rest of the Army was in fight and ready, the Garthaginians had scarce time - United and a coldens

Afdrubal pute

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Afdrubal being then forced to drawe the valiantest of his men to field against the Romans, being yet fasting without preparation and in haste both the Foot-men and Horse-men : and to plant his Army of Footmen not farre from the Mountaines, and the Ordonance in the Plaine as they had been accustomed. The Romans stayed some time: but for that the day was well advanced, and that the Combat of either fide A was vocertaine and equall, and that there was danger that they which should be prest, turning head, would retire youn their Battalions, then Seigio retiring the Skirmishers by the space betwirt the Ensignes. he divides them upon the wings after those which had beene formerly appointed. Then he gives order to affaile the Enemy in Front, first to the lauclings, and then with Horfe-men: and being a Furlong from the Enemy, he commands the Spaniards which were in Battaile, to march to the same order, and that they should turne the Ensignes vpon the right hand, and they of the left doing the contrary. And when he began on the right fide, Lucius Marcus and Marcus lunius led three B braue Troups of Horse-men on the left hand, and before were those which were lightly armed and accustomed to the Warre, with three Bands of Foot-men (the Romans call a Band of Foot-men a Cohort) to whom the Targetteers joyned on the one fide, and the Archers on the other.

In this fort they marched against the Enemy, making by this meanes an attempt with effect, confidering the continuall repaire of those which loyned with them by files. As by chance these men were not farre from the Enemy, and that the Spaniards which were on the wing were farther off, as they which marched a flow pace, they C make an attempt vpon the two Battalions of the Enemy, drawne in length with the Roman forces, according to that which had beene refolued in the beginning. The following alterations (by the meanes whereof it happened that they which followed, joyned with the former, encountring the Enemies in a direct line, had betwixt them diuers orders) so as the right Battalion had on the left side the Footmen mingled with the Horse. For the Horse-men which were on the right wing, mingling with the lauelings of the Foot lightly armed. laboured to inclose the Enemies. The Foot-men on the other fide couered themselves with their Targets. They which on the left D hand were in the Troups charged with their Iauelings, and the Horf. men accompanied with the Archers with their full speed. By this motion there was a left wing made of the right wing of the Horse-men, and of the most valiant Souldiers of the two Battalions: But the Commander made no great accompt, being more carefull to vanquish the enemy with the other Battalion; wherein he had good judgement. We must know things as they are done, and vie a fit observation according to the occasion offred.

By the charge of these men the Elephants affailed by the Archers, Adisorder by and the Horse-men with Darts and lauelings, and tormented of all the Elephania fides were wounded, making as great a spoile of their Friends as of their Enemies. For they ran vp and downe and ouer-threw men of all fides, breaking the Carthaginian Battalions. In regard of that of the Lybians which held the middle part, and was of great service, it stood idle vnto the end. For not able to succour those which on the wings abandoned the place, by reason of the Spaniards charge: nor remaining in their station, doe that which necessity required : for that A the Enemies which they had in Front did not give them Battaile.

Of the History of POLYBIVS.

It is true that the wings fought for a time valiantly : Confidering that all was in danger. And as the heate was vehement, the Carthaginians brake, feeing that the end of the Combate succeeded not according to their defire, and that their chiefest preparation washindred: The Romans on the other fide had the advantage both in force and courage: and in that principally, that by the providence of the Generall the best furnished among the Carthaginians were made vnprofitable. Wherefore Asarabal being thus prest, retired in the beginning with a flow pace from the Battaile: Then turning in Troupe, he recoursed the neighbour Mountaines. And when as the Romans purfued them neare, B they posted to their Pallisadoe. If some God had not preserved them, they had fuddainly lost their Fort. , But for that the disposition of the Aire changed, and the raine fell continually with violence, the Romans could hardly recover their Fort.

And although that Publius Scipio had fufficient experience of the A defeatin the Warre, yet he neuer fell into fo great a doubt and perplexity, the Text. which happened not without reason. For as wee may fore-fee and pre- A good Come uent exteriour causes and discommodities of the Body, as cold, heate, parison labour, and wounds, before they happen: and cure them when they come : being on the other fide difficult to fore-fee those which proceed C from the Body, and are hardly cureable when they happen: we must judge the same of policies and Armies. It is true, there is a speedy meanes and helpe to preuent the Warres and Ambushes of Strangers when they are contriued : But against those which the Enemy doth practise in the State, as seditions and mutinies, the Phisicke is difficult, and requires a great dexterity and fingular industry in the government of affaires. But in my opinion one aduice is necessary for all Armies. Cities, and bodies politique i which is, that in that which concernes the things about mentioned they never suffer too much sloth and idlenesse: especially in time of prosperity, and the abundance of all things necessary.

Scipio as a man of excellent diligence, and consequently industrious The wifedome and actine to mannage great affaires, propounded a certaine course to esseipie. decide the present combustions, after he had assembled the Captaines of thousands. He gaue order that they should promise vnto the Souldiers the restitution of the victuals and taxes: and to give credit to his promile, they should leuie the ordinary taxes ordained in Cities diligently and openly for the reliefe of the whole Army, to the end Tt 3

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it might be apparent that this preparation was made for the institution of their Victuals. And that moreover, the Milleniers should command the Commissaries of the Victuals, and admonish them to have a care. and to take charge of the Victuals: and that conferring among themfelues, they should make knowne, if part of them or altogether would vndertake it. He fayd, that they must consider of that which was to be done. The others thinking of the same things, had a care of the Treasure. And when as the Milleniers had made knowne the things which had beene ordayned, Scipio being advertised, imparted vnto the Councell that which was to be done. They concluded that A they should resolue on the day when they were to appeare: So as the people should be sent backe, and the Authors seuerely punished:

who were to the number of fine and thirty. And when the Day was come, and the Rebelsthere present, as well to obtaine pardon, as for their Victuals, Scipio fecretly commands the Captaines Milleniers, that they should goe and meete with the Rebels, and in chooling fine of the chiefe of the Mutiny (energy man carrying himselfe courteously at their encounter) they should bring them to his Pauillion : if this could not be done, yet at the least they should conuay them to the Banquet, and to this kind of assembly. B And as for the Army which was with him, he gaue them notice three dayes before, to make provision of Victuals for a long time: as if Marcue should goe to Andebale to fight : whereof the Rebels being aduertized, they were the more affured. They expected to enioy a great power, if (the rest of the Army being separated) they were admitted about a Commander, when they approacht nearethe City, he commands the other Souldiers, that being prepared the day following, they should come forth at the breake of day. In regard of the Milleniers and Captaines, he gives them charge that after their comming forth of the City, they should stay the Souldiers in Armes at the Gate, ha. C. uing first lodg'd the Baggage: and that afterwards they should divide themselves by the Gates, and have a care that none of the Rebels should escape. They which were appointed to receive them, ioy. ning to those which came vnto them, entertained the offendors courteously according voto that which had beene enjoyeed them. Their charge was to feaze vpon these men, at such time as they should be fer at the Banquet, and to keepe them bound: So as not any of the Company being within should goe forth, but onely he that should aductize the Commander what had beene done, Wherefore when the Milleniers had performed their Charge, the Generall seeing in the D Morning following those to be affembled in the place which were arriued he causeth an Assembly to be called. When the advertisement was giuen, they all came running as of custome, whether it were with a desire to see the Commander, or to heare those things which were to be spoken of the present affaires. Scipio sends to the Milleniers which were at the Gates, and commands them to bring the Souldiers that were armed, and to enuiron the whole affembly: Then marching forth, he amazeth them all at the first fight. A great number in truth thought

Publim Scipio affembles his

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thought that he was not well disposed : But when contrary vnto their opinions they found him found and fafe, they were amazed at his presence. Finally, hee vsed this Speech vnto them, saying, that hee wondred for what cause some of them were offended, or vnder what colour they were mooued to attempt a Rebellion.

There are three causes for the which men presume to fall into a mu- Three causes tiny against their Princes and Countrey: VVhich are, when as they of the peoples blame their Gouernour, and indure them vnwillingly; or when they mainly against are offended with the present Gouernment; or vpon a conception in A their opinions of a greater and better hope. I demaund of you, fayth he, which of these three hath mooned you. Are you angry with me that I have not deliuered you Victualls? It is not my fault. For you haue not wanted any Victuals under my Leading. It is the errour of the Romans which have not yeilded that vnto you now, which hath beene formerly due vnto you? Should you then accuse your Country, fo as you should Rebell and become its Enemy, then being present to fpeake vnto me, and to intreate your friends to affift you? The which in my opinion had beene much better. It is true, a pardon may bee giuen vnto Mercenaries, if they abandon those from whom they receive B pay : But it is not fit to pardon such as carry Armes for themselues, their Wines, and their Children. For it is euen like as a man should come vnto his Father, and charge him that he had villanously cozened him in matters of money, and kill him from whom hee holds his life. Haue I opprest you more with toiles and dangers then the rest, giving them more Commodities and profites then vote you? In trueth you dare not speake it, neither can you contince me although you durft attempt it.

I cannot coniccure the cause for the which being incensed against me, you have attempted this Rebellion. I would viderstand the oc-C casion from your selues. I thinke there is not any man among you that can alledge or pretend any thing. You cannot, in trueth, be fad for the present. When was there ever greater abundance of all things, nor more prerogatiues of the Citty of Rome? When was there ever greater hope for Souldiers then there is at this day? Peradaenture some one of these desperate men will thinke that at this day the profits are greater in shew, and the Hope better and more firme with the Encmy. Which are they ? Is it Andobale and Mandonin? Which of you doth not know that as they first falfissed their Faith with the Carthagi. miams comming to vs ? And that now againe they declared themselves D our Enemies, inviolating their oath and Faith? Were it not an honest and commendable thing, that in giuing them your Faith, you should become Enemies to your owne Country? And yet you have no hope in them to enjoy Spaine. You were not sufficient being joyned to Andebale to fight with vs, neither yet alone. Whereto then did you

I would know it from your felues, if you have put your confidence in the Experience and Vertue of the Captaines which now are appointed you, or in the Rods and Maces which march before them, where-

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of there is no honesty to vse any longer Discourse. But in truth there is nothing of all this; neither can you invent any thing against me nor your Countrey. Wherefore I will answere for Rome and my selfe, propounding those things which seeme reasonable to all men, which is this, the People and all the Commons are fuch as they are eafily de-The inconstan- ceiued and moued to any thing. Wherefore it happens to them as to the Sea. For as the Sea of it felfe is without offence, and fafe to those which make vie of it: And if it be tormented with the violence of the Winds, it is such vnto Saylers as are the Winds wherewith it is beaten: The Commons in like manner are made like vnto those which gouerne them, which are their Commanders and Councellors. And therefore now I suffer all your Leaders vnpunished, promising that hereafter I will quit all reuenge : But as for those which have beene the Authors of the Rebellion, I beare them an implacable hatred : for this cause we will punish them conveniently for the crimes which they haue committed against their Countrey and vs.

And when he had vied this Speech, the Souldiers that were in Armes and round about, made a great noise with their Swords in the Porches, and presently the Authors of the mutiny were brought in naked and bound. Finally, the multitude grew into a great amazement B Apunillment for the horror of the Executions which were done in their fight , fo of the Mutines. as when as some were whipt, and others executed, they moved not an eve, nor any man spake a word, remaining all amazed and terrified by these accidents. The Authors of these mischieses being whipt and flaine, and drawne through the midst of them: the rest were assured In common by the Commander and Princes, that no man hereafter should be punished by any man for the remembrance of this fact! Wherefore they came all to the Milleniers, and sweare absolutely to obey the Commandments of the Princes, and not to confent to any thing against the City of Rome.

When as Scipio had corrected the Mischiefe newly growne, hee C Scipit's Speech settles his Army in its former estate. Then suddainly drawing it together within Carthage, he made his complaints of the rashnesse and wickednesse of Andobale towards them : and after he had made a long speech of his disloyalty, he incensed the hearts of many against the say d Potentate. Finally, he put them in minde of their encounters against the Spaniards and Carthaginians, whilest they were under the Carthaginian Commanders : Of whom (as they had beene alwayes victorious) there was no cause he sayd, to be in doubt or feare, but that comming againe to fight with the Spaniards under Andobale, they would D be defeated. Wherefore he sayd he would make no more vie of the Spaniards to fight, and that hee would vndergoe the danger with the Romans alone: to the end it may be manifest to all the world, that wee have not chased the Carthaginians out of Spaine with the helpe of Spaniards: but by a Roman vertue, and that by our owne dexterity week haue vanquished them with the Celtiberians.

This Speech being ended, hee perswaded them to live in Concord. and that they would vindertake this present danger, is ever they vinder-

tooke any with great affurance, In regard of the meanes of the victory, he affures them that with the helpe of the Gods he will take order. The Commons conceived for great a courage and confidence, as all of them carryed a countenance like Vnto those which behold their E. nemies, and prepare to fight. His words being ended, hee fent backe the affembly. The next day hee raifeth his Campe and marcheth? and being come on the tenth day to a River, he patieth it foure dayes after: then he plants himselfe before the Enemies, having recovered sciple layer a certaine Plaine between his Common let le Enemies having recovered baite forthe. a certaine Plaine betwixt his Campe and theirs. The day following he Enemy. A lent forthtowardsthe Enemy woon the Plaine, some Cattell which followed the Army , and commands Caim to keepe certaine Horse-men in a readinesse, and to the Chiefe of the Milleniers, to prepare Archers and Slingers.

When she Spaniards had fallen fuddainly vpon the Cattell, he fent certaine Souldiers that were Archers. The Combat beginning, and the Souldiers running vnto it on either fide in good numbers, there grew a great Skirmish of Foot men neare vnto the Plaine. When a fit occasion was offred to affaile the Enemy, and that Caim had his Horse-men ready as he had commanded him, he chargeth the Foot-B men, and repulseth them from the Plaine, to the places neare ento the Mountaines, to the end they might be scattred, and slaine in great numbess. ... When this happened, the Barbarians were moued, fearing that being vanquished in skirmish before they came to the Battaile, they The Spaniards should seeme to have fainted, wherefore at the Sun-rising they drew in Battaile. their Army in good order to Field, preparing for the Battaile. Pub. lius Scipio was ready to giue it : But when hee law the Spaniards descend without reason into the Plaine, and not onely to put their Horsmen in order, but also their Foot, he stayed, to the end that a greater number might affemble in this order of Battaile, having confidence in chis Cauallery, and much more in his Foot men, for that they should come to an equall Combat, and fight hand to hand : and that the Armes and men which he had, were more excellent then the Spaniards. But for that it feemes necessity prest him, he directed his Army against But for that it feemes necessity press nim, he directed his Army against those which were in Battaile against the Mountaine: drawing foure scipio Bat-Cohorts out of the Campe towards those that were descended into miles the Plaine.

Finally, Caius Lelyus led his Horse-men against the Enemy, by the Hils which come from the Campe vnto the Plaine, and chargeth the Spaniards Horse in the Reare, and in fighting stayes them, to the end they should not succour their Foot. The Enemies Foot being destitute of the helpe of their Cauallery, in whom having put their truft, they had descended into the Plaine, were forced and annoyed in the Combate; the which likewise happened to the Horse men. For when as (inclosed in the streight) they could not fight at case, their deseate was greater then that of the Enemy : for that their Foot men were on the fide, and their Enemies in Front, and their Horse men were charged in the Rearc. The Combat being after this manner, they which descended were in a manner all descated : They which were loyning

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voto the Mountaine fled. They were the most valiant and the third part of the Army: with whom Andebale escaped, recoucring a certaine Fort. Scipio having ended the Warres of Spaine sidrew to Tarracona, A'defeate of the to carry a great triumph of ioy, and a glorious Victory to his Councrey. Desiring them to be present at the Creation of Consuls, hee fayles to Rome being accompanied by Caim, delivering the Army to Innius and Marcus, having given order for all the affaires of Spaine,



Of King Antiochus.

T was in truth Euthydemes Magnes to whom he answered. R faying that Antiochus laboured to chase him our of his Kingdome vniustly : and that he had not rebelled, to the end he might enjoy the Principality of the Bactrians. And when he had vied a long speech tending to that end, hee

intreated Telens that by his meanes he might obtaine a truce, and that he would informe Ansiochus, that hee did not enuy his royall Name : For that if he did not yeeld to his accords, neither of them should live in safety. For there was a great descent of Tartariens, which would be dangerous to either of them : and if they entred the Region . it would vindoubtedly be reduced vinder the subjection of Bar- C. barians. These words being ended, hee sends Telens to King Anciochus. When the King had long ruminated to what end this bufinesse would tend, he heard the proposition which was made by Telens concerning a truce.

When Telem was returned, going and comming often from the one to the other, Euthydemes in the end fent his Sonne Demetrius to confirme the Accord. Whom when the King had received graciously, and holding the Young man worthy to reigne, as well for his outward shew as for his excellent dexterity of Eloquence, hee first promiseth to give him one of his Daughters, and to his Father D the Name of King: Finally, after hee had past in writing the Pactions and Accords fworne, he raiseth his Campe, and sends Victuals freely to his Army.

When hee had received the Elephants which Enthydemes had sent, hee paffeth Mount Caucalus: and after that hee came into India he renewed the League with Sophafine King of the Indies: where after he had received an hundred and fifty Elephants, and had againe given Victuals to all his Army, he marcheth with all his forces. Moreover,

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he sends Androsthenes the Cyzecenien to receive Gaza, which by the accord was delivered vnto him by the King. And when hee had past Arachofia, and the River of Brymanthus, heatrived in Carmania by Draitgene: where he wintred, for that Winter approached. This was the end of Antiochus Voyage which he made by the high Countries. by the which he drew to his obedience not onely the Satrapes and Gouernours of the high Countries, but also the Marritine Cities, and the Potentates inhabiting neare viso Tamis: Finally, he hath affured his Reigne, making by his confidence and good industry all his Subjects amazed. For he seemed by this Voy-Λ

age worthy to reigne not onely ouer the Mariques, but also over the Europians.



A



A PARCELL OF the Twelfth Booke of the

History of POLYBIVS.



Ho will wholly commend the Excellency of this Region. In regard of Tymeus, thou maist with reason terme him ignorant, not onely of things concerning Lybia: but also a Child and without understanding, and also subject to a foolish ancient report, according to the which we have heard that Lybia is all fandy, dry, and defarts. The like they fayd of Creatures: And

yet it hath so great abundance of Horses, C Sheepe, and Goats, as I know not where we may finde the like in the The manner of World: For that many people of Lybia make no vie of the fruits which proceede from the hands of man, but live with Mares Milke. Moreouer who doth not know the multitude and force of Elephants, Lyons, and Panthers, and consequently the beauty of Bugles or wilde Oxen. and the greatnesse of Ostridges; whereof there are none in Europe, and vet Lybia is full of fuch things : whereof Tymens being wholly ignorant. he deliuers as it were of purpole things contrary to truth.

the Lybians li-

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As he hath lyed in matters concerning Lybia, to hath he done the The lland of like of the liand of Cyrnen. Whereof making mention in his Second D knowne by 77. Booke, he saith, that it abounds in Goats, Sheepe, and wilde Oxen. and moreoner in Stags, Hares, and Wolues, with some other Beafts and that the men are much given to Venery, and spend their whole lives therein. When as in the faid Iland there is neither wilde Goate, Oxe, Hare, Wolfe, nor Stagge, nor any such kinde of Beaft : Except Foxes, Conies, and wilde Geese. It is true, that a Coney seene a farre off, feemes like vnto a Leueret : But when they hold it, it differs much, as well in fight as in tafte. It breeds and lives most commonly

in the ground. For this cause all the Beasts of this Iland seeme wilde. for that the Keepers cannor follow them, in regard this Iland is woody. hilly, and steepe: But when they will draw them together, staying in commodious places, they eall them by a Trumpet, and every one runs to his owne. Finally, if fometimes they which come into the Hand, see Goats or Oxen feeding alone, and seeke to take them, they will not come at them, but flye from them as strangers; and when the Keepers discouering those which come from the ships, sounds his Trumpe, they make hafte and runne voto him : which put ignorant men A inconceite, that the Beafts of this Iland are wilde, whereof Tymeus hath made dreames, writing impertinently.

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It is no great wonder, that they obey the found of the Trumpe. For It is no great wonder, that they obey the found of the Trumpe. For they which breed Swine in Italy, have no Hogheards which follow breeding Swine them after the manner of Greece : but going before them a little space, in Italy. they found their Trumpes, and the Swine follow them behinde, running after the found. These Beasts are so accustomed every one to his Trumpe, as it is a wonder and in a manner incredible to those that shall heare speake of it. For it happens that for the abundance of Swine. and other things necessary, the troupes are in such great numbers in Itoly : especially in the ancient and among the Tyrebeins and Gamles : so as of one breeding there are sometimes aboue a thousand. Wherefore they fend them generally according to the age by troupes in the Night: So as many being fent together, they cannot keepe them agcording to their kinde, and they mingle as well going and paffing, as in their returne-

For this cause they have invented the sound of the Trumpe, to the end that when the Swine mingle, they may separate them without difficulty. When as the Hogheards march one way, and the other another, in founding the Trumpe, the Swine part of themselves. euery one following his owne Trumpe with such great heate, as it C is impossible to stay them, or to hinder their course. But when in Greece they mingle, hunting and running after Fruites, hee that hath the greatest number and retires sooness, carries with his owne the next, and fometimes steales shem, he that hath the charge not knowing how he hath loft them: for that the Swine Rray far from their Hogheards whilest they run greedily after the Fruits of Trees, when as they begin newly to fall. But we have spoken sufficiently.

It hath often been my chance to goe to the City of the Lecrines, and The City of the to deliuer them that which was necessary. I have made them free Legines. from the Warre of Spaine and Dolmacia: to the which by accord they were subject by Sea to the Romans. Wherefore they have done vs all D honour and courtesse, in acknowledging to be freed from this trouble, danger, and charge. Wherefore I am more bound to praise the Locrines, then to doe the contrary. Finally, I have not omitted to deliuer and write the History of the Collony, which hath given vs to vnderstand, that Aristotle is more veritable then that which Tymeus The Collony of reports. I am of their opinion which maintaine the renowne of the Lorintiacthis Collony to be ancient according to the faying of Aristotle, driftotle, driftotle

Neighbour

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which he addes.

and not of Tymeus: for the which they produce these arguments: First that all things which have beene famous among them for their Predeceffors, are come from women and not from men: fo as (by way of example) they are held amongst them for noble, which have taken their name from a hundred Families. These are the Families which the Locrines made choise of, before they went to make a Collony: whereby it might happen that by Oracles they cast Lots upon the Virgins to fend them to Troy: Whereof some went in Collony, and their posterity was to bee held Noble, and termed of the hundred Families.

Againe, for that which concernes him whom they call Philephore, they have made this report. That when as they chased the Sicilians, who then inhabited that part of Italy, the Nobles and Chiefe men then honoured the Sacrifices, and tooke many of the customes of the Countrey: so as they hold nothing of their Paternall, in observing that from them : and in correcting they have ordained that they should not make any of their Sonnes Philephore, but onely a Virgine, in regard of the Nobility which came from Women. There was not, neither is it faid. that their hath beene any pactions or accords made betwixt the Locrines and the Grecians. In regard of the Sicilians, they had all that we have R made mention of. They say, that when they came first into sicily, they which then held that Region where they now dwell, being amazed and receiving them with feare, made an accord with them : which was. that they should maintaine Friendship, and enjoy the Countrey in common as long as they should tread vpon the Earth, and carry a head vpon their shoulders. And when this kinde of Qath was made, they fay, that the Locrines did put earth into their shooes, and secretly hid the heads of Garlicke: and having thus sworne, and finally cast the Earth out of their stoocs, and likewise the heads of Garlicke, soone after they chast away the Sicilians out of the Countrey. This the Locrines did fav.

A defect in the

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As a Rule although it hath leffe length and breadth, yet it retaines still the Name, if it hath that which is proper to a Rule : So they fay, if it be not straight and having the property of a Rule, it must rather be called by some other name then a Rule: In like manner they hold that if the Commentaries of Historiographers which failing either in Diction or vie, or in any other of the parts which are proper voto them, obserue the truth, they deserue the name of a History : But if that failes, they are no more worthy of that name. For my part, I confesse, that such Commentaries are to be held for true : and I am of this opinion in euery part of our Worke, when I say, that euen as when the Bones are separated from a living Creature, it is made vn vsefull, so is a History: For if thou takest away the truth, the rest will bee but a vaine Narration. We have fayd, that there were two kinds of lies, the one through ignorance, the other which is deliuered wittingly. The pardon is easie for those which through ignorance stray from the truth. and they are to be hated deadly which lie willingly. As men of judgment resoluing to revenge their enemies, doe not first observe what their

Two kinds of vntruch.

Neighbour descrues, but rather what they must doe: the like we must thinke concerning dotracters, not caring for that which the Enemies ought to heare, but to observe carefully what it is fit to speake. They which measure all things according to their choller and enuy, must of necessity faile in all, and stray from reason, when they speake otherwife then is fitting. Wherefore we doe not feeme vniustly to reproue the speeches which Tymens hath held against Demochares. In truth, Tymens reprehee neither deserues pardon nor credite with any man, for that in hensible, wronging him openly, hee ftraies from reason, in regard of his naturall A bitternesse. Neither doc the iniuries against Agashocles please mee. although he were the most cruell man living. I speake of those whereof hee makes mention in the end of his History, faying, that Again Alathoria thooles had beene a publique Sodomite in his younger yeares, and abandoned to all infamous and vild persons: and so to other soule villanies

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Moreouer, hee fayth, that after his death his Wife lamented him in this manner : Why have not I thee , nor thou mee ? In regard of the specches which he hath held of Demochares, some will not onely cry out, but wonder with reason at his excessive Rage. That Agathecies had necessarily by Nature a great prerogative, it is manifest by the Dis-B course which Tymeus hath held. Hee came to Sarragoss, flying the Wheele, Smoake, and Clay, being eighteene yeares old? And when he was come for this cause, sometime after he was Lord of all Sicily : Hee alfo drew the Carthuginians into great extremities, and ended his life with the Name of a King, after that he had growne old in this government. It is not then necessary to say, that there had some things hap. pened to Agathocles which were great and excellent, and that hee had had great power, and great forces to execute all these things: And that a Historiographer must not onely deliuer vnto posterity those things which concerne the blame, and shew the accusation, but also those C which touch the praise of the man. This is the property of a History? But this Childe blinded with his owne rancor, in his relation augments through hatred his offences, omitting wholy the vertues : being ignorant that it is no leffe blame worthy then a lye in those which write the Histories of Actions.

It happened faith he, that as two young men contended for a Ser. Aparcell core uant, that he was somewhat long with a Friend: And when as the other supred. two dayes before came out of the Countrey, in the absence of the Mafter the Servant retired speedily into the house : and that afterwards the D other knowing he came thither, feazing on him, brought him into Queftion, faying, that the Maister of the house ought to give Caution. For Zalences the the Law of Zaleucus was, that he deserved a suite to whom he had made Law-giver. the retreate. And when as the other fayd, that according to the same Law he had also made the retreate, for that the Body was parted to come vnto the Potentate : he faith, that the Princes were in doubt vpon this businesse, and called Cosmopole, referring themselves to him in this cause. Who interpreted this Law, saying that the retreat hath alwayes beene to him who had the last, or for a time possessed the thing debated

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without contradiction. But if any one spoild another by force and had retired it, and that subsequently he which first enjoyed it, termes himselfe the maister, this is no true possession. And when as the Young man discontented at this sentence, sayd, that it was not the sense of the Law, Cosmopole protested, and offerd the Condition, if there were any man that would speake any thing touching the sentence or sense of the Law established by Lalenens. The which is such, that the Captaines Milleniers being there appointed with Haltors to hang men, they consulted upon the sense of the Law : if any one draw the sentence of the Law to a bad sense, hee was strangled in the presence of the Mil-A leniers. This Speech being propounded by Cosmopole, the Young mananswered, that the Condition was valuet a for that Cosmopole had not about two or three yeares to live. (for hee was about fourescore and ten yeares old) and that he according to reason had the grea-A wittenfiver test part of his life remaining. For which witty and pleasant Speech hee escaped the scuerity of the iudgement : and the Princes iudged according to the aduice of Compole.

> Wee will make mention of a certaine expedition of Warre, which hath beene very famous, and decided in a very short time: In the relation whereof Califibenes hath ert'd in that which doth most import : B I speake of that which Alexander made into Cilicia against Darius. In the which he faith that Alexander had past the streights, which they call the Ports of Cilicia; and that Darius tooke his way by the Ports which they call Menides, and drew with his Army towards Cill. sis. And when he understood by the Inhabitants, that Alexander tooke his course towards Syria, hee followed him : and when he approached vnto the streights, hee Camped neare vnto the Riner of Pyre. Finally, that the compasse of that place was not about fourteene Furlongs from thence, and from the Sea vnto the hilly Countreves, and that the fayd River falls into the Sea, tranerfing the C faid places: First by the sides of the Mountaine ending at the Plaine, and then by the Field having his Banks rough and not eafie to come vnto. These things supposed, he sayd, that when as Alexander turning head, came neare vnto Darius, his aduice and that of his Princes was

to order his Battaile within his Campe as hee had formerly done. and to helpe himselse with this River as with a Rampire, for that it ran neare vitto his Campe. Finally, he ordred his Horse-men vp. on the Sea-shoare, and vpon their Reare the Mercenaries : so as neare vato the Riuer they were loyned in one, and the Targetteers were placed in the Mountaines. It is a difficult thing to confider how hee D The reprehenordred these before the Battalion : seeing that the River past neare vnto the Campe, the multiude likewise being so great. They were as Califibenes fayth, thirty thousand Horse and as many

Mercenaries.

It is an easie thing to know what space will containe these. For they order their Rankes according to the true vse of eight in a great Troupe of Horse, euery one requiring a space in Front, to the end they may turne eafily. To eight hundred of which a Furlong sufficeth, and

ten to eight Thousand, and foure to three Thousand five hundred: So as this space of fourereene furlones, is fill'd with twelve Thousand Horse. If then he bath ordred all this Troupe of Horse in Battaile, it wants not much but being tripled, the order hath beene made without any space betwixt. In what place then bath he ordered the multitude of Souldiers, but in the Rearc of the Horse men ? But hee will fav no, and that they fought with the Macedonians at their first comming.: Of necessitie there must be an uniting made, seeing that the order of the Horse men held the moiety of the place towards the Sea. A the other towards the Mountaines being kept by the Mercenaries. Hereby we may inferre, how close the Horse men were vnited, and what space there must be from the River vnto the Campe. Then hee fayth, that when the Enemies approached, Darius being in the midst of his Armie, called vnto him the Mercenaries and their Wing. But we may doubt how this is spoken. For it is necessarie that the Horsemen and Mercenaries should be joyned about the middest of this fame place. When as Darius was in the middest of his Mercenaries, how hath he call'd them? Finally hee fayth, that the Horse-men of the right Wing fought with Alexander at his first comming : and that hee received them valliantly, and fought with them in front, and that B the Combate of eyther fide was very furious.

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In regard of that which was spoken by him that the River was in the middest (as a little before we have delivered) hee hath forgotten himselfe. Finally, he writes things of Alexander like vnto these. He faith that hee past into Asia, accompanied with fortie Thousand foot, and foure Thousand fine hundred Horse. And as he would have aduanced, there came vnto him out of Macedony other five Thousand foote, and eight hundred Horse: And although that for the affaires of his long absence, he had left three thousand foote, and three hundred Horse, yet he had fortie two thousand remaining. These things C presupposed, hee sayth that Alexander was advertised of Daring descent into Sicilia, so hee was not aboue a hundred furlongs from him. and that he had alreadie past the streights of the Countrie, and for this cause turning head he repast them againe, putting the great Battalion in Front, then the Horse-men, and after all the rest of the baggage of the Army.

And when he came afterwards into the plaine, that all the baggage being packt vp. hee commaunded that being mingled with the Battalion, they flould make their rankes, containing first about two and thirtie in number, then of fixteene, and of eight neere the Enemy. These Speeches have lesse reason then the former. For as the furlong containes in these spaces fixteene hundred men, when a rancke is of eighteene men, so as they be euery one separated a Fathome, it is manifest and doth plainly appeare that the ten will containe fixteene Thousand men, and twentie double the number. The which may easily appeare, for that when as Alexander ordred his Army by fixe. teene men in a rancke, it was very necessary that the place should bee of twenty Furlongs, and yet all the Cauallerie remained and Vu 3

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wards

ten thousand Foote. Finally, hee saith, that hee led his whole Army in Front against the Enemies, being yet forty Furlongs off. But that is so strange, as wee can hardly imagine any thing more insensible. Where shall wee finde such spaces in the Champion Countrey euen in Eilicia, that a Battaile fet in order, holding twenty Furlongs in breadth, and forty in length, may march in the Front e. There are fo many hinderances to order this forme of Battaile , as they can hardly be numbred. Morcouer, the fayings of Calisthenes give no sufficient arguments to purchase credite. For hee sayth, that the Torrents which fall from the Mountaines, make so many and such great Moores and Fenns, as A he affures vs that a great number of Persians perished there in the flight. But would iDarius suddainly shew himselfe against the Enemy? Is there flothing more casie then a Battalion broken and scattred in Fronte But how much more easie is it to order a Battaile in a conuenient pasfage, then to leade an Army directly to fight, being broken and scattred in woody and crooked places ? And therefore it were better to leade an Army close and voited, and double rather then Qua-

By this meanes it would not be impossible to finde the meanes to paffe, and to put the Battaile in order, and with cafe, if hee might by R his Scouts discouer the comming of the Enemy. But Califhenes befides the reft, orders not the Horse men in Battaile, when he led the Army in Field, being in Front, ordring the Foote-men equally. It is alfo a ftrange thing when hee faith, that Alexander being neare the Enemy, comprehended the order of his Battalion of eight for a Ranke : So it is manifest that necessarily the length of this Battalion contained the space of about forty Furlongs. But if they have beene (as the Poet said) close together, so as they have beene joyned one to another: Yet it would be necessary, that the place should containe Twenty Furlongs. And yet he faith, there were but fourcteene : and that in fuch C fort, as one part was towards the Sea; and a moiety of the Army vpon the right hand : and that moreover all the armed men had place fufficient on the fide of the Mountaines, to the end they might not bee supprest by the Enemy holding the borders of the Hills.

Weeknow well that he makes a crooked order within : But we alfo leave out ten thousand Foote, which exceeds the meanes which he hath given : So as the length of this Battalion according to Califfie. nes, hath want of aboue twelte Furlongs, in the which it is necessary that thirty two thousand men, contaying a restraint of thirty in a Ranke being loyaed, haue beene there comprehended. Hee fayth, D that this Battalion was ordred after the Rate of eight in a Ranke. These errours doubtlesse cannot be desended, for that which is impossible in it selfe, is not worthy of credit. As often as wee have respect vnto the spaces due vnto enery man, and to the length of all the place, and to the number of men, the lye were not excufable. It were loffe of time to repeate all his fooleries.

He saith, that Alexander thirsted after a Battaile against Darius, and that Darius was of the same opinion in the beginning, and after-

wards changed his relointion. Hee doth not flew how they knew one another, nor what order they observed in their Army, nor whether Darius past : Neither finally, how the Battalions came to the Rives fide, feeing it was crooked and hight. Without doubt wee cannot be leeve that Alexander. committed fo groffe an erronr : feeing that from his Infancy hee had gorten to great experience and practife in Alexander ve the Art of Warre. Wee must rather thinke that the Historiogra- on cabilbeers, pher could not through ignorance discerne things possible from the impossible in these affaires. But wee haue spoken sufficient at this time of Ephorus and Califibenes.

First hee is of Opinion, that they must advertise those of the Councell, that the Trumpets awakes fleepers during the Warreand Birds in the time of Peace. Finally, hee fayth, that Heronles instituted the Olympicke Combats, and the truce and abstinence from Warre , and that by this meanes hee hath shewed a figne of his will. In regard of those against whom hee made Warre, hee annoyed them all through necessity, and for Command : but hee was never witting, ly the Authour of any harme to man. Hee confequently brings in Inc. piter angry with Mars, and faying,

Most sure thou owest to meethe least good-will Of all the Gods that baunt Olympus Hill: Thou tak it no pleasure but to warre and fight, In brawles and quarrels is thy chiefe delight.

Hee Wrifes likewise, that the Wisest of the Divine Gods fayth

Bad Citizens who will not when they may Stoppe civil frife : fall often to desay.

And that Euripides is of the same Opinion with this Poet; when hee faith.

> Blest Peace, she best of Goddesses that be. Oh how much inmy beart I honour thee! If thou deny thy presence by delay, I feare grim Death will fnatch mee hence away. Haste then that I may futurely be blest With sports and renels that adorne a Feast.

Hee fayth moreover, that Warre is very like voto a Discase, and The Warre like Peace to Health. The which doth comfort and recreate the ficke : voto a Directo, whereas in the other the found perish. Finally, that old men are buried by young according to the order of Nature : But in the Warre the contrary happens, And that it is a strange thing, that there is no

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A PARCELL OF the Thirteenth Booke of

the History of POLYBIVS.



S the delires of fuch as are troubled with the Dropfie are neuer fatisfied. nor taken away by any exteriour humour, if the interiour disposition of the Body be not cured: So the concupifcence to have much is neuer satisfied, if the vice which lies in the heart be not by some reason corrected. There falls out some-thing like in the Desire of fraud, C which no man living will confesse to be royall: although that some at this day hold it necessary to mannage affaires by deceit for to reigne.

The Acheins avoide it much. For they were estranged from defree from fraud ceipts towards their Friends to aduance their power, as they would not vanquish their Enemies: holding it neither noble nor firme, if they did not vanquish by prowesse and in open fight. Wherefore they ordained among themselues, that no man should make vse of hidden Armes, thinking that an open Combat hand to hand was the true determining of Warre. Finally, they declared themselues vnto their Enemies, and and fignified the Warre, when they are once resolued to vndergoe the danger of a Battaile; the like they did of the places where they would

> But at this day they fay, hee is no good Commander that executes as ny enterprize of Warre openly. There is yet remaining in the Ramans some Reliques of the ancient humour in such affaires. They signifie it

before, and they seldome vse any Ambushes, fighting readily hand to hand. Let these words be spoken against the affection which is much more ready, then is needefull, in malicious practifes, policies and ambushes among Princes, as well in affaires of Warre as Policy.

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Of Philip.

A Hilip had instructed and commanded Heraclides to confider how he might annoy and ruine the Rhodien ships, and had sent an Embassadour to the Candiots to draw them and to incense them to make Warre against them. Heraclides was a man fit for malicious Reraclides practifes, thinking likewife that Philips Command. malicious.

ment being accepted would be gainefull, soone after when he had considered thereon, he sail'd against the Rhodiens. This Herauldes, Heraclides was borne at Tarentum, iffued from a Racc of Artizans, but wonderfully giuen to villanies and malice. First he prosituted his Body publickely in his younger yeares : and as he afterwards grew subrile, he had the charge of the Register, being to the poore seuere and audacious, and towards Great men a flattering Courtier. Yet hee was chaft out of his Countrey, as if he had fought fecretly to deliuer the City of Tarentum to the Romans, when he had no power in the gouernment : Hee was an Architect, and by reason of some building of the C Walles, he had in his hands the Keyes of a Gate which bends to the Mediterranian Coaft. But when hee was retired to the Romans, and had againe written to Tarentum to Hannibal, and had sent thither, he fled to Philip being discourred, and fore-seeing what would succeed: with whom hee had so much credite and authority, as he was in a manner the Author of the subuersion of a great Kingdome. But the nature The force of of the greatest of the Goddesses seemes to shew the truth vnto men, and truth. to give them great forces : fo as although shee be opposed by all men. and that sometimes all kind of perswasions accompanied with lies bee arm'd against her, yet shee slips I know not how of her selfe into the fantafics of men, fo as sometimes she suddainly raiseth her forces: and sometimes after shee hath beene long hidden, shee comes to light and discouers votruth.

When as Nahis Tyrant of the Lacedemonians, had three yeares en. Nahis Tyrant joyed the Principality of Lacedemon, he had not attempted any thing, of the Lacedeneither durst he make tryall : For that lately Machanides had beene slaine monitons. by the Acheins: But hee laid the first foundations of a long and grieuous tyranny. He vtterly ruined some of the Lacedemonians, banish.

ing those which were Noble or Rich, or had any honour from their Ancestors, giuing their substance and Wives to other Noble men, and to Mercenaries. Who were Murtherers, Theeues, Robbers, and breakers of houses. Finally, this kind of men (to whom the Country was forbidden, in regard of their wickednesse and villanies) were by him carefully drawne together from all the parts of the Earth, of whom he held himselfe Prince and King. He had Lanciers for the guarde of his Body, by whom it plainely appeared that his wickednesse and power would be of long continuance. Besides the said things hee was not satisfied with the banishmens of Citizens, but moreouer he left not A any place safe for Fugitiues, nor any certaine refuge. He slue some vp. on the way, sending after them, and kill'd others in their returne. Finally, in Cities (where the Fugitives did remaine) he hired houses neare

vnto them by men not suspected, sending Candiots' thither: who making holes in the Wall, flew them with Arrowes, or at the Windowes, the Fugitiues standing there, or else being at their Meate in their houses:

so as these miserable Lacedementans had no place of refuge, nor time affured.

He hath by this meanes ruined many. He dreft up an Engine, if it may be fo term'd: It was the Image of a Woman richly attired, the forme B whereof was like vnto the Wife of Nabis, and very well painted. When he called any Citizens, meaning to exact money from them, at their first entrance he vied courteons and milde speeches, speaking of the feare of the Acheins neare vnto the City and Region : He likewise detlated the multitude of Souldiers which hee entertained for their fafety. and finally the charges hee was at for the Gods, and the publique good of the Citty. If by this Speech he perswaded them, then he had them ready at his denotion; but if any one refusing would not give care vnto him, hee added these words: peraduction canst not perswade thy Aprec the Wife Telfe : Yet I thinke this Apege (which was the Name of his Wife) will C doe it. After this speech, the Image was presented: and when hee rise out of his Chaire, hee imbraced it as his Wife, and approacht it neare vnto his bosome. This Image had the Elbowes and Hands full of Nailes under the garment, and likewise neare the Papps, and when he toucht the backe of the Image with his hand, he extended it vnto the

breft, and led it by the handling of Instruments; and by this meanes hee forced the Image in a foort time, to pronounce any kind of voyce. Vpon this occasion hee ruined many of those which refuse to obey him.

Lib.14.

A PARCELL OF the Fourteenth Booke of

the Bistory of POLYBIVS.



MHe Consuls were carefull of these affaires! Publius Scipio wintred in Affricke, who being aduertised that the Carthaginians Prica belieged prepared an Army to Sea, hee did the by Scipio. like, yet omitting nothing concerning the Siege of Byfarthe : neither did hee wholy despaire of Sophax or Syphax, sending often vnto him, for that their Armies were not farre distant, perswading himselfe that hee might retire him from the alliance of the Carthaginians.

He despaired not but that hee was now glutted with Pedifea, for whose fake he held the Garshaginians party : and in like manner of the friend-pedifes the wife thip which he had with the Phenicians, as well for their naturall discons of Syphax. tent against the Numidians, as for their prevarication both against God and Men. Whilest hee ruminated of many things with a vari-Dable hope for the future, for that hee feared a danger by Strangers, knowing that the Enemy encreased much, hee resolued in the end vpon this occasion. Some of those which hee had sent to Syphan, related vnto him, that the Carthaginians besides their Winter-tents, had their Lodgings made of Wood and Leaues, and among the Numidians, the Princes had them of Reeds, and they of the Cities there affembled of Leanes: Some being of the Ditch and Pallifidoe, and others withour.

D

of Nabis.

Horfe.

Scipio having a conceite, that if hee affailed their Campe by fire. it would bee a furprize vnexpected by the Enemy, and of great offect for him, inclined vnto it. In regard of syphan, hee intended by his Embassies which hee sent vnto Scipio, to settle a Peace, so as the Carthaginians should leave leady, and the Romans Affricke: and that either of them should enjoy that which they held : which things being formerly heard, hee had not accepted : but at that time hee aduertifed the Numidian by an Embafficin few words, that the proposition made by him was not impossible. So as Syphan having A great hope, solicited a parley often. This done, there were many and frequent Embaffics.

It happened that sometimes they met without Guards, and Scipio alwayes sent men of great judgement with his Embassadours . for whom thee had prepared Military habits, which were bale, poore, and service, to discouer and view the entries and issues of the two Campes. There were in truth two: the one of Afarabal, contaygood. Foore ning thirty thousand Foote, and three thousand Horse: the other which was ten Furlongs off, was of Numidians, hauing ten thouland Horse, and about fifty thousand Foote. These had the approach The Campe of more casie, and the Lodgings more fit to burne : for that the No. B Syphax of 10000 midians vied no Timber non Earth, but onely Reeds and Canes to

make their Lodgings. 10000 Foote.

And for that the Spring was come, Scipio having inquired of all the preparations of the Enemy . hee cauteth his thippes to flote, and puts Engines into them as it were to befiege Byfarthe by Sea. Moreouer, hee seazed vpon a Hill neare unto the City with about two thoufand Foote, to the end hee might put a conceite into the Enemy, that all this was done for the Siege : Yet in tsuth hee made this Guard, untill hee might haue an opportunity to execute his Enterprize, to the end that the Armies being out of their Camps, the Garrison of the City should not dare to fally forth, nor assaile the Pallisadoe being neare, nor besiege those which were there in the Guard.

This preparation being ready, hee fent to Syphan, to demand of him if hee would conclude the Articles, and whether the Carthaginians did like of them: and that hee should propound nothing more concerning the accord, giving also charge to the Embassadours not to returne without answere vpon these Differences. Being come voto the Numidian, their charge being heard, hee confented, for that Scipio was ready to conclude this Accord and withall the D Embassadours told him, that they would not depart before they carried backe an Answere from him.

But being in great feare and doubt that the Carshaginians would not giue consent, hec sent with all speede unto Sarubal, ad. ucitifing him of that which was treated, with many perswafions to accept of the Peace. Syphax was negligent and careleffe, and suffered the Numidians which he had drawnetogether, to lodge without the Campe.

This Scipio did in shew, but hee was carefull of the preparations. And when as the Carthaginians had adnertifed Syphax to conclude the accord, reioycing thereat, he signified it presently to the Embassadors: who being returned to their Campe, acquainted Scipio with that which the King had done. These things being heard, hee presently sends backe an Embassic to Syphax, to tell him, that hee liked well of the accord, and desire da peace : but the Senate and Councell were not of that Opinion, faying, that they would purfue their Enterprize. The Embassie came to Syphax, and declared these things vnto him. A Scipio had sent these Embassadours, to the end hee should not seeme to haue broken the accord, if during a parley of Peace, hee should attempt any Enterprize of an Enemy : conceining that having fignified this vnto the Enemy, whatsoeuer he should doe would be blamelesse. Syphax was much discontented with this newes, considering the hope hee had of a Peace: Hee goes to Afarubal, acquainting him with that which the Romans had fignified vnto him : whereupon doubting, they confulted how they should carry themselues, but they were farre from knowing the resolution and designe of the future accidents. As for standing vpon their guard, or to beleeve that any disafter or misfortune were at their Gates, they had no thought

thereof.

It is true, their whole intent was to draw the Enemy into the Plaine. Scipio gaue many presumptions by his preparation and summation, that hee had some Enterprize against Bysarthe, Fnally, about Noone he sends for the Captaines Milleniers, whom hee held for his loyall Friends, and acquaints them with his intent, giuing them charge, that an houre after Dinner they should put the Army in Battaile before the Pallisadoe, when as all the Trumpets accor- A custome of ding to custome had given the Signe. The Romans have a custome, the Romans du, that during the repast, all the Trumpets and Clairons sound before the ring their re-

C Generals Tent : to the end that during that time they should set wat- past, ches in conuenient places. When hee had retired his Spies which hee had sent vnto the Enemies Campe, hee conferres and examines the Reports of the Embassadours, and considers of the approaches of the Campe, making vie therein of the aduice and councell of Maj. Majanija. faniss for the knowledge of the places. And when as all things were ready for the Execution, hee marcheth with his Army directly to-the Enemies wards the Enemy, the first Watch being changed, leaving a suffici. Campe. ent number to guard the Campe. They were threefcore Fur longsoff.

And when they were come vinto them about the end of the third Watch , he delivers halfe the Army to Caim Lelyus, with all the Numidians, giving them charge to affaile Syphax Campe, and perfwading them to carry themselues like braue men, and not to attempt any thing rashly, holding for certaine that the more their fight is hindred by darkeneffe, the more courage and confidence they should haue to finish Nocturnall affaults. Finally, hee affailes Afdrs. bal with the rest of the Army. Yet his purpose and resolution $X \times 2$

This

Scipin fets Af-

420

Lelius affailes was not to put it into execution, before that Lelius had first fet fire of Campe by fire, the Enemies. Being thus resolved, hee marcheth a flow pace. Leliss on the other side dividing his Army in two, assailes the Enemies suddainly. But as the lodgings were built in such fort, as if they had of purpole beene destinated for the fire, where the first had cast the fire, and consumed all the first Tents, it fell out so as they could not succour this Disaster: Both for that the lodgings stood close together, and for the abundance of stuffe wherewith they were built. Laline stood still in Battaile : But Masaniffa knowing the Countrey. placed Souldiers vpon the passages, by the which they which fled A from the fire, must retire. Not any of the Mumidians understood that which was done, nor syphax himselfe, thinking this fire had beene accidentall. Wherefore they goe rashly out of their lodgings and Tents, some being yet asleepe, and others drinking: So as many were crushe in peeces by them at the fally of the Pallisadoe, and and many were burnt . In regard of those which fled the flames, they were all flaine, falling into the Enemies hands, not knowing what hould befall them, nor what to doc.

When at the same time the Carthaginians saw this great fire and high flames, thinking the Numidians Pallifadoe was on fire, some R went presently to helpe them : all the rest ran out of the Campa without Armes, standing before their Pallisadoe amazed, they expected what the end would be. When as things succeeded accordrubals Campe ding to Scipio's intent, he falls upon those which were come out of the Campe, and pursuing others into it, bee presently sets fire on their lodgings. The like happened to the Phenicians, as well by fire as by other miseries and missortunes, where with the Numidans were

afflicted.

But when as Astrabal had discovered by the euent, that this fire of the Numidians was not accidentall, but by the policy and courage of the Enemy, hee ceased suddainly from giving Succours, making C haste to faue himselfe, for that there was little hope remaining. fire suddainly wasted and consumed all : There were no more passages for Horses, Sumpters, and men, among the which some were halfe dead, and burnt with the fire, others were terrified and amazed, fo as they which made preparation to defend themselves valiantly, were hindred, neither was there any meanes of hope, by reason of the trouble and confusion.

The like happened to Syphan and to the other Commanders. But either of them escaped with some few Horses: the rest of the Troups of Men, Horses, and Sumpters, perished miserably by this fire. D Some were ignominiously staine by the Enemy after they had fled the violence of the fire, and defeated not onely without Armes, but naked and without apparrell. Finally, all the place of these Campes was full of howling, horrible cries, feare, and vnv fuall noise: and moreouer with a violent flaming fire: Either of the which had beene sufficient to amaze and terrifie humane Nature, and the rather for that thefe things happened contrary vnto all hope. Wherefore it is not possible

for any man living to imagine this accident, confidering the greatneffe: for that it hath exceeded the policy of all precedent actions. And although that scipio hath performed many deeds of prowesse and valour, yet this feemes to be the most excellent and hardy of them all. At the breake of day, the Enemies being some defeated, and others fled with amazement, he gaue charge to the Commanders to purfue the Chafe.

Of the History of POLYBIVS

The Chiefe of the Carthaginians budg'd not in the beginning, although he were adnertifed by many: The which he did, relying vpon A the fortification of the City. But when hee faw the Mutiny of the Inhabitants among themselves, hee fled, accompanied with those The flight of which had escaped with him, fearing the comming of Scipio. Hee Astribal. had fine hundred Horse, and about two thousand Foote. The Inhabitants being agreed, yeelded themselves to the Romans. Whom Scipropardoned, abandoning the spoile of two Neighbour Cities to the Souldiers. These things being thus decided, hee returned to his first Campe. The Carthaginians were discontented, that the hope which they had conceived in the beginning, had fucceeded fo contrary. They expected to have befreged the Romans (inclosed within the Fort of By farthe, where they had wintred) as well by Sea as Land. And when they had all their preparations ready, they were not onely destitute of their Campes, so inconsiderately delivered to their Enemies, but it seemed they should all perish with their Countrev : For this cause they were amazed with great seare and faintnesse of heart.

And when as the affaires prest them to consider prudently of the future and eminent danger, the Senate was full of doubt, and of diners confused thoughts : Some sayd, they must send to Hannibal, and call The carthaginihim out of Italy, for that all their hope consisted in that Commander, ansenateholds and the Army which hee had : Others were of advice they should a Councelly C tend to Scipio to obtaine a truce, and to parley of an accord and agreement: some would have them to be of good courage, and to leuie all Army, and finally to fend to Syphax. He was fled farre voto Abbe. drawing together those which escaped from the danger : which aduice was resolued. Wherefore they leuic men, and send to Astrai bal to that end, and likewise to Syphax, intreating him to give them Succours, and to observe the conventions according to their first purpose, promising him that their Commander should presently iovne with his Armv.

The Roman Generall followeth the Siege of Byfarthe the which hee D did the rather, for that hee was advertised that Syphax continued in Scipio attends his first resolution, and that the Carthaginians leuied a new Army. the Siege of By-For this cause hee raised his Campe and besieged Bysarthe. When hee sarthe, had divided the spoile, hee chased away the Merchants voon good aduice. For the Souldiers carelesse of the present commodity of goods: for that the hope of profits which grew by their good forrune was apparent, they had intelligence with the Merchants.

It feemed very fit to the King of Numidia and his Friends at XX3

fuccour the Carthazinians.

the first fight, that they should retire to their houses. But when the 4000. Celtiberia Celsiberians arrived neare vnto Abbe, who being entertained, were aboue foure thousand men, the Carthaginians grew affured, and by little and little recouered their spirits, relying vpon these Troupes. Moreover, when as Pedifes the Daughter of Afdrubal, and Wife to Syphax. (of whom we have spoken) intreated him with all affection that he would not abandon the Carthaginians for the present : The Numidian yeelded to her intreaties. The Geltiberians put no small hope into the Carthaginians. For although they were but foure thousand, A yet they fayd, they were ten thousand. Finally, they promised to bee insupportable in the fight, as well for their courage as their Armes. The Carthaginians growne proud with this common bruite, were more confident to recouer their Campes.

Finally, they set vp their Pallisadoe within thirty dayes neare vitto the Plaine called the Great, and there they planted their Campe, accompanied with the Numidians and Celtsberians, being in number thirty thousand men. When the newes came vuto the Romans Campe, Scipio presently prepared to part. And when he had fent to those which held the Siege before Byfarthe, and to the others which were at Sea; informing them what they were to doe, he marched towards the Ene. B my, having all his Bands furnished with the most valiant men. Being come on the fift Day to this great Plaine, and approaching neare the Enemy, he camped the first Day vpon a Hill, thirty Furlongs distant from them, the Day following hee descends into the Plaine, sending the Horfe-men before within fenen Furlongs, and there fettles his

Campe againe.

The order of Battaile of the Romans Army.

Scipio dra ses

towards the

Faemy.

The order held.

After two Dayes expectance, when they had skirmished of either fide to come to a Battaile, either of them in the end drew to Field and put their men in order. Scipio first of all placeth in Front his forlorne hope, according to their custome: After which he appoints the Principals, and in the third place the Triarij in the Reareward. As for the Horse-men, he orders the Italians on the right hand, and Massanista with the Numidians on the left. Syphan and Afdrubal fet the Celtiberia ans in the midft, against the Roman Bands, the Numidians on the left hand, and the Caribaginians on the right. Suddainly when the Com-The beginning bat began, the Numidians were repuls'd by the Roman Horfe-men, and of the Battaile, the Carthaginians (as they had often before) losing courage, were ouerthrowne by Massamiss's Company. Yet the Celsiberians fought valiantly against the Romans: for they had no hope of safety remaining for the ignorance of the places, neither yet if they were taken, considering their vniust Warre. For seeing that Seipio during the Warre of Spaine, had not offended them, it seemed against reason, and a disloyalty to give succours to the Carthaginians. But when the Wings began to giue backe, they were in a manner all flaine, being inclosed The descare of by the Principals and the Triarij. Thus the Celtiberians perished, who the Celliberians, were a great helpe to the Carthaginians, not onely in the fight, but al. fo in the flight, for if they had not entertained the Romans, and that the Chase had beeng suddainly followed, few of the Enemies had escaped:

but as their refistance caused the stay, Syphax retired safely with his Siphax retires Horse-men into his Countrey, and Asdrabal to Carthage, with the rest in fasety. which escaped. When as the Boman Generall had given order for The adules of the spoiles and Prisoners, calling a Counsell, he consulted what there the Romans was to do. Whereupon it was thought fit that Scipie should with part of the Army affaile the Townes, and Lelyus with Maffinisa accompanied by the Numidians and part of the Roman Army purfues Syphia. The purfuitof and not give him leafure to make any new preparations. These things the Romans and thus resolued they separate themselves, and some goe against Syphax ter Syphax, A with their Souldiers, and the Generall against the Cities: whereof some yeilded to the Romans for feare, and others being forced by slege. At that time the whole Region wavered and were ready to revolt, hauing beene cruelly tormented and vexed during the length of the Wars

In regard of Carthage, as formerly there was great inconstancy, so now there was greater trouble and combustion, for that having heard and seene this Wound the second time, they grew desperate in themfelues. It is true that they among the Councellours which feemed to Divers offinihave greatest Courage, commaunded that they should saile against ons of the Garthose which laid siege to Byfarshe, and to make a triall if they might corning their raise the siege, and to fight with the Enemy at Sca, as being ill furni- Warte. shed. They required also that they should send for Hannibal, and relie vpon that hope: and that there was reasonable occasions of safety by these two attempts. Some said, that the time would not allow it, and that they must fortifie and furnish the Citie for a siege: And that being of one consent, the accident would minister occasions. Some also aduise to make an Accord and League, whereby they should free themselues of the eminent dangers.

As there were many opinions uppon this bufinesse, they confirme them all together. Wherefore this was their Resolution, they that C were to faile into Italy, parting from the Senate should go presently to Sea: The Pylots likewise should prepare that which concernes the ships: And the rest for the safetle of the Citie, having a daily care for patticular things. But when as the Roman Army was inricht with bootie, and that no man made any refistance, Scipie resolues to send the great test part of the bootie to the first baggage: And taking the ablest and most active Bands to seeke to force the Enemies pallisadoe. He therefore (having a good courage') feated his Campe in view of the Carthaginians. He had a conceite that by this meanes hee should amaze and

n terrifie them.

of Spaine,

The Carthaginians having in few daies gipen order for all the Equipage, Victualls, and munition of their Shippes, they meant to Tunie taken by weigh Anchor, and to execute their Resolution. Scipie came to scipie. Tunis: and although that they which had fled thither kept the approaches, yet he tooke it. Tunis is distant from Carthage fixe score Furlongs, and is to be seene in a manner by all the Citie: Moreouer it is strong aswell by Nature as by Art: The Carthaginians imbarked, and came to By farthe.

Scipie

X x 4

Scipio seeing the Enemies Army at Sea, was troubled, fearing least his should fall into some inconucnience, having not suspected it, neyther was it ready nor prepared for that which might happen. Whereforeturning head, he raised his Campe, seeking to glue order for his affaires.

When hee perceived his covered shippes, well provided to carry the instruments, and conveniently to raise the siege, but ill appoynted for a Combate at Sea, and that those of the Enemies had beene during the Winter instructed and prepared; he was out of hope to make

head against them, and to come to fight: Yet he prepared the covered Veffell, and invironed them with three or foure ranckes of Merchants thips.

The remainder is wanting.



Lib.15.

Cipio was impatient, that the meanes to get Victualls was not only taken from him.

Carthage, they were first brought vnto the Senate, and afterwards to many others, where they discoursed freely of the present Affaires, of the Roman First they put them in minde, how their Embassadours being arrived Embassadours at Tunis, and were come into the affembly of the Councell, they to the Carthahad not only Sacrifized to the Gods, in bending downe to the ground. as other men are accustomed to do : But moreover (proftrating them-

repetition

A PARCELL OF the Fifteenth Booke of

the History of POLYBIVS.

D selues humbly) they had kist their feete: And when they were risen againe, had acknowledged their faulte to have broken the Accord concluded in the beginning with the Romains, and that for this cause they confest, that they were not ignorant, that they were lustly tormented, and that they intreated that by the Fortune of Humanes, they might not be forced to suffer things that were not to be repaired, and that by this meanes their indifferetion and rashnesse would make the Romains bounty Commendable. The Embassadours say, that at the

but there was plenty with the Enemy : But he seemed to be much more grieved that the Carthaginians had broken their Oath and Accord, making War againe, Wherefore hee made choise for Embassadours of Lucius Servinus Lucius Servinus, Lucius Citinus, and Lucius Citinus, Lucius Pabins, and fent them to speake and Lucius Favnto the Carehaginians vpon this late AGi- the fladours to on, and also to fignific vnto them, that the people of Rome had con- carthage. firmed their Accords, for they had lately brought Letters vnto Scipio containing the faid Articles. When the Embassadours were come to

D

repetition of these things, the Chiefe and Councellors which were then present in Counsell, were amazed and wondred, with what impudence they forgot things that were then spoken, and durk in manner breake the Couenants sworne. It is in a manner manifest, that upon the confidence they had in Hannibal and his forces, they had prefumed to do thefe things, but inconsiderately. Finally, it was apparent to all the World, that flying the last yeare out of all Italy, and being shut vp through their faintnesse in the Countrey of Lacinium, and in a manner belieged, they are fallen at this day to that as they are hardly in fafety: And although that as Victors they would prefent themselves, A and trie with vs the fortune of the Warte, who have vanquished you in two following Battailes, yet they must not hold the future for certaine : Nor yet thinke of the Victory, but rather feare to be frustrated againe. And if that hapned, to what Gods would they make their prayers and vowes ? In what Language would they speake, to moone the Victors to a Commiscration of their calamitie . Seeing that with reason all hope would be taken away, aswell with the Gods as men. These things thus propounded, the Embassadours foorth-with

Some of the Carthaginians were of opinion that the Accord should R not be broken: The greatest part aswell of Burgesses senators diffiked that to the Accord there were some grievances added, and they were much discontented at the hard reprehension of the Embassadors. Moreover they could not restore the shippes which had beene broken; nor repay the Charges. They were likewise fed with no small hope of Hannibals Victory. One part of them were of opinion to fend away the Roman Embassadors without answere. The Burgesses (whose intention was howfocuer to renew the Warre) confulting among themselves practized in this manner. We must (said they) give order that the Embassadors may be safely sent backe to their Campe. Wherfore they presently prepare two Gallies for their returne. But they aduerof the Cartha- tize of fdrubal Chiefe of their Army at Sea, intreating him to keepe ginlant against some vessells ready necrevato the Romans Campe: to the end that the Roman Em- when the Marriners should abandon the Embassadors, these other should board them, and cast them into the Sea. The Army at Sea had iouned to the Romans upon the flat necre unto Byfarthe.

When they had acquainted Afdrubal with these things they dismitte the Romans : And glue charge vnto the Marriners of the Gallics, that when they had past the River of Macre, they should suffer the Romans to Saile towards the Mountaine; for from thence they might visibly discouer the Enemies Campe. When the Marriners had Conducted D the Embassadours, and according to their charge had crost the River, they turne head, having bid the Romans farewell. Lucius in trueth sufpected no harme, but thinking to be thus left at Sca by the Marriners through disdaine, he was much incensed. Whilest they failed alone, the Carthaginians present themselves with three Gallies, which assaile the Roman Quinquereme, notable to annoy it nor board it, through the great resistance which they made : And that fighting in Front and

vpon the flancke, they annoyed the Souldiers with great flaughter of them : vntill being seene by those which spoiling the Maritine Country, came running from their Campe to the Sea shore, they ranne the Gallev a shore. It is true, many of the Company were flaine, but the Embassadours escaped beyond all hope.

These things hapning, the Warre was againe renewed with greater violence and cruelty then before. The Romans intended with great Courage to vanquish the Carthaginians, seeing the faith violated. The Carthaginians likewife fearing themselves guilty of that which they had A committed, were carefull not to fall into the Enemics subjection. Their courages being fuch, it was apparent that this must be decided by a Battaile : For this cause not only Italy and Affricke, but also Spaine Sicily and Sardinia, were troubled and rauished in their judgements, attending the end. And when at the same time Hannibal was destitute of Horses, he sent to one Tycheus a Numidian allied to Syphus, who seemed to have the most valliant of all the Affricane horie, perswading him to giue him succours, and hee should be a sharer in the Action, Hamibal sends knowing that if the Carthaginians vanquished, his Principallity would to Tychen. remaine safe and intire. But if the Romans preuailed, his life it selfe wilbe in danger, in regard of the ambition of Maffantsa. Being thus per-B swaded, hee comes vnto Hannibal with about two Thousand

Horfe.

When as Scipio had fortified his Fleere at Sea, and left/Bebias for Lieurenant, he spoiled the Cities, refusing to receiue any that offered action Lieure themselves willingly, making them saues, and shewing the indigna- nancat Sea for tion which he had conceived against the Enemies in regard of the faith soph. broken by the Carthaginians. Finally, he fends continually to Massa. nilla, letting him understand how the Carthaginians had broken the Accords, intreating him to affemble the greatest Army that possibly he could, and to joyne with him, according vnto their conventions. C Massanissa after the conclusion of the Accord, was gone with an Army accompanied with ten Enlignes of Romans, aswell Horse as soote, not only to recouer his owne Country, but also to seaze vpon those of syphax with the helpe of the Romans. Finally it hapned that the Embaffadours fent backe from Rome Landed at that time at the maritine Palli- The carthagian fado of the Romans, Suddainly Bebias fends his men to Sciplo, and re. nion Bubbila. taines the Carthaginians, being fad and supposing to be in wonderfull dours stayed by danger.

When as they were aduertized of the cruelty of the Carthaginians Towards the Roman Embassadours, they helde not themselves secure from punishment. When as Scipio vnderstood what had beene done. that the Senate and people of Rome had confirmed the agreement which he had made with the Carthaginians, and that they were ready to do that which he aduised them, he was wonderfull glad. Moreo. uer, he commands Bebias to fend backe the Carthaginian Embassadours to their Houses with all fauour and curtesie : Ving therein a good adnice (in my opinion) with a wife confideration in what great effected his Country held their faith with Embassadors. Hee made his recko-

ning, that the punishment deserved by the Carthaginians did not merit lo great a respect, then that which the honour of the Romans required to be done. Wherefore refrayning his Choller and indignation, conceiued for the offence of the Carthaginians, hee laboured to obserue that which they say in the Prouerbe, That wee must cleane unto the duties of our Elders. By this meanes he wonnethe hearts of all the Carthaginians, and furmounted Hannibal and their madnesse by his

The Carthagini-

The Clemency

When as the Carthaginians faw their Townes forced, they fent to anspresse Han. Hannibal that hee should delay no longer, but present himselfe voto the Enemy, and decide their affaires by a battaile. Hannibal hearing these things, made answere to those that came vnto him, that hee would confider thereon, and make choise of a firtime, to the end he might not seeme negligent. Some daies after hee raiseth his Campe from Adrumetum, and marching he Campes neere vnto Zama, which is a Citie fine daies iourney from Carthage towards the West. From thence he fent three Spies, defirous to know where the Romans campt, and how they gouerne things which concerne the Scituation of a camp. Hamibahipies. When these Spies were brought to Scipio Generall of the Romans, he was to faire from punishing them, as others viually doe, as contrariwife B he gaue charge to a Captaine Milleniere, to shewe them plainely what focuer was done in the Campe. Which being done, he demaunds, if the Commissary had shewed them all things carefully. The which when they had confest, he sent them backe with Victualls and Guides. commaunding them to relate carefully vnto Hannibal what they had feene.

This Action causing Hannibal to wonder at the magnanimity and confidence of the man, he conceived an humour to parly with Scipio. The which when he had refolued, he fent a Trumpet, faying that he defired to Treate with him concerning all their differences. Scipio hauing heard this from the Trumpet, consented, faying, that hee would C fignific vnto him the place and the howre, when and where he would parly. These things being heard by the Trumpet he returnes vnto his Campe. The day following Massariss arrives with fixe Thousand foote, and almost as many Horse: Whom when as Scipie had intertalned courteonfly, and shewed him great signes of fauour, for that hee Scipio's Camp. had made all those subject which had formerly obeyed syphax, hee foorth-with raiseth his Campe: And when hee came vnto the City of Margara, and had found a commodious place, and had appointed the watting within a Bows shot, hee planted his Campe there : And from D thence he gaue notice (by certaine convenient Messengers) vnto the Chiefe of the Carthaginians, that hee was ready to parly about their differences.

The which Hannibal hearing, he presently marcheth with his camp, and approaches so neere, as he was withinthirty furlongs of the Romans: Sitting downe voon a certaine Hill, which besides the Watting, was for all other things commodious and sufficient enough: In trueth it was something farre, and therefore troublesome vnto the Souldiers. The

The day following the two Commanders, accompanied with some few Horse-men goe out of their Camps, and againe they separate them- The enterview felues from their Companies, meeting alone in an indifferent place with of Hannibaland Scipio. an Interpreter. Hannibal began first in these termes. I wish sayd hee, the Romans had neuer defired anything out of Italy, nor the Cartha. ginians out of the limits of Affricke : cither of them no doubt have great bounds, and as it were limitted by Nature. And as wee have Homibals made Warre, first for the difference of Sicily, then againe for Spaine: Speech to Sie and that finally Fortune being aperfe against to one Comment in the and that finally, Fortune being auerse against vs, our Countrey hath beene in danger, and wee are now in perill: The question is, whether there be any meanes to end this present difference after we have pacified the Gods.

For my part I am ready, having made tryall how inconstant Fortune is, and how by little and little shee inclineth sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, as if she were gouerned by Children. I am in doubt in regard of thee, as well for thy great youth, as for that all things have succeeded according to thy defire, as well in Affricke as in Spaine, having neuer yet felt the violence and fury of Fortune, fo as happily thou dost give no credit to my words although they beerrue. Yet confider the condition of these things, B which not onely concerne our Ancestors, but euen our selues. I am that Hannibal, who after the Battaile neare vnto Cannes, being Lord in a manner of all Italy, approached neare vnto Rome, and planted my Campe within forty Furlongs, studying what Ishould doe withyou and von Countrey.

Now I come into Affricke to thee a Roman, to conferre with thee of my lafety, and of that of the Carthaginians. I pray thee confider this, and grow not proud, but courteoufly conferre of the present affaires : that is, that thou wouldst choose of good things the greatest, and of bad the least. What man of judgement will make choice of C the danger which is neare him, if hee obserue it well? For the which if thou obtainest the Victory, thoushalt much increase thy glory, and that of thy Countrey: whereas if thou beeft vanquished, thou shalt veterly lose through thine owne fault all thy pompe and magnifi-

cence, and precedent commodity.

Lib.15.

But to what end doe Ivse these words? To this, that all that for the which wee have formerly contended, may remaine to the Romans. as Sicily, Sardinia, and spaine, and that the Carthaginians in regard thereof may neuer make Warre against them. The like also to be done of the other Ilands which lye betwirt Italy and Affricke, and let them belong to the Romans. I beleeue confidently, that these accords and agreements will hereafter bring safety to the Carthaginians, and to thee and the Romans great glory and honour. Thus much fpake Hannibal.

Scipio answering to these things, the Romans layd, they have not scipios answer beene the Authors, but the Carthaginians, of the Warre which hath to Haunibal, past for Sicily, nor of that of Spaine: whereof they must know that Hannibal had beene the chiefe Author, and that the Gods

First

Lib.15.

Articles comprehendedsin the Accords past betwixt Scipio and the

are witnesses, whom I pray to impart the vertue, not to those which are the Authors of out-rages, but to those that defend themselves. Yet I consider what the Nature of Fortune is, and with all my power haue searcht into humane affaires. If before the Romans passage into Affricke, and that parting out of Italy thou hadft propounded thefe accords, I am of Opinion thou hadft not beene frustrated of thy hope. But now thou hast abandoned Italy against thy will, and that being in Affricke, we have held our Campe in the open Plaine, it is manifest that matters are much changed. Withall (which is a great matter) A we are come hither, thy Citizens being partly vanquished, and suing for a peace, we have past in writing the accords that were sworge, in the which (besides that which thou now propoundest) these Articles were comprehended: that the Carthaginians should have no couered vessels, that they should pay three Millions of Gold, restore the Captines without Ransome, and gine hostages. These were the accords which past betwixtvs: for the which wee and they came to the Senate and to our people. Wee have protested that these accords thus reduced to Writing feemed good vnto vs : The Cariba. ginians intreated that they might enloy the faid agreements : The Scnate obeyed, and the people in like manner gaue their confent B thercunto.

The Carthaginians after they had obtained what they had demanded, have transgressed and broken the accords. What remaines now to be done? Be thou in my place and judge. Shall wee take the grievances out of the conditions, to the end you may fuffer no punishments for the transgression, and that you may be taught hereafter to prevaricate against your benefactors: Or else having obtained that which you demaund you should not be bound vnto vs ? But what ? When thy people now in fuing had obtained their request, they presently intreated vs as Enemies, after they had conceived some little hope of thee. If the burthens had beene too heavy, they might have required an abatement from the people : and if they had remitted any Articles of the accord, the Senate doubtlesse would have made no long delay. But to what end tend our words? Submit your felues and your Country to our protection, or vanquish fighting. Hannibal and Seipso having discoursed after this manner, being of contrary opinions retire.

The day following at Sunne-rifing, they put their Armies into Bactaile. whereof the Carthaginians were to fight for their safety and for Affricke, and the Romans for the universall Empire. What is hee D who confidering these things can without compassion heare the relation? No man shall euer finde more warlike Armies, nor more fortunate Commanders, nor more excellent Wrestlers in the Stratagems of Warre, nor greater rewards propounded vnto them by Fortune. For they which should obtaine the Victory, should not onely bee Lords of Affricke and Asia, but also of all the other parts of the World which are at this time mentioned in Histories : the which soone after succeeded. Scipio put his Army in Battaile after this manner.

First he ordred those that were lightly armed by certainespaces: after The order of whom he placed the Bands of the Principals, and not according to Scipio's Bar. the spaces of the first Ensignes : as the Romans had been accustomed, tailed but distant one from another, in regard of the multitude of the Enemies Elephanes : and voon the Reare hee appoints the Triarij. As for the Wings ? hee gaue charge of the left to Caim Lelym with the Italian Horse men : and the right to Massaulla with all the Numidians that were under his charge. Finally, hee fill'd the foaces of the first Ensignes with forked lauelings : 'to whom he commanded to be gin the Skirmish: and if they were repuls'd and forc'd to give backe by the violence of the Elephants, that they which should bee separated? should retire by the straight spaces to the Reare of the Army : and they which should be enuironed, should retire to the Ensignes by the crosse spaces.

Thefe things being thus ordred, he makes an Oration in few words to his Army, and yet proper for the euent of the affaires. He intreats Scipio's Speech them to remember their precedent Battailes, and to behave themfelues like braue men, worthy of the Roman Name, fetting before their eyes, that having the Victory they should not onely be Lords of all Affricke, but moreover they should purchase the Empire and gouernment of the rest of the World. If the fortune of the Warre succeeded otherwise, thee which dyed fighting valiantly, should have an honourable grave, having died for their Countrey: whereas they that should turne head, should live the remainder of their duies in great ignominy and mifery, for there is no place in Africke that can shelter them in theire flight, finally if they fall into the Carthaginians hands, they which have any judgement understand well what thee uent will bee: and God forbid that any of you fhould make triall of it. when as fortune propounds vitto vs great rewards of every fide, shall weenor bee the most simple Idiotts in the world; if when of good C things they present the best vnto vs, wee choose with a desire of life the worst of bade wherefore in propounding these two, either to

of his Souldiers after this manner. In regard of Hannibal, hee placed his Elephants before the whole The order of Army, being about foure score and then about twelve thousand Mer- Battaile. cenaries, which were Geneuois, Maiorquins, Minorquins, and Man. rusiens : After which hee placed the Inhabitants of Affricke and the Carthaginians. After all which hee orders those which hee had brought out of Italy, and separates them from the rest about a Furlong. Hee fortified the Wings with Horse-men, ordring the Numidians on the right, and the Carthaginians on the left. Hee commanded enery Leader to encourage his Souldiers, to the end they might put their trust in him, and the Troupes which hee had brought out of Italy. Hee likewise commands the Carthaginian Captaines to acquaint their men with the miseries which would Yy 2

vanquish or dye, hee incourageth them to march against the enemy, for being in this humour, they must with a dispaire of life, alwayes

vanquish their enemies in making head. Sciple inflamed the hearts

befall their Wives and Children, if this Battaile, succeeded otherwise then they defired. The which they effected. Hannihal likewise came to them which hee had brought with him so and intreates, them with a long speech to remember their mutuall and common life, for the space of seuenteene Yeares: That they should thinke of the many Battailes which they had fought with the Romans, in the which they had beene alwayes Victors, and had neuer left them any hope of Victory, But hee intregted them chiefly, that amidft the encounter they should let before their eyes the infinite prerogatives it Namely, the Battaile which they gained, fighting against the Father of this present Roman Commander, neare vnto Trebia : Then that which was against Flas A minim : and also towards Canner against Emilian : the which hee fayd, were neither for the number and multitude of men, nor according vnto their forces worthy to bee compared to the present

When he had vsed this Speech, hee commands them to looke vpon the Enemies in Battaile, telling them that they were not onely fewer in number, but they were scarce the least part of those which then fought against them, and that they could not compare with them in forces. And as the others were before innincible, they had fought cheerefully and floutly, and that of these some were the Children of B men, and the others the Reliques of fuch as had beene often defeated in Italy, and had fo many times thewed them their heeles. Wherefore he was of aduice that they should not doe any thing to the preiudisc of these glory and fame, nor of their Commander : But in fighting couragiously, confirme the opinion which was conceived of them to be inuincible. Behold the Speeches or such like which they The beginning heldvnto their Armies, When as all things necessary were ready for the Combat, and that the Numidian Horse-men had skirmished long: Hannibal commanded those which were mounted upon the Elephants to charge the Enemy.

But when the Trumpets and Clairons founded, fome of them being amazed, turn'd head, and went violently against the Numidians, which were come to succour the Carehaginians. Finally, the left Wing of the Carthaginians was left bare by Massanissa's Company. The rest of the Elephants fighting with the lauelings in the midst of the Battalions, without doubt endured much, so likewise they annoved the Enemies : vntill that being amazed, some going forth by the spaces were taken, as the Generall had given order : Others flying on the right hand, and wounded by the Horse-men, passe in the end the place of the Battaile. And when the Elephants were thus dismay. ed. Lelyus charging the Carthaginian Horse-men, repulseth them in such fort, as they soone turned head, the Chase being pursued

by the Ele-

phants.

The like did Massanisa. Whilest these things are in action, the two Battalions come to fight with a flow pace, and wonderfull great courage, except those which were come out of Italy, who budge not out of their place. When they came to affront one another,

another, the Romans crying after their Countrey manner, and making their Targets found with their Swords, fought with their Enemies. The Mercenaries of the Carebaginians call forth divers confused cries, for it was not the same sound, nor the same voyce; but diuers languages : for they were men drawne from diuers Countries. And when as this Battaile was fought with great courage, and man to man, for that the Combattants could not helpe themselves with their lauelings nor Swords, the Mercenaries fought in the beginning with great courage and dexterity, and wounded many Romans. The Ro-A mans also trusting in their good order and Armes, laboured much to

Lib.15.

And when as they which were in the Reare of the Romans, gaue courage to the first in following them, and the Carthaginians not comming on to succour their Souldiers, but staying behinde basely and for want of courage, the Barbarians declined. Wherefore when they faw themselues abandoned by their Companions, in retiring they fell vpon those which stood still and slew them : the which forced many Carthaginians to dee valiantly. For when they were flaine by the Mercenaries, they fought boldly as well against their owne men as against the Ramans: In which combat (as they fought after a B horrible manner like furious men) they made no leffe flaughter of their owne then of the Enemies. By this meanes they fell confusedly vpoe the Troups that were lightly armed. The Captaines of the Principals feeing this accident, charg'd their Battalions. The greatest part of the Carshaginians and Mercenaries were flaine, aswell by them as by those that were lightly armed.

In regard of fuch as escaped and fled, Hannibal would not suffer them to mingle with the Battalions, commanding their Captaines to ranke them before, and forbidding moreoner to receive such as approacht: wherefore they were forced to retire voon the Wings, and without C them. But for that the place betwixt the two Armies was full of bloud and dead bodies, this put the Carthaginian Generall into great difficulty, and was a great let for him to charge agains. For the in-Stability of the dead which were bloudy and faine vpon heapes, with the confusion of Armes which were fallen among the dead, they were to haue a troublesome passage which marche in Battaile. Yet the wounded being carried backe, and a tetreate being founded by the Trumpets which followed those that were lightly armed, hee puts his men before the fight in the midft of the Enemy . In regard n of the Principals and Triarij , hee gives order that being clotely ioyn'd; they should march crosse the dead bodies when the two

When they were equall with those that were lightly armed, the Battalions charged one another with great violence and courage. It happened that for the multitude, courage, and equal Armes of either The great flag. fide, the Combat was long doubtfull. They that were flaine; dyed enery man in his Ranke with a braue emulation, votill that with niff and Lelyus returning from the chafe of the Horsemen', Barty

 Yy_3

The victor vot the Romans athacinians.

good fortune rallied their men together: with whom charging vpon the Reare of those which were with Hannibal, a great number of them were defeated in Battaile; and few of them escaped which fied: For the Horse-men were dispersed of all sides, and the Countrey was plaine and Champion. There died aboue fifteene hundred Romans. and twenty thousand Carthaginians: The Prisoners were not much leffe. This Battaile in the which they fought for the Empire. and which by the favd Commanders was judged the vniuerfall victory to the Romans, had this end. And when as after the fight, Scipio pursuing the Carthaginians, had ouerthrowne their Pallifadoe, hee returned to his Campe. Hannibal recovered Adrumetum, still running with A some few Horses. Hee had done his duty in this Battaile, not omitting that which was requifite for a good an expert Captaine.

For first he laboured to divert the eminent danger by a parley with Hannibalvan- Sciplo. It is the duty of a man which doth not wholy relye vpon vaquished by for- lour, but distrusting Fortune, to fore-see things which contrary to all opinions doe viually happen in a Battaile. And afterwards comming to the Combat, he so carried himselfe, as the Battaile could not be better ordred against the Romans by him that shall vie the like Armes, then Hannibal had then disposed it. For when the Army and order of the Romans was divided, it fell out that all of them might fight together. B or by Troups against any open attempt, by a certaine order of the Battalion; for that alwayes two Enfignes were loyned neare together when it was needfull, and that moreover their Armes served the Souldiers for a covering and affurance, confidering the greatnesse of their Targets, and the firmnesse of their Swords to strike, so as for these reasons it seemed a difficult thing to defeate them. Yet Hannibal gaue so good order for all these things, as he shewed his industry. For he had suddainly prepared this multipude of Elephants, and placed them before his Battalions, to the end they might breake the Enemies Rankes. Secondly, he ordred the Mercenaries in Front, after which he caused the C Carthaginians to march to the end they might tire the bodies of the Enemies, and make the vigour of their Armes vaprofitable, by reason of the number of the Dead, and that withall hee should force the Carthaginians, (as placed in the midst.) to stand in Battaile, and to fight vntill that forced by necessity he should come to combat. In regard of the valiant men, her mingled them by spaces a fore-seeing that which doth viually happen, to the end that remaining undanted both in body and comage, he might make vie of their forces at need. He defernes pardon in this, that having omitted nothing that might serve to vanquish, yet he hath beene frustrated, seeing that before hea had n beene inuincible. It happens sometimes that some actions resist the attempts of good men: and sometimes it happens that a good man is prenented of his defire by him that is better: the which may then be fayd to have happened by Hangibal.

It is true, that when as things which exceed the common cultome and A defea of the tamper of living of some, perith of themselves for the greatnesse of the secidents, they deferne commiscration with those that are present and heare it: The vnvsuall nouelty of things moone vs. But if that such an accident happens by deceite and Hypocrifie it moones none to pitty, but to Choller and Hatred : The which then happened to the Cartha. ginian Embassadors.

Scipio beginning in few words, let them understand that hee was nor to thew them any courtefie or fauour, feeing they confest they had begunne the Warre against the Romans, and against the conventions had spoil'd the City of the Zachantiens, and first Transgressed Zachantia spois the Accords, Oathes, and Agreements reduced to Writing: And led by the Car-A yet the Romans haue resolued to shewe them grace, and (in regard of Fortune and humane aduentures,) to vie Clemency and Magnanimity in their present Affaires. The which should be manifest vnto them, if they consider what was offered. Finally they must not take it ill if for the present they imposed vpon them things, which they must doe, or fuffer, or deliver : But they should wonder and hold it strange, if they obtaine any mercy : Seeing that Fortune dif-fauouring them for their iniustice, had (in denying mercy and pardon) made them subject vnto their Enemies.

This Speech being ended, hee promifed them Clemency and Fauour : Teaching them withall what they were to indure : The which is comprehended in these Articles. That they should leaue vnto the Carthaginians the Cities which they had in Affricke before this last Warre Accord, proattempted against the Romans, and the Countries which anciently they pounded by held, and finally their Cattle, Bodies, and other Wealth. Moreo. Scipto to the uer it was granted them, that from that day they might live free without any let or hinderance of their Lawes and Customes. This was that which was granted them of grace. Againe they added these contrary Articles: That the Carehaginians should make restitution, of the vniust spoiles which they had committed against the Bomans during the Truce : That they should restore all the Captines and Fugitiues, C which they had had during the Warre: They should deliuer all their long Vessels except ten Gallies : And in like manner the Elephants : not to attempt to make any Warre out of Affricke, nor in Affricke it felice without the consent of the Romans : To sestore vnto King Masanisa, the Houses, fields, Cities, and whatsoeuer had belonged to him or his Predecessors, within the limits that should be set downe: That

cord pay fixe Millions of Gold, within fifty Yeares, after the rate of fixicore thousand Crownes yearely: That they should give in Holling D for the affurance of their faith, a hundred your men, as the Commaunder should appoint, which should not be vnder the Age of fourcteene Yeares, nor aboue thirty.

they should nourish the Army for three moneths; and pay them vneill

the answere were returned from Rome . And according vitto the Ace

The Roman Generall propounded these things wnto the Carthagintan Embassadors, who made hast to make their Report They say, that when as a certaine Senator, laboured to contradict the faid Atticles in Hanibalforceth the Senate, Hannibal stepping foorth drew him out of his Seate: And a Ciuzen. when as the rest were discontented, for that hee had done against the

oladin R

Custome of the City: Hannibal Steppes vp againe and faith, (as it is reported) that if he had committed any thing against their Custome and course of living, he was to be pardoned: For they knew well that being a young Boy of nine yeares of age, he had gone out of the Country, and returned againe at the age of fine and forty: For this cause he intreated them that they would not have any regard to that, wherein he had transgrest their Custome, considering rather that if he suffered for the affaires of the Country: It was for them he had fallen into this transgression. Finally that it seemed wonderfull and strange to him, if any Carthaginian knowing what Councell had beene taken against the A Romans, aswell for the publicke as private good, did not adore Fortune: Seeing that now being made subject vnto them, they had purchased such grace and favour: Whereof if any one would have put the Country in Hope, some daies before the Romans had the Victory, hee would not have beene able to speake for the greatnesse and excesse of the apparent miseries.

Wherefore he intreated them againe, not to do any thing flowly. nor by Discourse: And that consenting all with one voice to the Articles of the peace, they should Sacrifice vnto the Gods, and pray that the people of Rome might confirme them. When it seemed that hee B had given wife advice, and fit for the time, it was concluded to accept the Accord prescribed, and to passe it with the Romans. Wherefore they fuddainly fent away the same men in Embassie which had contradicted the Articles.

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A Parcell of the Deedes and Posterity of Ptolomy.

Inally who will not wonder, that Ptolomy had not prouided to give side to these men during his life, seeing there were some which were ready to succour them? But when Death surprized him, hee left a young Infant, to whom by right of nature, he had indeauoured, as they fay, with both hands to preferue him the Crowne: Then encouraging one another, they make hast to practife a Villany, and to murther this Infant, and to divide his principallity among them. The which they do not after the manner of Tyrants, who pretend some colour for their infamy: But carry themselves afterwards so impudently and brutishly, as that which they speake of the life of Fishes is due vnto them. Of whom they say, that although they be of one kind, yet the defeate of

the smaller feeds and entertaines the life of the greater. Wherefore who will not thinke to fee a great execution against the Gods, and a cruelty towards men, and likewife a great auafice of the faid Kings, feeing this paction and agreement as in a glaffe ? What is hee who for thefe causes having accused Fortune in humane affaires, doth not likewite confider that thee hath finee made them to fuffer worthy punishments, and left to posterity a good example for the amendment of their course of litting, as hanting propounded vinto these Kings such an ignominions punishinent? For when they had transgrest the agreements a A mong themselves, and divided the Infants Principality, all thingsdid inftly proue hurtfull and opposite vnto them, which they had wickedly resoluted against their Kinstolkes and Neighbours, by the bringing in of the Romans ? for that the one and the other being suddainly vanquiflied, they were not onely forced to abate their couetouffieffe of another mans goods : but being made subject to tributes, they were conftrained to obey the Commandments of the Romans. Finally, Fortune hash in a short time disposed of the Reigne of Pielemy, making the Potentates of the others, and their successours, some of them to bee banished and miserable, involving some in a manner in the like



Of Philip of Nacedony.

He Ciencins fell in thefe miferies not fo much through Fortune, and the injustice of their Neighbours, as by their owne raffinesse and the bad government of their Common weale, where most commonly the worst were in efteeme, and good men put to death for the spoiles of their Wealth, and by this meanes they are

in a manner willingly fallen into these misfortunes, whereunto all men incline, I know not how apparently, yer they cannot refolue vpon any aduice, nor suddainly distrust: which some bruite Beasts doe. Por if Agood compaformetimes they enter into Icalousie of Baites and Nets, if they have tion. D stiene any other perish, you shall hardly draw them to doe the like, bolding the place for suspect, with a distrust of all things which have any resemblance. In regard of men, when they heare some speake, and fee others perish in like manner: Yet suddainly when any one vsing grad cious words, hath propounding a mutuall hope of correction, they run without any regard into the toiles, knowing certainly that neuer any man which had swallowed this kind of baire had escaped, such policies being an affured defeate to all men.

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wronged by

The Rhediens

When as Philip had reduced the City voder his obedience, he rejoyced as if he had brought some brave and honourable action to an end. And when hee had speedily given Succours to his Allies, and had terrified all those which estranged themselves from him, and had claymed abundance of goods and bodies under the colour of Justice, hee never thought of those things that were contrary, although they were manifelt : giving at the first Succours to the Allie, who had not beene wrong'd, and yet had broken the confederations with his Neighbours. And as finally he had confirmed the bruite of his cruelty towards his Friends, afflicting the Cities of Greece with great miferies, he had just- A ly purchased the generall esteeme of a cruell man withall the Grecians. Thirdly be wronged & reuiled the Emballadors of the faid Cities, who were come to free the Cianeins from that eminent danger: And being called by him, and conferring daily with him, they were present at things which he defired not.

Moreover, he incenfed the Rhodiens against him: so as they could not endure to heare any mention of him. Finally, Fortune therein fauours him openly. His Embassadour made en Oration vpon the Theater against the Rhodiens, commending the magnificence of Philip. who when he had by some meanes got possession of the City, he had B done that grace vnto the people. This he did to reprehend the suspicion and detraction of those which resisted him, and to manifest his resolution to the City. There came also some one from the Port vnto the Magistrate, advertising him of the ruine of the Ciancins, and of the cruelty which Philip practifed against them : So as when the Souernour entring in the midft of the Embassadours Oration, spea. king the faid things, and declared the newes, the Rhediens could not beleeue for the excelle of the fact.

Philip having then prevaricated and diffembled, not fo much against the Cianeins as against himselfe, began to be so transported and to stray C from his duty, as hee gloried and brag'd in his actions as good, for the which hee should have beene assumed. The Rhediens from that day held Philip for an enemy, and prepared to that end. The Ereliens miesto Fbilip. also conceiused a hatred against him for the same fact. When as lately being reconciled, he had given forces to that Nation, there being then no cause of hatred nor spleene, (when as a little before the Etoliens, the Lysimacheins, Calsidoniens, and Cianeins were made Friends) hee hath in affailing first the Lysimacheins, distracted their City from the Alliance of the Etoliens : spoiling those of the Calsidoniens, and thirdly the Ciancins, whilest that the Chiefe of the Etoliens was refident in the ir City, having the superintendency of the pub. D licke affaires.

Finally Prucias reioyced for that which had happed beyond his defires: But he was discontented that another should reape the reward for the taking of the Citie, and that there was fallen vnto him a desolate place naked of buildings, so as hee could not effect any things. After he had assembled the greatest men of the Macedonians, he came to them with the King and Agathoelia, faining in the beginning that hee was

not able to speake for teares: And when he had wiped them often with his cloake, and caused them to cease, take faith he, carrying an infant, this which the dying Father hath deliuered into the armes of this Creature (shewing his fifter) and hath left it vnto vs vpon our faith, do you understand my masters of the Athenians? The loue of this infant is of small moment to procure his safetie, where as now the cause is in you and your hands. Tlepoleme in truth hath for a long time (as it is manifest to those which consider well of things) had greater desires then were fitting, and hath now resolued on the day and time when he will A viurpe the Towne. For this cause hee intreated that they would not belieue him, but those which being present knew sufficiently the

This Speech being ended, he brings in Critolaus, who faid he had feene the Altars and Sacrifices, prepared by the multitude, for the viurpation of the Crowne. The which the Macedonians hearing, they were neither mooued with pittie, nor had any respect vnto that which was spoken. But in mocking and murmuring they iested among themsclues, fo as Prusias knew not how he got out of the Assembly; the which hapned in other Affemblies of the people. In the meane time many of the old Souldiers arrived by Sea, whereof some being kins-B men and other friends, they intreated them to affift them in this prefent businesse, and that they should have regard to the injuries which had beene done them by dishonest and vnworthy men. Most of them were incensed to put the great men to death: for that they presumed that what should happen would be vnto their prejudice : Seeing that Tlepoleme tooke all things necessary that were sent to Alexandria. Finally, it was an aduancement to Agathocles to incense the Choller of many, and of Tlepoleme.

They had put Danae his Mother in Law into custodie, being pull'd from the Temple of Ceres, and drawne thorough the Citty bare-hea- panaea pri-C ded, seeking by this meanes to shewe their harred against Tlepome, soner, Wherefore the people being incenfed spake no more in secret . For fome in the night wrote their conceiued hatred in all places. Others in the open day going in Troupes, deliuered the hatred which they bare vnto the greatest. They which were with agathoeles, seeing the affaires, and having little hope in them, they thought of their retreate. But when as through their indifcretion they were ill prouided, they desisted from their Enterprize, and made a Register of the Conspirators and of their Adherents in this commotion, to the end they might D fuddainly kill some of their Enemies, and seaze vpon others, and by this meanes vsurpe a Tyrannicall power.

And as they practized thefethings, they accused Meragena one of Tlepolemes guards, for that he aducrtized all, and held his party in regard of the familiaritie of Adee , Gouernour at that time of Bubafe, Agaihocles suddainly giues charge to the Secretary Nicostrates, that he fhould informe dilligently of Maragena, with all manner of torments. Mæragena being suddainly taken by Nisoftrates, and led into a certaine fecret place of the Hall, he answered at the first well, concerning the

accidents

accidents which had happened: But when hee confest nothing of the things which were spoken, he was stript. Some prepared the instruments to Torture him, others holding Whips put off their Cloaks. At the same instant one comes running to Nicostrates, and after hee had whispered in his care, he parts in hast, Nicostrates followes him suddainly without speaking word, beating continually upon his thigh. This was an unhoped accident for Maragena. For some held the Whips, but they had no Commandment to whip him, others had the instruments ready to torture his feet.

When as Nicostrates was gone, they were all amazed, and looking A one vpon another expected when he would returne. Soone after the affiftants vanished one after one, and in the end Magarena was abandoned. This done, he passeth the Hall contrary to all Hope, and being maked flipt into a certaine Tent of the Macedonians neere vnto the Hall. When by good fortune he had found the greatest there assembled, hee acquaints them with his disafter, and how he had escaped, as it were, by miracle. Some of them did not believe him, others feeing him naked were forced to give credite. Maragena intreates them with icares, not onely to hauea care of his fafety, but also of the Kings and their owne: And that their Death was manifeft, if they did not B make vie of the occasion, for that all the World was inflamed with Hatred, and there was not any man but was ready to put Agathocles to Death, faying that this Hatred increased Hourely, and that they must have men to execute this Enterprize.

The Macedonians hearing this Speech were incenfed, and in the end obeying to Maragena: They suddainly enter into the first Tents of the Macedonians, and then into those of the other Souldiers. They were ioyning and necre to the fide of the Citie. When as many of them tooke vpon them the Charge, and that there was no need of any thing but of some one, to give courage to them that came, and who should first execute the Enterprize, this attempt kindled like a flame. There C were scarce source houres spent, but that all men aswell Souldiers as Citizens, conspired to affaile Agashocles. There was a accident which hapned suddainly, which served well to end this attempt. For when they had brought Letters to Agathoeles, and that the Spies were returned, and the Letters sent by Tlepoleme, fignified vnto the Army that he would be soone there, being likewise assured by the Spies that hee was neere, he fell into so great a transport in his judgement, as hee neither did nor thought of any remedy against the eminent dangers, but following his accustomed course, hee went to drinke and banquer with others.

Ocnanthe fad.

And when Oenanthe was fad and forrowfull, shee goes vnto Ceres Temple. Where (when it was opened for a certaine Annuall Sacrifice) the prayes humbly, then the vieth Enchauntments towards the Goddesses, finally shee stayes at the Altarand rests there. Many Women were filent and observed her heavinesse and affliction. The kinsfolkes of Polycrates, and some other Noble men comforted her, and being ignorant of the approaching milery. She on the other fide crying our

with a loud voice, Come not neare me you Beafts : I know well you are ill affected towards vs, and that you require the Gods to fend vs fome ill Fortune : But I hope that with their good pleasure you shall taste of your owne Children. Hauing ended this Speech, thee commands the Executioner to suppresse them, and if they did not obey, to beate them. Taking this occasion they all depart, and in lifting vp their hands towards the Gods, they prayed that flice might make tryall of that which shee had wisht to the Company.

But when the men had concluded the revolte, and that in every A house the fury of the Women was added thereunto, their hatred grew double. When as the darkenesse of the Night was come, the whole City was fill'd with Mutiny, lights, and running vp and A mutiny of downe. Some affembled at the Theater with cries, others encoura. the people. ged one another, and some ran to hide themselves in houses, and places that were not suspected. And when the spacious places about the Hall; the place for running of Horses, and the Court about Dyonisis. us Theater, were fill'd with a multitude of all forts of men. Agathe. cles hearing this, rifeth vp being drunke, after that hee had emptied his gorge, and came vnto the King after hee had taken all his Kinfmen except Philon.

After hee had vsed some Speech mouing to compassion, hee takes him by the hand, and leads him to the Armory of lauclings, leated betwixt the top and the wreftling place; and which bends by the way of the Theater : And after hee had opened two Doores, hee came to the third, accompanied with two er three of the Guard and his Kinimen. These Doores were transparent and thut with double Barres. And when at that time all the Commons of the City were there affembled, fo as not onely the places were full of men, but alto the passages and tops of houses, there grew a confused ery and howling of Women and Children, with the men in this Mutiny, as C well of them of Chalcedonia, as of Alexandria mingled together. At Sun-rising the cry was confused : yet the chiefe found was, that they

ealled for the King.

The Macedonians riling first, seaze vpon the Ports of the Kings Treasure. But when they vnderstood in what part of the Pallace the King was, turning to the first Doores of the first Armory, they beate them downe. And when they were come vnto the second, they demand the Infant with a great cry. Agatheeles feeing what would befall him, intreates the Guard to intercede for him to the Macedonians, letting them vnderstand, that hee would relinquish the go-D uernment of the Infant, with his power and dignity, and moreouer all the government : intreating them to bee fo favourable vnre him, as to faue his life, affoording him necessary Victuals and the like, returning vnto his ancient and former course of life. and that hee would not (nay he could not) offer offence or wrong vnto any man whatfocuer.

None of the Guards pittying him in his diffresse, we ld obey him, onely Arillomenes vndertooke the charge, who was afterwards

Lib.14.

Ag uboclea

Macedonians.

wards Gouernour of the publicke affaires. He was an Acarnanian, and as he was advanced in yeares, having the superintendency of the affaires, hee was held a good Gouernour to the King and royall Pallace: And in the meane time he had respect to the prosperity of Agathoeles; for he was the first who calling vnto him Agathoeles, hee alone had a Crowne of Gold by all the affiftants: the which they yfually doe onely to Kings. Finally, hee was the first that durk carry a Ring with Agathocles Image. And when bee had a Daughter by his Wife, hee called her Agarbocles. But we have spoken sufficient- A ly of this Subica.

Hee therefore having taken charge of Agathoches commandment. and going forth at a Posterne, he came vnto the Macedonians. When he had vied some little speech, and declared the Will of Agathocles. the Macedonians fought to kill him e and when as many put forth their hands to defend him, they enquired the Opinion of the rest, which being vaderstood, he returned to Agashocles, having charge to come backe with the King, or elfe to returne no more. The Macedonians having given this Answer, sent backe Aristomenes, and affailing the second Doore, they vnhang it. Wherefore they which B were with Agathoeles, feeing the violence of the Macedonians, as well by their actions as by their answere, comming first to the Doore, lif-Papps vito the ting up their suppliant hands : Agathocles likewise shewed the Papps wherewith thee fayd thee had given the King fucke, intreating the Macedonians with a mournefull and miserable voice, oncly to saue her life. And when as by the great lamentations of her Fortune shee had prevailed nothing, in the ead they draw forth the Infant with his Guards.

> The Macedonians presently set the King on Horse-backe, and lead him to the Theater. Assoone as hee was discouered, they stay his Horse with great clamors and loy, and taking him downe they set him in a royall Chaire. In the meane time the Commons partly ire. loves, and were partly fad. They reloyced for the comming of the Infant : againe, they were fad and grieued for that they which were the Offendors, had not beene taken and punished accordingly. Wherfore crying continually, they required that they might bee brought and exemplarily punished by an Ignominious and reproachfull Death. as the Authors of all their miseries and troubles. But when the Day was farre spent, the Mutiny of the people could not be pacified by any meanes.

> Selibius the Sonne of Solibius, then Captaine of the Guard, having D the principall charge of the Kings affaires, seeing that the Muthry of the people could not bee pacified, and the Infant grew fad through the infolency and nouclty of the present affaires, and the trouble of the Commons, hee demanded of him if hee would not deliver vnto the people those which had offended against him or his Mother. And when hee consented, hee commanded the Guards to make the Kings will knowne: And then they tooke the Infant in his Chaire, and car-

rved him to his owne house.

But when the Kings pleasure was divulged and made knowne by the Guards, all the place was full of ioy and exclamations. They which were with Agathoeles and Agathoelea, retired presently to their houfes. The Guards presently forced some of them, and others were thrust on by the people, to seeke them out and kill them. Whereof the beginning was by an accident.

One of the Guard, and a follower to Agathocles named Phylon, being yet full with Drinke, came forth into the place. Who when hee faw the Mutiny of the people, hee fayd voto the affiftants, that if cuer Agathecles came forth againe as hee had done, they would repent ir. They which heard him, some blamed him, others thrust him, and when hee offred to defend himselfe, some suddainly teare his Cloake, others flew him miferably with their lauelings. Whilest phylon flaine. they drag'd him about the place yet breathing, and that the Commonshad tafted the fury of striking, they expect hoursly to have the rest brought.

Soone after Agathocles was the first, beeing bound and mannacled : who going on was suddainly thrust thorough by some one, Agathotles wherein hee performed the part of a Friend, and not of an Enemy, flaine, For by this meanes they preuent his worthy punishment. They B brought with him Nicon and Agathories naked with her Sifters, and consequently all their Parentage : Finally, they drawe Oenanthe out of the Temple, and bring her on horse backe naked vnto the Niconand Age. place : When all these were deliuered vato the Commons, some these allaine. bite them, others pricke them, and fome pull out their eyes and difmember them, vntill they were maimed.

The Egyptians are wonderfull cruell in their fury. At the same time some Virgins which had beene bredvp with Arcines, hearing cruell. Sirene crying out that Philammon Tritee had beene present at the murther of the Queene, they fall vppon his house, and kill him with The cruelty of Stones and Scares frosthering his votted Sones and States C Stones and Scaues , finothering his young Sonne. Finally , they draghis Wife into the place and kill her. This was the end of agathocles and Agathocles with their Kinsfolkes. I am not ignorant what Fables and colours some Historiographers vie in these actions, to amaze the Readers with a copious advancement of words, and otherwife then the truth containes.

Some referre this accident to Fortune, thewing how inconstant and ineultable shee is : seeking to bring Causes and Similitudes of actions. It is true that in the pursuite of this Worke I had refolued to helpe my D felfe with the fayd actions, for that this Agathocies had nothing henourable for his courage and proweffe in the Warre, neither any happy mannaging of affaires which ought to bee defired; Neither did hee understand the cumning and policy of a Courtier, in the which sofibiosand many others being very well infiructed, had vfift ped Kingdomest: The which notwithftanding happened vnto this man. Heegrew great by chance, forther Philopater was not ableto

governe the Realme. Hauingstherefore gotten this occasion to come vnto greathere. 7. 2 2

But

Agatheclesand Denis Sicilians

when as after his Death hee had a fit opportunity offred to maintaine his power, yet hee loft both life and goods faintly and basely, being flaine within a short time. Wherefore it is not fitting, that in the relation of such things they should adde words: especially when they speake of such as Agathecles and Denis Sicilians, with some others, which had beene famous and renowned for their actions. One of them in truth came of a base extraction: But as Tymeus cauells. Agaihocles being a Potter, he came in his younger yeares to Sarragosse. They were eyther of them in their times Tyrants of Sarra. gosse: of that City I say, which at that time was great in authority, and abounding in riches: And afterwards they were Kings of all Sicily, and enjoyed some parts of Italy.

In regard of Agathecles, hee died not in affailing Affricke, but af-The faying of ter this manner with a defire to Reigne. And therefore they fay of Publius Scipie, who first forced Carthage, that when they demanded of him what men hee held ablest to vndertake an Enterprize, and of great discretion and courage, hee answered Agashocles and Denis.

Wee must in truth when the proposition is made, hold the Reader in suspence and doubt and relate their fortune and humane B accidents, in adding words in manner of Doctrine: In regard of the fayd things, I am not of Opinion it should bee done. For this cause wee reiect in this passage the Writers of Agatheoles with their many words, for that those horrible Narrations and fearefull euents, which have nothing but a conceite worthy to hold the Reader in suspence. Finally, it is not onely unprofitable to treate of them with a long discourse, but also their vehemency in the end brings tedionsnesse and trouble. There are two ends, namely, profit and pleasure : whereunto they must have regard which will ruminate any thing either of hearing or fight.

Two ends in Wistories.

> And for that profit belongs chiefly to the narration of ali Hi. C flow, it is most necessary and convenient, that this kind of adding of words vato fearefull accidents , should turne from these two ends: What is hee that would willingly follow vnexpected accidents, and without reason: No man reioyceth continually, eyther for the seeing or hearing of things which are out of Nature and the common sence of men : But in the beginning wee are exceeding joyfull and glad to fee fome, and ito heare others, to the end wee may rightly vuderstand and know after what manner that is done which feemes unto energy one very frange and impossible.

When wee once begin to know them, no man takes any delight or pleasure to stay upon things which are strange from the course of Mature, nor will have any defire to fall often upon the same subicat. Wherefore the Narration must drawe a desire of imitation where hee may delight. And if they adde words to some miserable accidens besides these ends, they are more fitting for a Tragedy then a History.

Peraduchtuge

Of the History of POLYBIVS. Lib.15.

Peraduenture you must pardon those which doe not consider things which are common to Nature and the World: But they hold the Fortunes of their Ancestors great and wonderfull, whereon falling by Fortune in Reading or Hearing them from others, they settle their affections. Wherefore they know not, that they viemore speech of fuch things then is needefull, which are neither new, having beene spoken formerly by others, neither can they profite nor content.

A

The remainder is wanting.

В

D



Zz. 3

Lib.16. Of the History of POLYBINS.



A PARCELL OF the Sixteenth Booke of

the History of Polybivs.

Of the Battaile given at Sea betwixt Philip and King Attalus.



Hilip was much troubled, feeing many things succeede vnfortunately in his siege. and withall that the Enemies were in the C Hauen with a good number of concred Vessells, neither could hee well resolue what to do: And when as the prefent oc casions deprived him of all meanes of choice, in the end hee weighed Anchor. and set Saile contrary vuto the Enemies Hope. For Attalus and his Company ex-

pected that he should grow obstinate at the Siege, considering the preparation which he had of Engines of Battery. Philip made all hafte to faile away, imagining that hee might get before them, and make a fafe retreate vnto Samos along the shore: Yet hee was deceived in his D conceite. For when as Attalus and Theophiliscus saw that bee had weighed Anchor, they fuddainly resolved and set Saile, observing no order, for that they conceived that Philip would have persevered in his Enterprize. Yet they charge him making great speed with their Oares: So as Attalus fell upon the right wing which got before, and Theophiliscus voon the left.

Philip feeing himselfe thus pestred, and suddainly surprized, hee

gaue the figne of the Battaile to them of the right wing, commanding them to turne their prowes against the Enemies, and to charge them resolutely: Then he retired to the smaller Hands, which were in the mid-way with the lighter Vessels, expeding the end of the Battaile.

The number of Ships of Warre which Philip had, were fifty three co.

Philips ships ner'd Vessels, with a hundred and fifty Foists and Galleyes vncouered. and othis Enc. In regard of the Vessels remaining at Samos, hee could not armethem. mies. Those of the Enemies were in number threescore Vessels coursed, with those of Constantinople: with the which there were nine Galliots and A three Galleves.

When as Attalus Ships beganthe fight; presently they that were neare, charge one another without command. Attalus tell vpon a Veffell with eight Oares, crushing it in such fort as it tooke water; and when as they which were vpon the hatches, had defended themselues long, in the end hee funke it. On the other fide Philips Galley of ten Oares, which was the Admirall, was by chance taken by the Enemies: For when as a Galliot fayl'd against it, it bruised it much in the midst of the Bulke, ioyning vnto it behind at the poope, to the which it remain'd grapled, for that the Pylot could not stay its violence. So as when this Vessell flucke close vnto her, the was much hindred, neither could they gouerne nor turne her. In the meane time two Quinqueremes charge her, and bruifing her in two places, finke her with the Souldiers. Among the which was Democrites, Captaine Generall at Sea for Philip. At the same instant Diony sodorus and Dymocrates brethren (who were Commanders of the Army under Astalus) giuing Democrates a charge, found themselues in great danger in the fight : So as Dynocra. Captaine Getes gaue charge to a Vessel with seuen Oares, and Dionisodorus to one of linkt, eight. Dynocrates was broken about water, and that of the Enemy vnder the water, yet he could not free himselfe from them, although hee had often attempted it in fawing.

Wherefore when as the Macedonians defended themselues valiantly. he was in danger to be taken. But for that Attalus came to fuccour him, charging the Enemy, and parting the two ships which were grapled. Dynocrates faued himselfe by good fortune. In regard of the Enemies, they were all slaine fighting valiantly fo as the Vessell being destitute of Souldiers, was taken by Astalus. And when as Dionisedoress fayl'd with great swifthesse to fight, hee could not ouertake any. and passing through the Enemies he had the Pallisadoe on the right fide difarmed, and the Beames broken which carried the Tower. This happening he was inuefted round by the Enemy with great noise and cries. All the Marriners perisht with the Ship, and Dionisodorus swum away with two others voto a Galliot which came to succour him. In regard of the other Vessels the danger was equal: For as the number of Philips Foists was greater, so was that of Attalus in couer'd Vessels. Finally, the Combat was fo carried upon Philips right Wing, as the Victory inclined to neither. It is true that Attalus was in better hope for the furure.

The Rhodiens in the beginning of the party separated themselves

Attalus char-Army at Sea. 448

from the Enemies, who having a great advantage by the lightnesse of their Veffels, fought against the Macedonians making the Reases words And when in the beginning they fell to flight, they carried away ail their defences, charging them behinde and in poope. But wiler as Philips Veffels began to turne head altogether, giving aide to those which were in danger, and that the Reare of the Rhodiens were joyned to Theophilifeus: then they charged with great fury, encouraging one another with great shouts and Trumpets. And if the Macedonians had not mingled their Foifts among their couered Veffels, the Battaile had beene soone decided: for they tooke from the Rhodien ships all commodity in diuers forts: For that when as by either side the order was broke, they were all mingled. Wherefore they could not casely enlarge themselues, nor turne their Vessels, nor assist themselues with those meanes whereof they were best prouided, for that the Foists did continually charge them, fometimes falling vpon the Pallifadoe, to as they could make no vic of their Rowers, and sometimes vpon the prow and poope, to deprive them of their Pylot and Oares. And when as they fought in a direct line, they inuented a stratagem: to rabating the prowes they made their charge fruitlesse, breaking the Enemies Vesfels under water: To prevent the which they could finde no remedy. B It is true, this happens feldome for that all avoided the encounter. for that the Macedonians fought valiantly hand to hand, and most commonly in passing they razed the Pallisadoe, making it unprofitable. Then fuddainly casting about, they affailed those that were in poope : and likewife giving charge to those which shewed themselves voon the flankes, or which turned afide, they brake some, and tooke the Equipage from others : so as fighting after this manner, they hadfunke diuers of the Enemies Veffels.

There were three excellent Quinqueremes of the Rhodiens in danger: whereof the Admirall was one, in the which Theophilifens commanded: Then that whereof Philostrates was Captaine, and the third C was gouerned by Antolice: in the which Nycostrates remained. It hapned that thee gaue a charge to one of the Enemies Veffels, where the left her spurre, so as it sunke with the Souldiers : And Antolice's Company being inuefted, for that they tooke water at the prowe, defended themselves valiantly: But Antolice being wounded fell into the Sea with his Armes and died, the rest fighting with great courage. At what time Theophiliseus comming to succour them with three Quinqueremes, he could not faue the ship being full of water.

After that he had broken two of the Enemies Vessels, and cast the D Souldiers into the Sea, hee lost the greatest part of his men fighting resolutely, for that he was suddainly inuested by many fregats and conerd Vessels. It was hardly in his power to saue his ship, being wounded in three places: for that hee had adventured himselfe too boldly: But Philostrates came to succour him, vndertaking the apparent danger with great courage. But when hee was iovned vnto these Veslels. he rechargeth the Enemy furiously againe: where he was seene weake of body by reason of his wounds, but much more excellent and con-

stant in courage then before. It happened that there were two Combats at Sea very farre one from another : For Philips right Wing coasting still along the shore, neuer abandoned the Coast of Asia, but the left Wing succouring the Reare-ward, had fought with the Rhodiens, for that they were not farre from Chios. When as Attalus feemed to haue gloriously Vanquished Philips right Wing, and that hee approached neere vnto the Hand, where he Anchored, expecting the end and conclusion of the Battalle, he perceined one of his Quinqueremes in danger to be funke by a shippe of the Enemies, and made hast to succour it with two other of his Quinqueremes. When as the E. nemies shippes turned away to recouer Land, the more hee prest desiring to take it. The which Philip perceiuing, that Attalus strayed too boldly and aduenturoufly from his Company, hee made haft being accompanied with foure Quinqueremes, three Galliotts, and the neerest Frigats, hoping hee should be able to take it, as it fortunately happened; forcing him to get vnto the neerest shore in great distresse. Then leaving his Vessell there, hee sled on foote with the Sca men, to faue himselfe in Ergebee. Wherefore Philip recoucted the Ergebeen town fhrp and the Kings plate.

Lib.16.

They which were with Attalus in this great danger, bethought B themselues of a pollicy in Warre, and set the richest of the Kings plate vpon the Hatches. Wherefore the first of the Macedonians approa- The pollicy of ching with their Frigats, and feeing great store of plate with a purple Attalian is Robe, and other rich furniture lying there, they gaue ouer the purfuite , and attended the spoile , so as Attalus retired vnto the Portof Erythreewithout any disturbance. And although that Philip were absolutely the weaker in this Battaile at Sea, yet he returned very ambitious and proud through Assalus mil-fortune, making great hafte to come vnto his Company. Where after he had drawne and gathered together all his Vessells, he perswaded them to be of good Courage and Resolution, seeing hee had wonne the Battaile. And in trueth, fuch was the opinion of men, as if Arealus had beene dead in flying, feeing that Thilip returned, bringing the royall Veffell prifoner.

Dyonifodoras confidering what was become of the King, gathered the Vessells together and sounded a retreate : after which he retired fafely to the Ports of Afia.

At the same time the Macedonians who fought against the Rhodiens, having beene well beaten, they retired out of danger : For euery thip got him away vn der colour to giue fuccours to those that were D in danger and diffresse. In regard of the Rhediens they retired to the Port of Chios, having taken some of the shippes, and broken patt of their spurs. There was sunke in this Battaile at Sea which Philip had The losse of against Attalus, the Gallies of ten Oares, nine Oares, seauen Oares, ships which and fixe Oayes, and moreouer ten Vessells couered, three Galliots, Philip mado, and fine and twenty Foifts, withall the Marriners. And in that which was against the Rhodiens, ten couered Vessells, and forty Foise: and there were two Quadriremes, and seauen Foists taken with the Marriners. In regard of that of Attalus, one Galliot with two Quinqueremes

were funke, with the royall Skiffe. And of the Rhodiens two Quinqueremes and Galleyes, but there was nothing taken. As for the losse of men, there died three score Rhodiens, and about three score and ten of Assalus men, and of the Macedonians under Philip, to the number of three thousand, and aboue fixe thousand Marriners; and there were taken aliue, as well Allies as Macedonians two thousand, and feuen hundred Egyptians. Such was the end of the Battaile at Sea neare vnto Chios.

The causes why Philipchallen-

The death of

Theophilifeus.

Philip attributed the Victory vnto himselfe for two principall cauies: First for that hee had forced Attalus to five to Land, and had ta. A ges the Victory ken the royall Vessell : the other for that hee anchored in the place which they call Argennon, among the Enemies wrackes, and that the next Day hee carryed himselse as a Conquerour, gathering together the Reliques of the fight, and drawing together the Bodies of fuch as might be knowne, to the end hee might confirme this Opinion. But the Rhodiens with Dyoni fodorus made him soone after confesse that it was not true, so as hee did not hold himselfe to have had the Victory: For the next day the King being busied about these things, they fet fayle against him, the one being advertised of the other : and when (after they had put their ships in Front) no man B durst present himselfe, they retired to Chies.

But Philip who had never before at one time lost so many men. nor fuch, carryed his misfortune impariently, and was in a manner desperate, although hee laboured by all meanes to hide his conceite. matters seeming vnsupportable: for besides many other occasions, the misfortunes which happened after the Battaile, had put all those that were present in seare. Beleeue mee, that after so great a slaughter of men, all the Countrey where the Combate was fought, was full of Carkafes, blood, Armes, and the wrackes of Ships. And the daies following you might have seene the shoare full of all these things heaped together. So as it was not onely displeasing vato him, but to C

all the Macedonians.

In regard of Theophiliseus, having furniued a day, and written into the Countrey of the successe of the Combate at Sea, and had appoint ted Cleoneus to command the Army in his place, hee dyed of the wounds hee had received: who had shewed himselfe a valiant man in danger, and who by the prouidence of his Councell, was worthy to have his Name preserved in memory. For if hee had not given advice to follow Philip, all the rest had neglected the opportunity of the Victory, being amazed at his courage : fo as in beginning of the D fight hee forced his Citizens to follow the occasions of the time. Heelikewise perswaded Attalus not to temporize, norto wastetime in the preparation of things concerning the Warre: But contrariwife to fight valiantly, and to vidergoe the present danger. Wherefore the Rhodiens have with good reason, after his death done him fuch honours, as the living and those that were present were not onely incited to fight valiantly for their Countrey, but also the posterity.

What doe weethen see in this violence? No other thing but Nature

Nature. It oftentimes falls out that many vpon a bare shew of hope, defire impossible things, vanquishing cuery mans hope with their couetousnesse: and when they have once begun, they cannot divert their fancies : for that they have their understanding blinded and deceived with the impossibility of their attempts, and the discontent of the accidents. When as Philip had in vaine giuen some assaults to a small Towne, for that it was well fortified, hee retired, after he had ruined some places with the whole Countrey.

Being gone from thence, he planted his Campe about Prinasse, and Prinasse besie-A besieged it by myning. Where when he lost his time, for that the place ged by philip. was stony, he vsedthis invention: hee causeth a great noise to be made by day in the Mynes, as if he laboured to overthrow the Walls, caufing in the night great store of earth to be brought and to be laid at the entry of the Mynes, to the end he might terrifie the Inhabitants by a view of so great a digging in the ground. It is true that at the first the Prinaffeins were constant and couragious . but when as Philip had signified vnto them that their Wall was undermined the length of the third part of a Furlong, and had demanded of them if they would deliuer the City and saue their lives, or perish with it, the foundations being burnt, then giuing credit vnto his words, they presently deli-B ueredit.



A Parcell of the City of the Fasseens.



C

He City of the lassens is scituated in Asia vpon the The Gulfe of Guifcioyning to Neptune of Atilefia, and called of the Neptune, Myndiens. According to the aduice of many, it takes its name from the Cities of the Vargylieses, which are built vpon the backe part. They fay that in the begin-

ning they were peopled by Argines: and that after-D wards the Milesiens predecessors being brought in , and the Children of Nelew, they built the City of Myletum, after their deseate in the The City of Warres of Carya. This City hath ten Furlongs in circuite. The com- Miletum built. mon bruite is, and they believe it among the Vargylieres, that although the statue of Diana Cindiades be vncouered, yet it endures no fogs nor Diana. raine, like vnto that of Vesta among the laffeens: the which some Historiographers haue auerr'd. For my part, I know not how I contradico and blame boldly in all this treaty this aduice of Historiographers. In truth they seeme to mee wholy to sauour of their Childishnesse, who

without

without confideration comprehend not onely idle and fottish things, but those which are impossible. For if any one should fay that some body may bee so illuminated and transparent, as he shall make no shadow, this would shew a transported Judgement, as Theopompus hath done, faying that they which enter into the Temple of Iupiter in Arcadia, make no shadow. Whereunto that is conformable which is now spoken. Wherefore wee must pardon some Historiographers in all things which preserve the denotion of the people towards the Gods, who relate monstrous things, but in that which exceeds this course, they are not to be pardoned. Peraduenture in every thing there is a A different quality to describe them, yea, sometimes impossible: wherefore we must pardon if any one through ignorance doth stray a little from the truth: and according to my judgement reprove all that which exceeds reason.



A Parcell of Publica Scipio.

When as the expectation of the people was conformable to the great love and affection towards him: The which was not without cause. For whereas they feared neuer to chase Hannibal out of Italy, nor to free themselves nor their Allies from the eminent danger: they seemed then certainly not onely to bee deliuered from all feare and mifery, but also to domineere ouer their Enemies : wherefore they were confounded with ioy. When he triumphed : being moreouer by the effects of things which were brought in, aduertifed of the precedent dangers, they were toucht with an exceeding loue as well to the Gods, as to the Author of fo great an alte-

Syphax King of

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Syphax King of the Masaisylins was led in triumph through the Cithe Mafailylims ty with the other Prisoners, who soone after died in Prison. These things thus performed, the Romans made continuall Combats for ma. D ny Dayes, and celebrated Feasts in their assemblies, having wherewithall to fatisfic it by the liberality and bounty of Scipio. Many attempt great Warres brauely, and striue with a certaine vehemency to augment a Common-wealth: But it is a rare thing to bring them to the propounded end, and to accomplish by reason and industry, if Fortune sometime opposeth that which wants courage and speedy action. Wherefore some may with reason blame the sloth of Attalus and of

the Rhodiens, in commending the royall courage of Philip, and his constancy in his enterprize: not that his conceite is alwayes worthy of Commendation but so farre as it concernes his present Enterprize and attempt. I propound this distinction to the end no man should suspect vs of contradiction: for that (as we have heretofore) commended and blamed Philip, so now I doethe contrary. They must vnderstand that in the beginning of this Worke I have so made my distinction. faying that it was necessary sometimes to commend and blame the same A man may be persons, for that moments and events of things doe many times change commended and blamed ac-A the hearts of men, when they incline to better or worle. It happens cording to the likewise sometimes, that men by Nature indeauour things which are divertity of his reasonable, and sometimes the contrary: whereof in my Opinion the Actions. one happened now to Philip. When hee was inflamed for the precedent losses, shewing more choller and rage then reason, hee accommodated himselfe to the present oceasions, with a constant and admirable courage, and hath by this course enjoyed those things which followed, in advancing himselfe against the Rhodiens and Assalus. I thought good to deliuer this, for that some giue ouer their enterprizes in leaving their first heate, like vnto bad and lazy runners : Some likewise vanquish their Enemies in this oriely, that they are constant in their enterprizes.



Of the Cities of Abydos and Seftes Maritine and opposite.



C

Hold it lost time to vse any long discourse of the commo! dities of the Cities of Abydos and Seffes : for that mattere of small moment are knowne to all, by reason of theordinary frequenting of the places: yet I doe not thinke for the present that a summary aductisment to the Reader.

would bee vnprofitable in regard of them. You must vnderstand that the things which are now to be spoken of the sayd Cities) are not so much drawne from their scituation, as from their opposition and conse-D rence. Whereas the Nauigation of the Sea, which some call by the name of Ocean, others Atelantique, is not passable, but at the Areights Of the prost of which are at the Pillars of Hercules : Neither can they in our Sea, in the Abyder and Propontis and Pontus, vnleffe it be made by the ftreight betwirt aby- sifies. dos and Sestes. As Fortune hath prepared two Gulfes with some reafon, it falls out that the streight of the Pillars of Hercules is broader then that of Hellesponte: For it is of three score Furlongs, and that of Abydes onely of two. The which wee may conjecture hath beene

of the ftreight

Aby leins.

made for a greater spaciousnesse of the exteriour Sea, then ours. A comparison That of Aby des is more commodious then that of the Pillars of Hercules. For the first is inhabited on either fide, and in manner of a Port, that of Gibel- for the mutuall communication of Traffique, and hash in some place a Bridge for those which passe on foote from one firme land to another. They also saile continually on the other side. In regard of that of the Pillars of Hereules, it is little frequented, for that the people which inhabite some in Affricke, fome in Europe, haue little commerce together: and this exteriour Sea is little frequented and tryed. The City of the Abydeins is environed on either side with the farthest A bounds of Europe: having a Port from whence Sailors with what wind foeuer, may be feene. But it is not possible for any man to come vnto the City, being without this ingulfement of the Sea to the Port, by reason of the swiftnesse and vehemence of the current.



Another Parcell of Philip of Macedon.

The Abydeins befreged by Philp.

Et when as Philip had fortified one part with Pallifadoes, and cast a Ditch about the other, he besieged the Abydeins by Sea and Land. In regard of the meanes of their defence, it was not admirable, neither for the greatnesse of the preparation, nor for the diversity of in- C uentions, which are declared in the same worke, by the

which the befiegers and befieged doe visually practife and furprize one another by policies: But for the good directions and vallour of the befieged, it is worthy of memory, if euer any were, and which ought to come voto posterity. In the beginning the Inhabitants of Abydos relying in themselves, maintained the attempts of Philip valiantly : and as for his Engines fet vp at Sea, they brake some with casting of Stotles. and they burnt others : so as the Enemies could hardly saue their Vesfels from this danger : In regard of those at Land, for time they made a valiant relitance, neuer despairing to obtaine the Victory against their Enemies. But when as the Fort which flood without the Wall had beene ouerthrowne by Mynes, and that the Macedonians were afterwards come vnto the Wall which they had built within, in the end they fent Iphias and Pantacnote in Embaffic, to yeeld the City voto. Philip. but vpon condition that hee should suffer the Souldiers of the Rhodiens and Attalus to depart, and their Bodies free, to saue themselves where they thought good with their Apparrell. And when is

Of the History of POLYBIVS. Lib.16.

Philip had given them charge to submit themselves vnto his will, or to fight it out brauely, the Embassadours retired. This being The course heard, the Abydeins affemble the people, and confult in despaire of which the Abytheir necessities. First of all their decreases give liberty to their take in detheir necessities. First of all they decree to give liberty to their Slaves, spaire, to the end they might willingly become Companions in the Combat: And consequently drawe all their Wives into Diana's Temple : and the Children with their Nurses into the Schooles, and finally their Gold and Siluer into the Market place, and the richest apparrell into the Rhodiens Galley, and that of the Cyziceneins.

When they had decreed these things, and had with one accord executed the resolution, they make another assembly, choosing sifty of the most ancient, and men of credite, being strong and able to execute the decree, and make them sweare in the presence of all the Citizens, that if they saw the Wall taken by the Enemy, they should then kill their Wives and Children, and set fire of the sayd Galleyes, casting (according to their Oath) the Gold and Siluer into the Sea. Finally, they call their Prelates, who coniure them all to vanquish their Enemies, or to dye fighting for their Countrey. This done, after they had sacrificed, they force their Prelates, and their B Wines to make execrations vpon the Sacrifices of the faid things. These things thus confirmed, they did not countermine aginst the E. nemies Mynes, resoluing that if the Wall fell, they would stand vp. on the ruines, fighting to the death. Wherefore some one may with reason say, that the folly of the Phocenses and the ioy of the Acarna. Bians, hath beene vanquished by the courage of the Abydeins. The Phocenfes seeme to have decreed the like for their Kinsfolkes, although they were not wholly in despaire of the Victory, for they were to fight in field with the Thefalians.

The Acarnanians fore-feeing the attempts of the Esoliens, refolued the same in their eminent danger, whereof wee have formerly spoken C in particular. The Abydeins being shut vp, and in a manner desperate of their fafety, defired rather by a common confent to try this Fortune with their Wives and Children, then living to deliver them into their Enemies hands. For which reason wee may blame Fortunefor the ruine of the Abydeins : Seeing that having compassion of the calamities of the former, shee hath suddainly relieued them; yeelding vnto the desperate hope and safety : whereas contrariwise thee hath beene incenfed against the Abydeins. The men were slaine and the City taken : their Children with their Wines fell into their Enemies hands: For after the fall of the Wall, planting them-D felues voon the ruines, according to their Oath, they fought with fuch great courage, as when as Philip had fent supplies vnto the Macedonians at the affault vntill Night, hee was in the end forced to take breath, and to despaire of his attempt. The Abydeins did not onely fight with great confidence, standing vpon the dead bodies in danger, and with resolution with their Swords and Jauelings: But hauing no meanes to vie them, they cast themselves with fury vpon the Masedonians, ouerthrowing some with their armes, charging others alwaics

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with

o: the Abydeins.

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with the stockes of their broken lauelings : and repulsing them, thrust-The prowelle ing directly at their Faces and other naked parts. Night being come. and the Combat ceasing, Glaucides and Theognite affembling some few of the ancient, changed (for the hope of their private fafeties) that seuere and noble vow of the Citizens, in regard of the great number that had beene staine at the Wall, and for that the rest were weakned with toile and wounds. Wherefore they refolued to abandon their Wines and Children to Captinity, and at the breake of day to fend their Priests and Wines, with their Diadems and head-bands to Philip, A to the end that intreating him ypon their knees, they might deliver him the City.

Marcus Emilias

Lant to Philip

At the same time King Attalus being advertised of the Siege of the Abydeins, failes by the Egean Sea to Tenedos. In like manner Marcus Emilius the younger a Roman, came by Sca to Abydos. For when the Romans had been etruely advertised of the Siege of Abydos, and would expostulate with Philip according to their charge, and to vnderstand the cause why hee assailed the Kings, they sent this Emilius vnto him, Who when he had audience of Philip in Abydos, he let him understand that the Senate admonished him, not to make Warre against any Grecians, nor to meddle with the affaires of Ptolomy: And whereas hee B had done outrage to the Rhodiens and Attalus, he should make a promise to give them satisfaction: in doing which hee should remaine in peace, but if he would not obey, he should prepare to have Warre with the Romans. When as Philip laboured to let him understand that the Rhodiens had beene the first Assailants, Marcus intersupting him faid : What have the Athenians ? Claneins, and Abydeins done ? which of them hath first assailed you? The King studying what to answere to these three demands, told him that hee pardoned his arrogancy in to Marcus Emi-words, for that first he was young and without experience: Secondly, that he was the best man amongst them, as in truth he was. The Romans (fayd he) have no reason to breake the Accords, nor to make C Warre against mee: but if they did, he would defend his owne valiantly and invocate the Gods for aide. This Speech being ended, they parted one from the other.

Philip having gotten the City of the Abeydeins, he presently tooke all the Goods which had beene carryed away by them. When he faw the people and their fury, who flew, burnt, and strangled themselves. their Wives, and Children, casting them into Wells, and hanging them in their houses, hee was amazed: And being discontented at that which was done, he let them know that he gaue them three dayes respite that would hang or kill themselves. But the Abydeins preventing him (according to their first resolution) could not suffer any one of those to live, which were not yet bound nor tied to this kind of neceffity, holding themselves in not doing it, for Traytors towards those which had fought, and were dead for their Countrey. All the rest without delay dyed according to their Races.

Of Philopomene and the deeds of the Acheins.

Nd when as Philopomene had confidered the distances of of all the Cities, and that they might come to Teges by one way, hee wrote Letters to an the onles, and divides them them to those which were farthest off, and divides them one way, hee wrote Letters to all the Cities, and fends

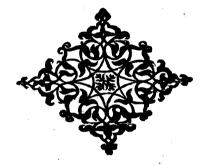
in fuch fort, as every City had not onely those which were directed vnto it, but also those for other Cities lying vpon the same Thesorme of way. Hee hath written to the Magistrates in these termes: When philopomenes B you shall have received these Letters, vse all diligence, that such as Letters to the are able to beare Armes, may affemble in the Market place, enery man furnished with fine Dayes victuals, and seuenteene Sous, and fixeteene Deniers in Money. And when they shall be all assembled, lead them to the next City: where beling arrived, deliver the Letters to the Magistrate, and performe the contents. In the which was contained the charge which had bin given to the former, only the name was altred, but the place was not named whither the Voyage was intended.

This course being continued, no man knew to what end nor why this preparation was made, nor whither they went out of the next Gity. All being vncertaine and receiving one another they marcht on C But for that the Cities which were beyond, had not an equal distance from Togee, hee did not send Letters to them all at the same time; but particularly according to their order : fo as voknowne to the Inhabitants, and to those which arrived, what should succeed, all the Acheins entred in Armes by all the Gates. Hee had without doubt resolued these things in his judgement, by a Military stratagem, for for the multitude of Scours and Spies which the Tyrant had. The which the Tyrant had. The same day that the multitude of the Jcheins should affemble, hee sent choise men, who in the Night should passe the Selasia: and at the breake of day runne into the D Countrey of Lacedemon. But if the Mercenaries by encounter did any way trouble them, he gives them charge to recouer Scotite, obeying Didascolonde the Candior in all things. For hee had given him the charge of all this enterprize. These men went resolutely to the place appointed. And when as Philopomere had commanded the Acheins to Suppe carely , hee goes with his Army out of Tegee : and making good vie of the Night in his Voyage, hee leads his Army to the place appointed neare vnto scorite, the mid-way betwixt Aaa 3

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Tegee and Lacedemon. The Souldiers of Pelenethe day following ran relene wouthe speedily as it is their custome, and affailed the Enemy suddainly, who were aduertised of their comming by their Scouts. And when the Acheins (according to the Commandment they had received) retired, they pursued them at their backes confidently

and with courage. But suddainly they fell into the Ambush, where some of them were flaine by the Acheins, and others taken.



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A PARCELL OF

the Seuenteenth Booke of

the History of Polybivs:

Where they treate of the Peace betwixt Philip of Macedony and the other Grecians, by the meanes of Titus a Roman.



He time appointed being come, Philip artiues by Philips Com-Sea from the Demetriade, to the Gulte of Melies, panyo accompanied with fine Foifts and one Gallev. wherein hee fayled. He was attended on by Apoledorus and Demostbenes Macedonians, his Chancellours. There was also Brachylles of Beocia, and Chiliades the Mchein, a Fugitiue out of Morea for the causes about mentioned. With the which

were also King Saminandre and Dionisodorus sent by Attalus. And as for the Cities and people, Aristenetes and Xenophon were for the A. cheins : and Acefymbrotes and Wauarchus were for the Rhediens : and for the Etoliens came Phenee Chiefe of the Army, with many other

When they were approacht the Sea neare vinto Nicea, Tisus the Chiefe of the Romans, stayed at the shoare. Philip being almost at Land, stayed in his Vessell. And when as Titus perswaded him to Land, he layd (flanding vpright in his ship) that hee would not. Being sikewise demanded by Titus what he seared, he answered, No man but The wise ans the Gods: but there were many there whom hee did not truft, namely, swere of Ponlip. the Etoliens. And when the Roman Commander wondred, faying,

that the perill was equall vnto all, and that time common. Philip anfwering fayd, that he understood it not so: For an inconvenience hapning to Phence, the Etoliens had Commaunders enough for the War: But if Philip dyed, there was no King of Macedony for the present. In the beginning of his Speech he seemed importune to them all. But Tytus adulfed him to speake of the Affaires for which hee was come. Philip answered him, that it belonged to him and not vnto himselfe: For this cause hee required him to let him know what there was to be done to eniov a Peace.

The Roman Commaunder told him that hee must vie plaine and o- A pen words, and aduifed him to leaue all Greece, reftoring the Prisoners and Fugitiues which were in his power: To yeild likewise vnto the Romans the places of Sclauonia, which he had seazed on after the Accord made in Epirus : That he should restore vnto Ptolomy, all the Cities which he had taken fince the Death of Ptolomew Philopater. When Tytus had spoken this, he held his peace: But turning to the rest, hee

willed every man to deliver his charges

Dionisodorsu being sent by Attalia beganne first, saying that he should restore the shippes taken by him in the Battaile at Sea neere vnto Chio, and likewise the Prisoners : and re-edifie the Temple of Venus, and the B Affenall of the triumphes of Victories which hee had ruined. After whom Alogmbrotes Chiefe of the Army at Sca for the Rhodiens . required that Philip should leave Perea; which he had taken from them, and finally retire the Garrisons which hee had at laffe, in the Vargylies, and in the City of the Eromeens: And moreover restore the Perinthiens to the comminalty of the Constantivopolitains, and to abandon Seftes, Abydos, and the Faiers of Afia. After the Rhodiens the A. of the Actions cheins demanded Corineh and the City of the Argines whole and fafe. After these the Etoliens required fits as the Romans had done, that hee should abandon all Greece, and that afterwards her should restore the Cities whole and entire, which formerly had beene of the same Burgeffe with the Etoliens.

and Etoliens.

The Articles

which Dionifo-

dorus deman -

ded of Philip.

Afelyn:brotes

demands for

the Rhodiens.

Alexand-r

When as Phonee Chiefe of the Ecottens had spoken thus, Alexander following after, whom they call Ise, in shew a man of indgement to mannage affaires, and of great Eloquence, said, that Philip did not demand a peace roundly, nor made Warre valiantly, if it were to be done at any time : and that in affemblies and treaties hee watcht care. fully, playing the part of an Enemy: and that in the Warre hee carryed himfelfe wickedly, and not as a good man. For when he should affront the Enemy, it is manifest that hee slies the list, and in the meane time burnes and ruines Cities: and being thus vanquished by his will, hee D corrupts the rewards of the Victors: although the ancient Kings of Macedony were neuer of that minde, but quite contrary. They have fought often Battailes in the open field, and have seldomeruined any Cities. The which is manifest to all the World, as well by the Asian Warre of Alexander against Darius, as by the difference of the Succesfors, by the which they have all made Warre against Antigonus for the Empire of Asia. And their posterity hath beene of this humour vntill

the time of Pyrrhus, to fight valiantly with an Enemy in open Bartaile : Doing all that concerned a mutuall Combate of men furnished with Armes, yet pardoning the Citties: for that the Victors of them are vanquished, and blamed by those which are subdued. It is the part of a mad man to ruine that for which the Warre is made, and then to leave it: The which he fayd Philip did at that time, and that he had ruined more Cities in Theffaly, being of the same friendship and League in Warre when as hee parted speedily from the streights of Epirus, then cuer any of those had done which made Warre against the Theffaliens.

Of the History of POLYBIVS.

Lib.17.

And when he had vsed a long Speech, and deliuered other things of the same subject. In the end hee demaunded of Philip, why Lylimachia being affociated to the Etoliens, and having a Commaunder of the Warre from them, hee had chased him away, putting a garrison into the Citty? Why hee had spoiled the Cyaneins, of the Etolien Burgeoiship, being a friend to the Esoliens? Morcouer voon what colour he detained Escheins, Thebes, Phthie, Pharsalia, and Larrisse? Hauing spoken this, Alexander held his peace. When as Philip had approached neerer to Land then before, standing vpright in his ship, Philips answer. fayd, that Alexanders Speech was Etolique and that it was notorious B to all the World, that no man ruined those which were his compani-

ons in Armes, and yet a Prince according to the occasion of times, is many times forced to do things against his will. The King vsing this Speech: Phenee having a bad fight, lookes oftentimes croffe vpon Philip. faying that he told Fables: and that he should eyther vanquish in fighting, or else subscribe and obey the commaundements of the Victors.

And although that Philip were discontented, yet hee omitted not his kinde of speech; but turning to Phence, a blind man fayd he, would fee it. He was in truthapt to Choller, and it was it a manner bred in C him, to iest at the good Fortune of other men. Then turning towards Alexander, thou demaundest of me, sayd he, for what reason I have taken Lysimachia: To the end that thorough your negligence and basenesse, it might not be ruined by the Thrasiens, as then it happened, haning retired my Souldiers for the present, being there for the defence thereof, and not as thou fayst to take it. In regard of the Cyaneins. I made no Warreagainst them: But when as Prusias assailed them in giuing him fuccours, I tooke the Citie with him, whereof you haue beene the cause. For when as the other Cities of Greece and my p felfe had required you often by Embassies, to abrogate the Law which allowes you to take spoile vpon spoile: You answered that wee must first rake Etolia from Etolia, then the sayd Law. And when as Astrange Co-Tree wondred how that could be, the King laboured to make him Rolling, understand it, saying that the Etoliens had a Custome not onely to affaile those and their Country, with whom they had Warre: But alfo it is lawfull for them, if their Allies be in Quarrell, to affaile both

the one and the other with their Regions, and to hold them, without any common decree. And by this meanes the Etoliens have neither

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Lawes of Friendship nor Hatred, being ready to fall vpon those which are in controuersie for any Affaires. Whereon then doe these men ground an accusation against me? I was a friend to the Etoliens, so was I allied to Prusias, and I attempted against the Cyeneins to succour my

But behold a case of wonderfull discretion, that they which have made themselues Enemies to the Romans, commaund the Macedonians to depart out of Greece. Without doubt it is a very arrogant Speech. If the Romans speake it, it is tollerable, if the Etoliens, intollerable. But out of what Greece would you have me depart ? How do you limit A it? Are there not many Etoliens in Greece? You shall see that the gracins, Apodates, and Amphiloqueins are not of Greece, at the least you leave them to me. And when as Tytus smiled, this sayd he, shall suffice against the Esoliens: And as for that which concernes the Rho. diens and Astalus, we may with more inflice and equity require, that they should rather restore to vs our Prisoners and Vessells, then we to them. We have not affailed the Rhodiens nor Attalus first, but they vs, it is without contradiction. Yet for thy fake we will restore Peres to the Rhodiens, and to Attalm his shippes and men which are living. In regard of the ruine of the Triumph of Victories, and of Venue B Temple, we cannot repaire them: And for that which concernes the Trees and Gardens, I will fend men to digge the ground, and will give order that the Trees which are cut may grow againe. And when as Tytus smiled againe at the scoffe of Philip, Philip addressing himselfe to the Acheins, hee put them in minde at the first of the benefits and fauours they had received from Antigonia and himselfe. Moreover he laid open the many Honors which the Acheins had done vnto them. Finally, he hath read the Resolution of their revolte in following the Romans party. Vpon which occasion hee propounded many things a. gainst the prevarication and ingratitude of the Acheins: Yet promising C. to restore them Arges. In regard of Corinthe hee would conferre

After this Speech held to the reft, he fayd to Tylus; that hee was to speake to him and to the Romans, whether he were of opinion that he should abandon the Cities and places which he had Conquered among the Grecians, or else those which he had received from his Predecessors. And when as Tytas held his peace, Aristenes was suddainly ready to answere for the Acheins, and Phence for the Etoliens. But when the houre was past, the Time had closed up their mouthes. Philip required that hee might have men given him to write downeall that was to do for the peace. For when he was alone, he fayd he had D no man with whom conferring, he might yeild a reason of the Actions wherewith they charged him.

And although that Tytus heard Philip willingly in his icst, yet being loath to be discouered by others, he gave him a touch, saying: It is no wonder if thou beest alone Philip, when thou hast slaine all those which gaue thee Councell. The Macedonian vsing a Counterfeite smile, held his peace. Then they all gaue in Writing what they had

demanded, appointing another affembly for the day following at Nicea. To which place Titus came with his Company, where all the rest appeared, but Philip came not. And when as the day was farrespent, and that Titus expected his comming no longer, he armed at Sunne setting, accompanied with the same men, saying that he had spent the whole day in vexation and discontent, for the difficulty of the things wherewith they charg'd him, But according to the opinion of others he did it to frustrate by the shortnesse of time, the accusation of the Acheins and Etoliens. He had seene them the day before at his departure ready for their defence, and to complayne of

Wherefore at his artuall he intreated the Commander of the Romans to treat of this businesse with him in private, to the end that in debating it, they might not fall to any outragious words, but draw it to some end. When he had often intreated this, Titus demanded of the Affistants their opinion what he should doe; and when they all yeelded vnto it, and that he should observe his words, hee tooke Appius Claudius 2 Captaine of a thousand, and commanding the rest that retiring a little into the Sea, they should stay there, bidding Philip to come to Land. The King accompanied with Apolodorus and Demosthenes landed, and Philiplands. B had a long discourse with Titus. In regard of that which was spoken of eyther side, it is a difficult thing to judge. Titus then when as The Articles Philip was retired, related vnto the rest the things which hee had agreed on by propounded, namely that he would yeelde vnto the Etoliens, Lavilla and Pharfalia, but not Thebes: That to the Rhodiens hee would leave Perea, but not lasson nor Bargulies to the Acheins Corinthe, and the City of Argines: to the Romans that which hee held in Sclanonia with all the prisoners. That he would restore to Attalus the vessels, and all the prisoners that were living fince the navall fight. But when as the whole Company disliked of this accord, saying that they must C generally decree that he must depart out of all Greece: Otherwise all

these articles would be vaine and friuolous. Philip seeing this contention, fearing likewise the future accusations, he intreats Time to deferre this affembly vntill the next day, for that it is now late, faying that hee would perswade them, or suffer himselfe to be perswaded. And when as Time had granted this, they resolued to assemble againe at the Port of Tyronye, and so they parted. The day following they all mette at the houre appoynted. Another affemi Philip having made a short speech, requires them all, especially Titas, bly ao Thronge. D that they would not breake of the treaty of peace: for that there were many things which did conduct to the conclusion of an accord, vitlesse the fault were in them, that the composition was not made. Otherwise they must send Embassadours to the Senate to order their differences, to the which he would obey, and doe all they hould

command him.

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These things thus propounded by Philip, the others said that they must doe that which concerned the warre, and not trust to his demands: But the Roman Commander faid, that hee was not igno-

rant that Philip would not doe any thing that was propounded vnto him: and yet their cause was nothing impaired, in yeelding him this fauour which hee demanded. For there could nothing be spoken there that could be confirmed without the Roman Senate: and that moreouer the approaching time would be very commodious to make tryall of their advice. For as the Armies are unprofitable in regard of the Winter, there could be no inconvenience, if in the meane time they referr'd themselves vnto the Senate, but a great commodity vnto them all.

Philips cause fent to Rome.

and Albenians

When they were of this opinion feeing Titus to concurre, that the pre- A fent differences should be transferrd'd to the Senate, they resolved to suffer Philip to fend an Embaffie to Rome, and in like manner all in particular to make their causes knowne vnto the Senate, and to accuse Philip. When this resolution of the Assembly had succeeded according to the humour and aduice of Titus conceived in the beginning, he presently pursued those things which were requisite for the Enterprize, having giuen order for his affaires. Finally, hee deales no more with Philip, but affignes him two Moneths onely, in the which hee should fend an Embassie to Rome, and should retire his Garrisons for Phocis and Loere. Hee gives him likewise charge, that hee should not make Warre a against any of the Roman Allies, and should give order that in the meane time the Macedonians should doe them no outrage.

And when he had dealt with Philip vpon these Articles by Writing, he brought the rest of the things propounded to an end of himselfe. Hee suddainly sends Aminandre to Rome, knowing his sufficiency in affaires, and to purchase Friends easily wheresoeuer hee came: and that he would procure some good conceite and hope, in regard of the name of Royalty. After whom hee sends for Embassadours, Quintus Fabius, his Nephew in respect of his Wives Sister, and Quintus Fulfent to Rone by wins, and with them Appins Clauding whom they call Nero. The Titut, the Eto- Etoliens sent Alexander Isien, Democrates a Calydonien, Dicearchus a Trichonien Polymarchus an Arfingen Lamin an Ambraciete, and Nicomachus an Acarnanien : and of those which were Fugitives from Thurson, and dwelt at Ambracia, Theodores, Pheres a Fugitive of The faly, and then remaining at Strate.

The Acheins Sent Xenophon an Egien : King Attalus, Alexander alone: The people of Athens Ciphesodorus. All which come to Rome to the Senate, to deliver vnto their judgements the things which they had resolved that Yeare, before that the two Consuls (at the request of the others) were sent into Gallacia against Philip. When as Tism Friends conceived that the two Consuls should remaine in Ita- D ly for feare of the Gaules, they enter all into the Senate, and accuse Philip roughly, deliuering the same which they had formerly obiected vnto the King: Yet they laboured carefully to possesse the Senate with an opinion, that they could not hope for any liberty, if Calchis, Gorinthe, and the Demetriades consinued in the hands of the Macedonians.

They fayd, that Philip had vsed that Speech, and had affured that

the faid places were the Bonds and shackles of Greece: the which he might well fay with reason and truth. For they could not sayle safe. ly from Mores to Corinihe, there being a royall Garrison : neither durft the Locrines, Beocians, and Phoconfes doe it, whilft that Philip holds Calchis and the rest of Negrepout : Neither likewise the Theffa. lians and Magnetians could not lay le freely, Philip and the Macedonians holding the Demetriade. Wherefore in that which Philip hath faid, that hee would leave the other places, it is a fancy and a shift to A escape the present time : and when opportunity should serue, hee would eafily subdue the Grecians, so as hee held the said places. For this cause they intreated the Senate, that Philip might leave those places for else continue in his Enterprize, and fight valiantly : And that the greatest part of the Warre was already decided, the Macedomians having lost two Battailes, and the greatest part of their forces at Land being confumed.

These Speeches ended, they intreated them with all affection not to suffer the Grecians to bee frustrated of the hope of their liberty, nor themselves deprived of an honourable Title. The Embassadors of Greece hauing debated thefe things or the like : those of Philip had prepared a Mountaine of words, but they were suddainly rejected. For when as they were demanded if they would leave Calchis, Corinab, Philips Embaland the Dematriades, they denyed that they had any thing in charge, fadors reieded and the Demetriades, they denyed that they had any thing in charge. Wherefore being check't, by this meanes they ended their Speech. Warredeclased The Senate fends the two Confuls into Galacia, and declares the against Philip. Warre against Philip to be just, giving charge to Tiene to attend the Grecians affaires.

When as the newes came into Greece, all things succeeded to Titu according to his desire. For besides that Fortune sauoured him, what soeuer hee vndertooke hee brought to an end by his prouidence and care. Hee was in truth (if there were any among the Romans) The Commen a witty and ingenuous man. Hee not onely undertooke ordinary af- dation of Titus. faires, but those that were secret, and with such Dexterity and Courage, as hee furpaft all others, although hee were yet but young a for hee scarce past the Age of Thirty yeares. He was the first which past into Greece with an Army.

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A certaine Parcell

An-kind which seemes to bee the most cunhing and malicious of all the Creatures, hath greater meanes to be more vicious. The others feruing their corporall Defires, are onely decelued by them. But Mankind finnes no lesse by a defire of glory through negligence and inconst deration then by Nature.



More of Titus and the Grecians Actions.

Nd when as Titus could not learne where the Enemics Campe was feated, and being affured that they were come through Theffaly, he commands them all to cut stakes, and to carry them with them, to the end they may bec ready at necessity. This without doubt seemes (accor-

ding to the custome of the Grecians) impossible, being easie to the Romans. The Grecians in truth are no good Commanders of their Bodies in Marching, and doe hardly endure toile. But the Romans haulng their Targets hanging at their backes in a Belt of Leather, and carrying their Head peeces in their hands, beare the stakes. There was a great difference betwixt them. The Grecians held a stake that betwirt the Ros had many branches at the foote very commodious. But the Romans vse stakes with two, or three, or foure branches at the most, so as they are casie to carry, for a man carries two or three Faggots together. There is also this difference: For the Grecians stake planted before the Campe, may be easily pull'd vpi When that onely which is strong, is fixed in the ground, and hath many and great brauches, if two or

The Grecians delicate of their Bodies.

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A difference and the Grecie

three of them shew themselves, and draw the stake voto them, it is easily pull'd vp. And whereas this happens, there is a breach easily made, by reason of the greatnesse, and then the loyning of them is vidone by the shortnesse and mutuall height of this kinde of Pallisado The Romans doe otherwise. They plant themright vp. and interface them in such fort, asit is not case for any one to discerne or know from which the of the stakes stucke in the ground, the shootes take their growth, nor from what stockes the branches come. Finally, it is not possible for him that seekes to pull them vp, to put A to his hand, for that they are very thicke and intermixt together: And if they bee carefully planted, he that shall lay hold on them, shall not beable to pull them vp eafily, for that all their iounts take their force from the Earth : Secondly, hee shall bee forced to transport many shootes together, which shall lay hold of one branch, in regard of their mutuall interlacing : Nelther is it likely that two or three will seaze vpon one stake. Yet if it happens that some one pulls vp one or two, yet the space cannot be discouered. Wherefore there is a great difference, for that this kinde of stakes is easie to finde, and easie to carry, and the vie is more fafe and firme. So as ie is apparent, that if the Ramans have not any thing touching the mannaging of the Wat B which is worthy of imitation, yet this kind of stakes (at the least in my judgement) deserues it.

When as Tiens had prepared all things ready to ferue him at neede, he marcheth a flow pace with his whole Army. And whenhe came Timplants his within fifty Furlongs of the City of Pherees, hee camped there. The Campeneare day following at the breake of day, hee fent forth Spies, to feeke if they could by any meanes discouer where the Enemies were, and what they did. But when as Philip had received advertisement, that the Romans were at that time Camped neare vnto Thebes, railing his Campe from Larissa, hee prepares his way towards Pherees

C with his whole Army

When he was within thirty Furlongs, planting his Campe there; hee commanded them to have a care of their Victuals. At the breake of Day awaking his Army, hee fent forth those that were appoynted for Scouts, giving them charge to gaine the Hills about Pherees : Then at the Sunne-riling hee parts with all his forees. It happened soone after, that the Scouts of both Armies met on the top of the Mountaines. Knowing one another in the Darke, they flayed a little distance off : and advertised their Commanders of that which D had happened. And when they required Directions what they fhould doe, they were called backe.

The day following either of them fent forth Horse-men, and a bout three hundred Souldiers to discouer : with whom Titus feat two Bands of Etoliens for their experience of the places : The which affailing one another neare vnto Pherees and Lariffa, they fought va- An encounter liantly. But when the Etoliens of Epoleme fought with great cou-ofthe forerage, being also called the lealiques, it happened that the Matedonians were preft. But after they had skirmifhed fome time, they re-

Bbb a

tired to their Campes. And when as the day following the Plaine was displeasing to either of them, for that it was full of Trees. Hedges, and Gardens, they raise their Campes. Philip tooke his way towards Scotusse, making halte, to the end hee might draw Victuals from the City, and lodge his Army with more advantage. Titus coniecturing what would happen, parts with his Army at the fame instant, making haste to spoile the Scotussiens Corne before the comming of Philip. But for that in the marching of the two Armies, there was a great interpolition of high Hills and Mountaines, the Romans nor the Macedonians could not discouer one another in A the direction of their way. Wherefore that dayes iourney being ended. Titus came vnto Eretria, and Philip to the River of Onchiffe, and presently planted their Campes there vnknowne to one another.

And when as the day following they had marched on, Thilip stayes at Melambie of the Sectusciens, and Titm about the Thetidie of Pharfalia: where they were againe vnknowne one to another. And as there fell a Raine and the yearely Thunder, it happened that the day following in the Morning there arife a great fogge, the which falling they could not see what was before their feete. Yet Philip B making halte to dispatch that which was offred, Campt wandring with his Army : But being hindred by the troublesomenesse and difficulty of the way in regard of the fogge, he aduanced little, and

pallifadoed his Campe.

Finally, he fent Phedria, and gives him charge to gaine the tops of the Hills interposed. Titus likewise being Camped about Thetidie, and being doubtfull where the Enemies were, he made choice of tenne Bands, and about a thouland of the most valiant, sending them before to fearch diligently, and to enter the Countrey; who marching to the tops of the Hill, fell by indifference into an Am-C bush of the Enemies, by reason of the darkenesse of the day, Eyther of them at the first were somewhat troubled, but soone after they charge one another. They likewife feed to informe their Com-

manders of this accident.

But when as the Romans in this Charge were preft, and in danger by the Ambush of the Macedonians, they sent voto their Campe for Succours. Titus commanding the Etoliens, fends those which were under the charge of Archidamus, and of the Eupolemus, and two Tribunes with five hundred Horse, and two thousand Foote. At whose comming they which in the beginning did but skirmich, refurning courage, presently put on another kind of Combate. The D Romans relying upon their Succours, double their forces for the fight. And although the Macedonians defended themselues brauely, yet they fent vnto the King, being prest and annoyed by their Armes, and for their refuge recourred the tops of the Mountaines.

And when as Philip had no hope but that they flould be able that day to give Battaile with all their Forces for the fore-layd Causes,

hee had fent many of his men to forrage. But when he was aduertifed of that which happened by those which hee had fent, and that the mist was past, hee sent Heraclides the Gyrtonien, Chiefe of the Thessalian Horse, and Leon Commander of the Masedonian Cauallery.

Hee likewise sent Athenagerus with all the Mercenaries exept the Thraciani. Who being come to the Ambush, and the Macedonians much re-inforced, they made head against the Enemy, and repuls'd the Romans from the Hills. The Dexterity of the Etolien A Horse did much hinder the Enemies from turning head. They fought in truth with great courage and confidence. The Esoliens in The Nature of regard of the Foote-men, are faint both in their Armes and Ordo wilson force nance for a Combat in Field : But their Horse-men are excellent as Horsebacke, aboue all the other Greeians in particular and separated Combats. Wherefore it happened, that for that they had flaved the violence and fury of the Enemy, they could not fo foone recouer the Plaine, but stayed for a time in Battaile.

But when as Titus faw not onely the most valiant and his Horse- Titus puts his men retire but also his whole Troupes to bee dismayed, hee drawes Armyin Bat-R his whole Army to Field, and puts them in order vponthe Hills, tails. At the same instant they which were in Guard, ran hastily one after another to Philip, crying out vnto him, Sir, the Enemies flye, lose not this occasion : The Barbarians seeke vs not : This day is yours, imbrace the time, and by this meanes they ineite and stirre vp Philip to Battaile, although the scientifion of the place did not content and please him. For the sayd Hills (which they call Dogs head) are rough, difficult of all fides, and high. Wherefore when as Philip had formerly fore-scene the vnequalnesse of the places, hee had not in the beginning made any preparation vnto Battaile: But beeing then prouoked by the great confidence of the C advertisements, hee drawes his Army with all speede out of the Fort.

In regard of Titus, hee orders his Troupes and Bands for the Battaile, and followes them close which began the Skirmish, making remonstrances vnto the Battalions as hee turned. His Speech was short, plaine, and intelligible to the Hearers. Propounding then the cause, hee sayd voto his Souldiers : Are not these O Companions, the fame Macedonians, who formerly holding in Macedomy the top of the Mountaines towards Heardis, you have forced with Sulpicius, and chased from thence with the defeate of the D greatest part of them ? Are not these the same Macedonians , who being seazed voon the difficult places of Epirus, and leaving no hope of approach, you have chased by your prowesse, and forced to flye into Macedony, abandoning their Armes! What reason is there then that you should feare the same men, with whom you are to enterinto an equall Combate? Towhat end doe we propound vinto you precedent actions to confider on, but that in regard of them you should fight more confidently? Wherefore Companions

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attend the Battaile with resolution, giulng courage one to another. I hold for certaine, that with the good pleasure of the Gods, the end of this Battaile will soone bee the conclusion, of the precedent.

When Titus had vied thefe Speeches, her commands the right Wing of his Army not to budge, ferting the Elephants before them: And affailes the Enemy with great courage with the left Wing , being accompanied by the most valiant. They which among the Romans had began the Fight, shewing their courage, prest the Enemies, hauing beene relieued by some Troupes of Foot-men. And when as A at the same time Philip saw that the greatest part of his Army was in mans and Philip Order of Battaile before the Pallisadoe, hee marcheth, taking the Targetteers and the Battalion of the right Wing, and alcends the Hills with speede : giving charge to Nicener (whom her called Blephant) to command the rest of the Army to follow close. As foune as the full had recounted the top, hee defends the Battalion, ferting the Targets before, and seazed vpon the higher Countrey. And when as the Macedonians preft the Remans much, vpon the two flankes of the Hills, he discoursed the tops to bee abandoned. As he fortified the right Wing of his Army, it happened that the Soula B diers were much annoyed by the Enemy.

For when they they which were best armed, were joyned vnto the most valiant of the Romans, and succoured them in this fight, they prest the Enemies much and flew many. As the King was there in the beginning, and saw the Combat of the valiant men nor to be farie from the Campe, hee reloyced againe, when hee faw them decline, and to have neede of Succours, bee was forced to fend them, and at that instant to hazard a Battaile, although that many of the Troupes of his Army were yer voon the way, and approached to the Hills. And in taking the Sauldiers hee rankes them all, as well on foote as Horsebacke on the right. Wing, commanding the beares of Burthess and the Battalions, to double the Front of their

Rankes, and to stand close your the right hand.
This being done, when as the Energies loyingd with them, hee commanded the Battalion that bending downe their Jauelings they should march in order, and mingle with the Brongest. At the fame instant, when as Titus had retired those which had begunne the Fight, to the spaces which were betwirt the Ensignes, he chargeth the Enemy.

The Combat beginning on eyther fide with great fury and clamour, all crying together, yet those which were without the fight cry. D ing vnto the rest, the Battaile was made very horrible and cruell, and it shewed the force of the Combat. Philips right Wing carryedit selse valiantly in this Battaile: charging the Enemy from aboue, having an advantage in their order: which finally for the present fight was much more commodious, in regard of the diuersity and severall sorts of Armes. In regard of the rest of the Army . fome were isyned voto the Enemy fighting a farre off, others Dewed

shewed themselves upon the left hand having gotten the toppes of

Of the History of Polybivs.

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When as Tytus faw and did well perceive that his men could not indure the force of the Enemies battallion, and those of the right wing to be repuls'd; and some flaine, and others to retire by degrees, and that all his hope of fatery confifted in the right Wing , hee goes speedily vnto them, and considers the Enemies order. When hee faw some succeed in their places which had fought, and others to de-A feend from the Hils, and fome to fay vponthe tops, he marcheth against the Enemy with his Ensignes, putting the Elephants before. And when as the Masedonians had no aduertifement by Trumpets and Clarons, and that they could not make it good, nor receive any true order of a battallion, aswell for the difficulty of the place, as for that the Combattants had the forme of goers, and not of an order of Battaile, and that there was no further meanes to fight fingle, or hand to hand with the Romans : Being also terrified and much injured with the Elephants, and likewise separated one from another, they marcht prefently away. Wherefore many Romans purfued them continually and flew them.

One of the Captaines Milleneirs being of this Troupe, having but twenty Enfignes, confidering at the very instant what was to be done, did great service for the obtaining of an absolute Victory. For when he saw those that accompanied Philip, assailed the others often, and grieuously to anney the left Wing, hee turnes to them that were in diffresse, leaving those which vanquished on the right Wing, and charged the Macedonians in the Reare. When as they of the Battallion could not make refistance, fighting man to man, this other was at their backes, killing those they incountred, there beeing no man that could fuccour them, fo as in the end they were forced to turne head, and to abandon their Armes. Although that Philip (as wee haue fayd C in the beginning) had a great hope in the Victory, making a conjecture in his owne conceite, vot feeling the Macidonians to abandon and leave their Armes suddainly, and the Enemies to charge in the Reare, hee parts speedily from the Battaile with some Horse and Foote to consider fully of the Combare. The state of the state of

When as he imagined that the Romans by their purfuite would approach to the right Wing on the tops of the Hills, hee leckes to draw together as many Thraftons and Macedonians as possibly hee could. When as Tytus purfued the Chafe, and bad discourred the left Wing The figne of the Macedonians to affaile the toppes of the Hills, hee flayed's For which the Man D that the Enemies held their lauthings right vp: The which the Macedo- cedenians give mians are accustomed to do when they yeild, or retire from the Enemy, yeild, When hee had knowne the cause of this accident, hee restraines his nien, being willing to pardon those that were amazed with feare. But whill that Tysus confidered of these things, some of the fore most Charge them from about and kill many: tew escaped abandoning their Thevistory of Armes. This Barraile beind thus ended of all sides and the Ramais the Romans. Armes. This Battaile being thus ended of all fides, and the Romans having the victory, Philip retires towards Tempe, and comming the first

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day to the Tower of Alexander, hee pass the Night there. The day following passing to Gounes, hec entred Temps, staying there for those which should escape in the flight.

When as the Romans had pursued the Chase for a time, some strip the dead, others draw the Prisoners together, and a great part goe to force the Enemies Campe. There they finde the Etoliens, who had forced it before for spoile, and imagining that they were frustrated of a booty which was due and did belong voto them, they beganne to accuse the Esoliens before the Generall, and to complaine, that hee had imposed the danger and the burthen of the Battaile vpon them, gi- A uing the profite and benefit vnto others: yet being returned vnto their Campe, they were somewhat pacified. The day following they affemble and gather together the Prisoners, and the rest of the spoile and booty, and from thence they tooke their course towards

Number of the

There dyed in this battaile about seauen hundred Romans, and neere dead on either vpon eight thousand Macedonians; the Prisoners were not lesse then flue Thousand. Besides many that escaped by slight. Thus ended this Battaile given betwixt Philip and the Romans in The faly at the Dogshead.



Of the difference of the Roman and Macedonian Armes.

Had promised in the fixt Booke, to make a Comparison of the Roman and Macedonian Armes, and of the ordring of their Battailes, and wherein they differ eyther worfe or better: Now I will indeauour to performe my promise. As in former times the Macedonian Armies have giuen good proofes of their Valour, having Vanquished the Asiatiques and Grecians, and that the Romans have furmounted the Affricans as much, as all the Westerne Nations of Burope, and that in our time ! the conference of these Armies and men is to be made, not for once but for many times, it will be commodious and profitable to seeke out their difference, and for what reason the Ramans vanquish, having alwayes the upper hand in Martiall Combats: To the end that ac-

knowledging it from Fortune, wee should with reason call them happy

Victors, as the ignorant viually do : But knowing the true cause, wee

should commend and holde these Captaines for miraculous.

Lib.17. Of the History of POLYBIVS.

In regard of the Battailes given betwixt Hannibal and the Romans. and their losse, it is not needfull to vseany long Discourse. The Romans without doubt did nor fuffer those losses, for want of Armes, and the romans the order of their Battailes, but in regard of the good direction and haue bin Vand

quished by the

We declared this when we related the Battailes themselues. The policy of the Warre confirms our anising. end of the Warre confirmes our opinion. For when as the Remans had found a Commaunder like vnto Hannibal, they suddainely were Victors. So doth this, that when as Hannibal had Vanquished the A Romans first, he furnished the common Souldiers better with the Roman Armes, reiceting their owne: Hauing vsurped them in the beginning, he afterwards made continuall vse of them. Pyrrhus in like manner did not onely vie the Italians Armes, but also their ordering of Armies, when as by change he fets in the head of the Romans an Enfigne and Band of the Battallion. Yet hee could not ouer-come nor vanquish by this meanes, the end of the Combate beeing alwaics doubt to the one and the other. It shalbe therefore necessary and conucnient to Trease thereof first, to the end that nothing may seems any way contrary voto our opinion : but I will beginne our con-R ferrence.

It is an easie thing to know by many instructions, that if a Battalion observes its proper order and forces, so nothing can annoy it, nor withstandit, for as an armed man hath three foote in his posture in a close Combate, and that the length of his Pike from one end to the other is of foure and twenty foote, and at the least of one and twenty. And that for the space of his hands with the end which remaines for to shake it, they abate sixe foote during the Combate, it is apparent that a Pike shall haue fifteene foote in length, besides the body of euery man that is armed, when with both hands hee presents it and chargeth the Enemy. Whereby it commonly happens that the other Pikes C passe three soore before the second, third, and sourth rancke of the precedent: The others before the fifth, if the Battallions be fitly joyned and close, according vnto the order of those which are in the Reare and vpon the Flanckes : As Homer teacheth when hee fayth. the Target affures the Target, the Head-peece the Head-peece, and the Man the Man : The Head-preces adorned with Horses haire, touch one another with their braue Crefts : tending , that they should be joyned together and close:

As these things are spoken with good reason and trueth, it is appar rently necessary, that the Pikes should be charged, according to those D that go before, passing betwirt them the length of ten foot and a halfe-By this meanes they may visibly know of what force the preparation and order of a Battallion is, having the length of axteene Ranckes: Whereof they which exceed the fifth cannot fight with their Pikes. For this cause they cannot fight hand to hand, nor man to man: but they support them at their backes untill they take breath, to the end that the first ranke may hold a firme order, repulfing all manner of force with their Pikes, which (passing the first) might charge vpon the reare. For

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in marching after this manner, they presse the fore-most with the weight of their bodies, to make a more violent charge. For it is impossible for the fore-most to turne backe.

This being the order of a Macedonian Battalion, aswell in particular as in generall, wee must by way of comparison speake of the properties and differences of the Roman Armes, and of their ordering of a Battaile. The Romans have three foote space with their Armes. The Order of the which in fighting they mooue from man to man . for that every man Rowans Armes. couers his body with his Target, the which they also vie when any occasion of Combate is offered. They commonly fight with the Sword by transport and apart: Wherefore it is manifest that these men haue betwixt them, a Retreate and space of three foote at the least, betwirt him that goes before, and the other which followes to fight more at ease, whereby it happens that a Roman standing still, contaynes the space of two Macedonian Souldiers, beeing in the first Ranke : So as he must offer himselfe and fight against ten Pikes : All which one cannot cut if hee would, holding them in his hands: Neyther can the following Forces any way affift the first Ranks, neyther to affaile nor to mannage their Armes. So as wee may eafily coniecture. that it is impossible for any man living, to sustaine and defend the vio- B For what cause lence of a Macedonian Battallion in Front, if (as wee haue formerly favd) it retaynes its propriety and force, for what cause then doe the Romans Vanquish ?

the Romans Vanquish.

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Whence comes it that Macedonian Battallions, are frustrated of their Hope of Victory? It is for that the Roman Ordonance, bath in Battaile infinite places and times commodious for the Combate, and the Macedonians have onely place and time, when it may bee feruiceable and commodious. And therefore if vpon some necessity the Aduerfaries fall suddainly upon the Macedonian Battallions, when they are to give Battaile, it is likely that they which make vie of it, would be alwayes the Masters. But if they can divert or turne it, (which is an C easie thing) of what amazement and great terrour will this Ordonance be

Moreover it is very playne and manifest that a Macedonian Battallion hath neede of Plaines and Euen ground without any let or incumbance, as Ditches, Springs, Vallies, Hills, and Water-courfes: for all these things may disturbe, breake, and make frustrate their defire and intention. It is (as a man may fay) in manner impossible, to finde a Countrey of twenty Furlongs (I speake of no more) where none of the afore-mentioned things are found. It is without any que-Rion or doubt a rare thing, and which no reasonable man will denv. Yer I will allow there are fome found. If the Enemies do not direct and guide themselves thether, but passing on ruine the Townes, Villages, Cities, and whole Regions of their Friends and Allies, what profite then will grow by this kinde of Ordonance? If it stayes in places of advantage, it cannot give fuccours to its friends, nor preferue it selfe. For Victuals, Munition, and succours, may bee very easily intercepted by an Enemy, if without any opposition hee

be master of the field. If likewise in leauing places of aduantage, a Massdonian Battalion feekes to execute some enterprize, hee is in danger of the Enemy. For although that some one goes to field, and doth not at one time offer his Army to the fury of the Macedonian Battalion, diverting himselse for a time during the fight, wee may eafily coniceoure by that which the Romans doe at this day, what will happen. The coniecture of that which wee say, must not bee taken from the effect. They doe not present their Battalion in such an indifferent place, as they must suddenly fight with all their forces A in front. One part fights the other stirres not.

Moreouer if at any time the Macedonians presse their Enemies eagerly, and are afterward repuls'd by them, the proper order of the Battalion is broken. For they leave the rest of the Army, whether they pursue those that are retired, or flye from those which charge them. The which being done, they leave vnto the Enemy the place which they had held, not to charge in front, but to serue them vpon the flancke or in the reare, to succour those of the Battalion. Why it is not probable, that it should bee easie for a Roman Battalion, to obserue time and advantage, and not for a Macedonian, seeing the differences are great, according

B to the truth of the faid things. Moreover it is necessary for those which make vse of the Macedenian Ordonance, to passe through all forts of Countries, and to plant their Campe, and finally to seaze vpon commodious places and to besieged and indure sieges, and to present himselse against the Enemy. All these things are requirest in warre: Sometimes also the generall moments which are great, ferue much for the victory: all which are not easie for a Macedonian Ordonance, yea sometimes they are unprofitable, for that the fouldier can neyther ferue in rancke nor man to man : Whereas the Roman is fit and profitable for these C things. For every Roman comming to fight with his Atmes, is active for all times and places and for all charges: and hath generally one Ordonance, whither he be to fight in Troupe with the whole Army, or particularly Enfigne to Enfigne, or Man to Man, Wherefore as the commodity is most excellent, fo many times the end and conclusion of the Battaile is more prosperous and successefull ento the Agmans, then to others. I have therefore thought it necessary and conuenient to vie a long Discourse concerning these things, for that there are many Greeians at this day which hold it incredible, that the D Macedonians should be vanquished and ouercome, being ignorant of the cause and meanes, whereby a Masedonian Ordonance is vanquished by the Roman Armes.

When as Philip had vied all possible meanes hee could in this Battaile, and yet was presented of the Victory, hee foorth-with Philips retreate made great hast (passing by Tempe) to recouer Macedony, beeing accompanied with all those which had escaped from the Battaile. Hee presently sent vnto Laressa the second Night after the Battaile,

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one of the Archers of his Guard, giuing him charge to teare and burne the Royall Legrers, doing therein an A& worthy of a King, who in his adverse Fortune had not forgotten that which was to bee done. He knew and did well perceive that if the Romans were once seazed on his Commentaries, there might be many occasions offered vnto his Enemies against him and his Friends. It may bee it happened and fell out to him as to others, who not able to containe their power moderately in prosperous things, yet have borne and suffered many Crosses and Disasters with patience: The which happened vnto Philip, as wilbe apparent by the following Discourse. So as ayming at that A which was convenient, wee have plainly shewed and declared his Attempts tending to reason, and againe his change to worse, and when, how, and wherefore these things were done, having plainely set foorth and express his Actions: Wee must by the same meanes declarehis Repentance and dilligence, whereby beeing changed thorough his aductse Fortune, hee carried and behaved himselse at that time like a wife and discreete man. Finally, Tytue having given good order after the Battaile, for those things which concerned the Prisoners and spoile, he went to Lariffe.



A Parcell of an imperfect sence.

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O define folly we cannot, for that they are defirous of the fame meanes. This kind of remificife and dulneffe, is often found in many. Neither is it to be wondred at, if it hath place among others: But among those in whom this Spring of maliee is found, there is anothereause, for the which that wife faying of Epichar-

mes doth not agree: Watch and remember that thou must diffrust. This is the bond of hearts.

Ofacertaine Accord betwixt Antiochus Α and the Romans.

T the same time came from the Vargyles Publins Lentulus, Antiochus with ten Legats: and from Thase Lucius Terentius and makes an atPublius Villius. When their comming was suddainly de-simaelia.

clared vnto the King, they assembled all within few daies

at Lysimachia. After whom followed Hegissianactes, and Listas sent at that time to Titus. Finally, the conference in private B betwire the King and the Romans was gracious and courteous. But when the assembly met for affaires, they imbraced another disposition. Encius Cornelius required that Antiochus should seaue all the Cities, the which being subiect to Prelony, hee had taken in Affa. In regard of those which were subject to Philip, hee contested much to have him leave them. For it was a mockery, that Antiochus comming he should reape the fruites of the Warre which the Romans had made a. gainst Philip: He likewise advised him not to meddle with the free Cities. He also sayd, that it seemed strange, that without reason he had past into Europe with an Army as well by Sea as Land : That no man could conceine it to be to any other end, then to make Warre against the Ro-C mans. These things being propounded by the Romans, they held their

peace. The King in answere said, that he wondred for what cause they decirebe and debated with him for the Cities of Aga, and that it was more fitting Romans, for any other then for the Romans. Finally, hee intreated them not to vlurpe, nor to deale with the affaires of Afia: And that for his part hee would not meddle with any thing that was in Italy. In regard of Eu. rope, he had entied with his Armies to recouer the Cities of Cherronefe and Thraes: For that the command of all those places belonged to him : this gouernment in the beginning being due to Lysimachus : But when as Selencus made Warre against him, and had ouerthrowne him D in Battaile, all the Kingdome of Lysimachus became subiect to seleucus

by force. After the time of his predeceffors, Psolomy was the first who violently the fayd places, vsurped them: The like did Philip. And that for his part he recoursed them, accommodating himselfe to his owne times, and not to those of Philip.

And as for the Lysimachians, ruined without reason by the Thracians he reduced them to himselfe, no way wronging the Romans, and restored them to their Countrey: The which he did to shew this mercy to

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the affaires of Seleucus, and not to make Warre against the Romans. In regard of the Cities of Asia, they ought not to enjoy liberty by the commandment of the Romans, but of grace. And for that which concerned Ptolomy, that with all his heart hee gaue him thankes : and that he understood that hee had not onely concluded Friendship with him. but made a League. When as Lucius was of opinion that the Lamp. faceneins, and Smyrniens, should be called, and audience given them. it was done accordingly. There Parmenio and Pythodorus presented themselves for the Lampsaceneins, and Cerane for the Smyrnien. When as these mendebated freely, the King being incensed to yeeld an accompt of their debate before the Romans, interrupting the Speech of Parmenio, cease sayth hee, to plead so much, I am not well pleased to dispute with my Enemics before the Romans, but rather before the Rhodiens, and then by this meanes they brake off the Assembly with. out any mutuall affection.



Another Parcell.

Any men defire actions of courage and prowesse, but the experience is rare. Scope in truth and Cleomenes have had great occasions for Combats and hardy Enterprizes. For C hope with his Seruants and Friends, but hee could not faue himselfe. Finally, his iust death (hauing led a wretched life) hath given testimony of his great weaknesse. And although that Scope was aided and affifted with great Forces, having the gouernment of the King in his nonage, and was of his Councell, yet he was foone ruined.

For when as Aristomenes knew that hee had affembled his Friends in his house, holding a Councell with them, he sent vnto D him by his Guards to come vnto the affembly. But hee was fo transported in his judgement, as hee did not that which hee ought to have done, neyther could hee (being called) be obedient vnto the King : which was the greatest folly in the World : vntill that Aristomenes knowing his balenesse, lodg'd Souldiers and Elephants neare his House, and sent Ptolomy the Son of Eumenes with the Young men, to bring him with faire words, if he would come willingly; if not, to vie force.

When

When as Piolomy was entred into his house, and signifying vnto him that the King demanded scope, he did not at the first observe his wo.ds : But casting his lookes upon Ptolomy, he was long in that estate, as it were threatning him, and wondring at his prefumption. But when as Ptolomy approacht with affurance, and layd hold of his Cloake, then he required helpe of the Affistants. Being in this estate, and a great company of the young men comming about him, being also advertifed, that his house was environed with Souldiers, hee followed him obeying the times, being accompanied by his Friends. When as hee A was come to the Assembly and Councell, the King charged him a little : Then Policrates newly arrived from Cypres : and in the end Ariflo. menes. The accusation was according to that which had beene spoken : but they added moreouer, that he had drawne his Friends together to consult, and that being called by the King, he would not obey. For which things all they which were in the Affembly, not onely condemned him, but likewise the forceine Embassadors there assisting. But when as Aristomenes came to accuse him, he tooke many notable perfons, not onely of Greece, but also of the Etolien Embassadors, who were there for the accord: Among the which was Dorimachus, the R Sonne of Nicostrates,

And when as these men had spoken, Scope laboured to alledge some excuses: But when as no man give eare vnto him for the foulenesse of his Crimes, hee was suddainly carryed to Prison with his Friends. The Night following, Aristomenes caused him to dye of poyson with all Scopeput to his Friends and Kinsfolkes. In regard of Dicearchus, hee put him to fon, death, having suffred great Torments : having endured fit punishments for all the Grecians. This was that Dicearchus whom Philip (prefuming to breake the accords with the Ilands of Cyclades, and the Cities of Hellespont, had made him Commander of all his Army at Sea, and superintendant of the sayd businesse. And when he was sent to a mani-C fest execration, hee did not hold it an unreasonable and wicked act, thinking he should be able to terrifie both Men and Gods by his rage. Alters set vp Making haste to recouer the ships, hee set up two Altars, the one to by Dicears bus cruelty, and the other to iniquity: Vpon the which he facrificed and to cruelty and braved as vnto the Gods. Wherefore it seems her was purished by iniquity. prayed as vnto the Gods. Wherefore it seemes hee was punished by a just Death, as well in the presence of Gods as Men. For as he led a life of a strange Nature, so he ended by a strange Death. Finally, when as the other Etoliens were desirous to retire home, the King suffred them to goe with all their Goods. Scope in his life time had a wonderfull defire of riches. Hee exceeded all other in auarics. And after his D death his houses were found abounding with Gold and rich moueables. Whereas he had for affiltant the ingratitude and drunkennesse of Chari-

morthe, he had wholy corrupted the Realme. When as the Priny Councell hadtaken order for the Etoliens affaires, they all inclined to give power to the King to command: Not in regard of the maturity of his age, but for that they thought thereby, that the estate of the Crowne would further the affaires : and that if the King tooks vpon him a free power of the Realme, it would be a beginning

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and advancement to the better. Making then a stately preparation, they put it in execution with royall Magnissence. Policyates seemed to have affisted them much in this Enterprize. For as this man was deare vnto his Father, being yet young, there was not a better Courtier in all the whole Court, neither for that which concern his sidelity, nor the affures, nor yet in more savour with the King. When as Cypres with the reuenewes were delivered vnto him vpon his saith and trust, in that dangerous time subject to many hazards, henot only kept this Iland for the Insant, but also gathered together great store A of Treasure, the which he then brought vnto the King, delivering the government of Cypres to Ptolomy the Megalopolitaine. And when vpon this occasion, he had purchased a great power for the future, in time he strayed and sell into a rash and wicked course of life. Ptolomy Age
Sandre by the force of his Age fell into the like infamy. Where.

fore when opportunity shall ferue, it shall bee no great trouble to declare what great ignoming and reproach followed their gouernments.

To God onely be all Honour and Glory.



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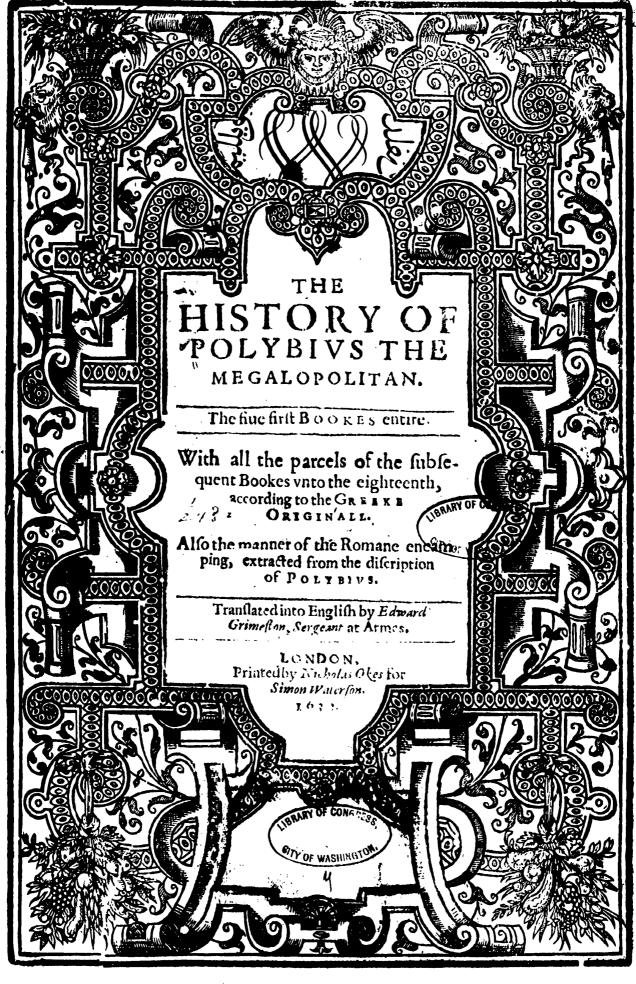


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RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM LORD CRAVIX,

BARON OF HAMSTEED, MARSHALL,&c.

MOST WORTHY LORD,



Ardon I befeech you, if (being a fir anger and ruknownevnto you) I have prefumed to inscribe your title on the Frontespiece of this Booke, and to publish it to the world, vnder your Lo. fauourable protection. I confesse my disbuilty might well have deterred me: But the reason

which sluced me to this prefumption, was your nobleand C generous inclination to Armes (being the subject of this History) wherein you have carried your selfe so worthily in many great and dangerous exploits, in forraine parts, vnder two of the greatest Commanders of Christendome, as you haue done great honour to your Country, and won vnto your selte perpetuall same and reputation. This Consideration hath made me confident, that during your vacancy from Military actions, your Lordship will vouch safe to D castyour eye vpon this History written by Polybius, who (in the opinion of most men of Judgement) hath beene held to be very fincere, and free from malice, affection or passion. And to instifict the truth thereof, he protests that he was present at many of the actions, and received the rest from confident persons who were eye-witnesses. It is a generall History of his time, of all the warres which past

Ý 3

The Epistle Dedicatory.

in the Greece, and the Romane State, againfrene Gaules, and Caribbenians, which two Cities contended for the Empiry of the world: which warre was of longer continuance, and had more cruell and variable encounters and battailes than any that hath beene written of: For the first Punique warre (where they fought for the Conquest of Sicily) lasted foure and twenty yeeres; and the second in Italy under Hannibal, Generall for the Carthagini- A ans, continued seuenteene yeeres, to the subttersion (in a manner) of the Romane State, had not Scipio forced Hannibal to returne home to desend his owne Carehage, where in Battell he lost the glory of all his former Victories, and brought his Countrey into the subiection of the Romanes. This worke I present vnto your Lordships fauourable Censure, humbly praying that you will be pleased to beare with my harsh and vnpolished sile, and to pardon the B errors committed at the presse during my absence : for which fauour I shall hold my selfe much bound vnto your Lordship, and will alwaies remaine

Your Lord? . most bumbly denoted to doe you service ?

EDVY. GRIMESTON.



Levves Maigret a Lionnois

to the FRENCH Nobility.



Butlemen, wee are all borne by nature to so much powerty, and involved in so many miseries, as there is no worke of Man, how small soever, which guing order to his meanest actions, doth not minister occasion of some Esteeme. So as whereas his diligence

guided by reason, Thall finde it selfe crost, I know not by what power, which commonly forsume resurres over the sudgement and consideration of Man, wee may (as we thinke) staftly blame it, in excusing with compassion the workeman and his misfortune. And if on the other side, to show her great magnificence and bounty, she imparts her favours and graces to some one, who without keeping any order er fure course, seekes to bring some Enterprize to an end, so as that notwithstanding his over-wearing and folly shee makes it perfell: Then we bold her produgall, detesting her pureasonable and Cinconsiderate bounty, griening at her benefits so ill implosed. Bebeld bow, (I know not by what law received among men) wee commender blame every one in his projession and workes, so farre forth as they fee his industry and diligence imployed or defettine. If wee have reason then in so great Esteeme, as wee seeke it in all our actions, and in matters of the smallest consequence, blaming him that neglects it: How infamous wee hold the carelefnesse and neglect of a man in the order and conduct of affaires, wherein not D onely the ruine of his efface, life and honour, but also ithat of his Countrey, Parents, and Friends, and finally of his Prince and Someraigne, is many times brought into great danger? But if there be no Enterprize among those which Menpursue, wherin such things onght to bee drawne into Consideration, as proper and ordinary vnhim, and without the danger whereof bee can reape no benefit, I am of opinion that that of warre ought in reason to bee preserved be-

fore Mercure causiling brought to a good end sujethous to a good end sujethous to a good end which we had been to a good end the second and the second and and finally so difficult to mannage, as never man could carry himfelfe to discreetly, nor with to great fortime for recovered such Fich polles der beaned lach Trappopular willowers | bue bel have purchased bim name causes of fare and searc, not onely of A great Enuie, and of new Snemies, But also loffe and ruine. will not speake to the inneparable despets of the branest Men in an Armie, which a Zaidfory worthy of renowne regaines. as it were by advance, when as the suemies performs the Daties of good fouldiers. The Carthagians thrusting an Army into Sicily at sheer fielt entry obtained forme Conqueles lo foone after they pronoted barred of the Romanes : which was but the beginning and prefige of a future ruine. But when at the fortune of the warres. beganne to smile woon Hanibal, and so give bim a full Gale. so we his exploits were so great in Spaine, as afterwards bee presumed to force Nations, Mountaines, and rivers, and in the end to fight with the Extremity of the Weather for the Conquest of Italy: Then, as it more, fearing her owns power, to bee in a manner vanquible, shoo beganne to praffixe and force meanes, not onely to ruine ber so much saucured Hanibal, but the whole Carthaginian Empire. And therefore it is credible. that (I know not by what inconstancy, or rather extranagant and sauage Nature) (bee makes friends of Enomies, and onemees of her some friends, so much ther searce (as I imagine) the safe and rest of those whom shee favours. It is true that trasfigue by Sea is not without great serrour amazement and bazard for she danger of the waves. Tempells and flormes, with a thoufund other accidents. But if warre once fet op her failes, being accompanied with rage, fury, and many other disasters, which D the malsos of Men banes muented to make vie of believe mee that thefe other furies, which the woods procure at Sea and in the Aire, which many sures are more fearefull than mortall, well not seeme in regard of these of warre, but a light amazeenents, and, as it were, a fals ullarum. What sorment at Sea, or violence of the winds bath over beene fo joddaine, which the

Reader.

long experience of a wile Pilot, could not by a thousand fignes and tokens foresce, douting sufficient remoder to award it? But when a warre is manuaged by sudgement and distribution, as it is requisite, the showes are commonly contraried to that which they pursue. Wherefore the more an enterprize is dissembled and keept secret, the more easiest it to put in execution. Finally, if we will confesse the truth, it is a proceeding which among all others, requires the greatest cuspilancie; a continual Care, with an increasible disgence: where of a good sudgement must have the condust, that by contessure drawne from things somethy practiced, or from a probability of that which bee sees, her may some after sudge of the Enemies resolution, and sinally assempt and hope for a custory:

And although it bath beene alwaies beld, that Money is the B sinemes of Warre ; yet I hold us force without Conduct ; like wase that of a strong, able Man, opprest with a deepe fleepe, whose senses have made their retreate for bie reft. So there is nothing to strong, nor so quicke in this world as the sense of man: Nor any thing so powerfull and terrible, which the waderflanding doth net mafter and jubane. And therefore wee fay commonly in France, that wit it better than force. Tet I know that Courage is a great advantage; C and necessary for a souldier, but especially for a Generall: But I feare that for want of Indgement and a good confideration, it makes them not sometimes ouer-weening and carelesse of danger. So as many times it gives occasion to a weake and cowardlie Enomie, to undertake a Victory, and to performe the Act of a valuant man. Wherefore courage without conduct, and vigilancie, is alwayes subject to Ambulbes and [hamefull flights: which are inconveniences, D whereof a Comard is alwases warte, for that feare makes a Man vigilant and carefull. But was there cuer Nation more bardie, nor more warre-like; nor that more carefully observed the ordinances of warre than the Romanes? How then did Hannibal descate them so often, not onely in Bacounters, but in pieche Battailes, and in the open

. I bod boll to the

field, by bis great Indoment, and bis subtile pollicier? In what leave, and with what admiration hath the fury of the Gaules, beane beld in old time by all Nations, who parting rom their emme Countrey and Townes, to feele new habitasions bane conquered land in diners Countries by Armes building Townes not onely in Italy their Neighbour, but also in Germany, and in the end in Grecce, and Afia? Who bath defeated and quite rumated them in a (hort time, but A their owne Consideration, and an over weating considerice in their force and courage ? I bold for certaine, which you know well, that it is not sufficient for a Prince or Generall to have his Armie complease with foose and herfemen, how refolute formen, and with all necessary prenisions for a warre : No more than for a Souldier to have youth, strong and active Members, a daring courage, and compleate furniture. Hee must baue to wanquish (the which many times the wanquish- B ed improperly call mit fortune) that piece of harnesse to well steeled, which wee call Indgement, or a good conduct. Beleeve mee that like vonto a borfe, when hee bath taken the bit betwist bie teeth, forcing bie Master, flies without seare thorow Woods, Rocker, and Precipices, with the danger of his life, bee bee never so nimble and couragions; so a hardie and resolute souldier deth easily his owne ruine, if hee wants condust and ludgement. You must proderstand that as the body C requires Exercise to preserve in bealth, and to make it affine, and bardened to indure labour and paine; to the runderstanding in like manner desires to bee exercised and imployed, esther by the consideration of things past, or by those which are visible.

It is true, that these which are seene by the eye, have a greater vinacitie, and a stronger impression, than those which are past: For that living things are of greater sorce than D dead. Tee, if we shall duely consider the length of time, which the experience of a thousand kind of pollicies, which warre requires before that a wise Man will dare to adventure himselfo in a hold and hardie Enterprize, were shall finde that the knowledge of the antient warres, which have beene

The Epille so the Reader.

lest vs in writing, will bee of no small consequence conte bim. For besides the assurance of danger, hee may in a short time see by Historiographers, the great and wonderfull exploits of the Antient in a manner since the Creation of the world. to pleasure and contentment from them, with some Encouragement to doe aswell or better bereaster. You know well that the warre which is seene by the eye, is not alwaies made beswixt warre-like people, nor under resolute Commaunders. that are skilfull in their profession: so as it is a difficult thing under such to see any valuant exploits, nor Enterprizes attempted with good invention, nor well executed. Wee lay commonly in France, that the Combate is dangerous, when as courage fights against courage. So is it credible, that when an Army consisting of warre-like men, is conder the leading of a wife and resolute Commander, baning in front en Enemy equall onto him in all degrees, there must needes B bee valiant explosts performed, with hardy Enterprizes wisely

mannaged. If there have beene any warres, attempted by spierce and warlike Nations, and governed by wife and famous Captaines, beleeue me this present Historiographer hath vsed great diligence to fet them downe in writing: Labouring only to mention the deedes and valour that was most worthy of Relation, that with the pleasure and contentment which they may reape in reading them, they may draw some instructions and meanes, not to fall into the inconviences of warre, into the danger whereof many times both Captaine and fouldiers may bee ingaged, through want of experience, good advice and councell. So as among others, you shall see Enterprizes of the Romanes against the Carthaginians for the conquest of Sicily. D During the which there were many Encounters and cruell battailes, as well by Sea and land. You (hall likewise reade the furious Combat of the Gaules against the Romanes: And moreover the warre between Cleomenes and Antigonus, for Morea, the which Philip the Sonne of Demetrius tooke afterwards. And besides many other notable exploites, (which at this present I will sorbeare)

The Epistle to the Reader.

vou shall see the Conquests which Hannibal made in Spaine. wish bis incredible voiage into Italie, performed in bis younger yeeres, and his victories gotten of the Romanes wish such policie and wisedome, as it is a difficult thing (if wee shall consider the people and number of his Armie, hauins regard to courage and power of those with whom hee had to deale) to indge truely, whether there were ener Captaine in the memory of man, that may with reason bee A compared vnto him. Finally my Masters, I doe not promise von in this History, those miraculous Battailes, which exceed the apprehension of man, performed in the Kingdome of Logics, nor I know not what Quest of that barking Beaft. Make your accompt that you shall not finde any Tract or marke of a Beast, nor finally any thing that holds of it. Beleeue mee in times past, Men did not feede their conderstandings with dreames, nor fables invented in barbers-shops, R without any colour of Truth. It is impossible an ignorant Master should make a learned disciple. Finally they are discourses fit for old womens tongues to entertaine little child. ren, whilest that for weakenesse of their Age, their understanding bach no apprehenfion, ner sufficient Iudgement of reason. Wherefore wee may with reason say, that such as coxe sume their yeeres, and grow old in such dreames, have a will to continue still children. And although they commonly C faie, that warre is mannaged by the eye: So as it seemes they will thereby inferre, that wee must not thinke of it, but whe necessity doth force vs : And that peace should procure no benefit to a Souldier, but idlenesse; yet he must fore-see long before, part of that which afterwards he must governe by the eye. And as a horse which is pampered and not ridden, growes restit; and proues conprositable to his Master for travaile :: so the condestanding of a souldt. D er, idle during peace, or fed with dreames and foolish inventions, will faile him at neede; and in the end purchase bim dishonour and shame; Yet do not imagine my Masters, ebas I bane vjed this speech as blazoning you, and holding you for men of poore an Enterprize, whose principall

The Epiftle to the Reader.

study and affections is the reading of such Bookes, rather then in some worthy recreation and exercise. My meaning was onely to aduertise you, that Histories, from whence with pleasure you may draw great prossit, as these are which this Historiographer imparts sunto you ought to bee in greater recommendation than those Fables, which have no grace, but when they are most without reason or any shew of A truth.

Finally, I bope you shall finde such sufficiencie in our Polybius, as you will make no question to preferre him as the paragon before all others, aswell Greekes as Lastines, which are come to the knowledge of men. Of whom I have presumed to translate in the best sort I could, those fine first Bookes, which of Fourty which bee hath written, have beene preserved halfe ruined by the negligence of time: B Hoping you will receive them as willingly, as I offer them with a good heart.

When as after the Printing of these fine first Bookes. I had recoursed some Latine Translations, of three parcels of the fixt, whereof the first and the third had not any GREEKE Coppie, And likewise afterwards another of the sixteenth, both in Latine and Greeke, I imployed my selfe to put them into French, adding there-Cunto the forme of the Romanes Campe, as I could consecture it, by the discription which Polybius maker, in the parcell of the fixt Booke. And when at the Printers successor had a desire afterwards to print the whole, and intreated mee to spend some time in the Remainder of that which was newly published of Polybius his worker, which are certaine parcells, and as it were Reliques (besides the a-D boue named) of the sewenth and eighth, and of all the subsequent Bookes onto the seauententh inclusive, it was not in my power to deliver him any other but those of the seventh and eighth, being afflicted with a quartane Ague, besides bu obstinacy in ving a small Character, for the sparing of l'aper distasted mee : Expetting that which afterwards follomed, that few men would rest satisfied, for that all things

The Epistle to the Reader.

how good and excellent seener, are thereby found without grace, dull and unpleasing. For this cause desiring that so excellent a writer, should not remaine distanced and without grace for want of an honourable Impression, and that the studions of Histories should bee the more incouraged, I resolved to adde the remainder of that, which at this day is come to our knowledge, assuring my selfe that the Printer for his part will have a care that for the saving of his money hee will not doe wrong to his honour, nor loose his charges instead of gaine.

To GOD alone be all honour and glory.









The Printer to the READER.

Our teous Reader, I desire your charitable consure in that there bee some litterall faults escaped, to the grices of the Author being not able to attend the Press, and likewise being absent at that time from London, and having but a yong Corrector which took too much upon him.

Errata.

D'Aga 17. line 21. for report read fupport, p.27.l.9. for wridge riegg, p.33.l.28. for ready the tready for the, p.34.l.27. for nor beer report bee, p.35.l.39. for shows then, p.40.l.19. for host been r.bad not been, p.51.l.4. for Bammball t. Amilear, p.62.l.37. for dreamant for the been, p.51.l.4. for Bammball t. Amilear, p.62.l.37. for dreamant for a faire r. Aftip p. 79.l.37. Rune e. Rhofne, p.10.l.30. t. time to pales p. 13.l.47.t. Tor and pale t. be pale, p.131.l.4. f. fluffs their plant, p.134. i.38.r. flushed dead or burt, p.145.l.47.t. Tornand pale t. be pale, p.131.l.4. f. fluffs their plant, p.136.l.42 r. in common affemblies, l.45.t., dances, p.189.l.21.t. raifeth bis Campe, p.134.44.t. didnot opens, p.194.l.15 reveat a King, p.186.l.91. privit great flips, p.220.l.24.t. to bring him, p.240.l.27. no was, p.244.l.26. to bring him, p.240.l.27. no was, p.244.l.26. to bring him, g.36.l.40 twist executed, p. 231.l.28.t. againft them, p.240.l.27. no was, p.244.l.20.t. which the Goffers, p.249.l.25.borne away by the riner, abid, l.38 tower, p.244.l.41. part of the Phonestensis, p.248.l.61. greater danger, p.279.l.23.r. for all them which.



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The Romans Campe containes in its square, equallof ali sides, 91. Acres and about 12. Rod: after 22. foot to the Red, and 100 Red to the Acre.

In regard of the Gates of the Campe, I have purposely omitted them, for that Polybius makes no mention: Although the manner of the Romanes was to have four according to the foure Corners of the world . And it is placed in the widdest of enery side of the Ditch.

As for the light lauelins or Dares, they are divided among other Bunds: And as for the fireets I have not fer them downe, for that they may be casily imagined,

FIRSTBOOKE

of the History of POLYBIVS.



F the Commendation of the ex-cellency of Histories had beene omitted by fuch as before vs have written the Worth and Prowelle of Men, happily it should bee necessary to vie some Arguments to make it to be generally Accepted and Received: For that there is no way more calle to reforme and better Men, then the Knowledge of things past. But seeing that not onely some, but in a

manner all, begin thereby and finish it amply, soasthey are of Opinion that the Knowledge of Histories is a true Discipline and Exercise for the Conduct and mannaging of the Affaires of a Common-wealth, and that she onely is the Mi firis, and meanes to beare the Variety and inconftancy of Fortune patiently, by reason of the example of another mans aduersities, it is apparent that no man will hold it necessary to renew the Discourse of things, which have formerly beene so well delinered by others: Espetially by me to whom the newnesse of Actions, whereof wee intend to Write, is much more then sufficient to perswade and draw the hearts of men, aswell both Young and Old, to read our History. For where is any man to depraced or filly, which defires not to understand

the meanes and manner of Gouernment, by the which the Romans have lubdued and brought under their Obedience in amanuer. all the Wations of the World, within the food of fifty and three yeares? the which in former times was neuer heard of. Or what is he to much given and defiring to know other things worthy of admiration and other Disciplines, but will conceive that there is not any thing in this world worthy to be preferred to this knowledge ! I hope they will fee lacw great and excellent our Worke is, if wee make comparison of other Principalities with the excellency of the Romane Empire, and namly of those which have beene in great honour and glory, whereof A Historiographers haue Written much. Behold those which are most worthy to be compared.

The Perfians.

The Empire and power of the Persians for a time hat abcene-great, but when focuer they did amenture to passe the bounds and limits of Alla, they were in danger to lose not onely their Empire, but their The Lacedemonians made a long warre for the Empire and command of Greece, but they could hardly keepe it twelve yeeres quiet after their Codquest.

The Maccdonians.

It is true, the Asacedonians have domineer'd and rul'd in Burope, from Adria to the Danowe, which is but a small portion thereof. And B fince they have held the Empire of Afia after they had ruined the Monarchy of the Parsians. And although that these haue in shew beene great Lords, and enjoyed large and spacious Countries, yet they neuer toucht the greatest part of the World. As for Sicily, Sardinia, and Affricke, they never made show to challenge any thing. In regard of other Nations, the most Martiall of Europe, and the most Westerne, they hardly in my opinion did eyer know them ? But the Romans have not onely conquered a part of the World, but in a magner all. They may alfo know by our lequell, how great the profit will be to such as affeetheknowledgeof History.

The beginning of the History.

Finally, the beginning of our Worke shall be according to the rime. C fince the hundred and eight and forty. Olimpiade . As for the Actions, and first of the Grecians, wee will begin with the forbil warre, the which Philip (who was Sonne to Demetrine, and Father to Perfens) attempted first with the Acaians, against the Brolians, and in regard of those which inhabite Asia, the beginning shall be at the Warre which was litthe Valley of Syria, betwixt Antiochus, and Prolome, Philopater.

But as for Italy and Affricke, wee will begin with that betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, which many call the warre of Hanniball. The History shall begin at the end of that which Sicionism hath left in D writing. Before these times the affaires of the world were without Civillity. Since it hath happened that the History is in a manner drawne all into one, and that the actions of Italy, and of Affricke, are mingled with those of Greece and Asia, and that all tended to one and the same end. And therefore wee have begun our worke in those times, when the Romans had vanquilled the Carthaginians in this war, thinking they had performed their greatest taske, and to be able to asfaile the whole world, they prefumed prefently after to fall upon the

rest, and to passe into Greece and Asa with great forces.

Lib. 1.

But if we had seene and knowne the manner of liuing, and the Lawes of Common-weales contending for the Monarchy, happily it would not be needfull to make any great fearch, to what end, nor vpon what power relying, they have entred into such great actions. But for that the manner of living, the precedent forces, and the actions of the people of Rome and Carthage are vnknowne to the greatest part of the Grecians, I have held it necessary to make these two first Bookes, before I enter into the History, to the end they should have no occasion A to wonder nor inquire in reading our Worke, what Councell, what Forces, and what Treasure and Wealth the people of Rome had to vnderrake the warre and conquest of the whole Earth, and of all our Sea: Confidering that they which shall require it, shall see plainely by these first Bookes of our Preparation, that the Romans had reasonable cause to vadertake the Empire and Soueraignty of all things, and to attains vnto their ends. Beleeue that the proper obiect of our Worke, and the excellency of the Actions of our time, consists principally in this, that as Fortune hath in a manner reduced all the affaires of the world into one, and hath forced them to draw to one and the famu B end : So the force which sheehath vsed for the perfection of all publicke gouernment, must be reduced and propounded to the Reader in one briefe History.

This hath chiefely incited and vrged mee to the enterprise thereof, especially for that none of our time hath undertaken to write a generall History: neither would wer have attempted it: But seeing that many had written some particular Warres, and their prinate Actions, and that no Man (to my knowledge) hath hitherto made an valuerfall and generall commemoration of things past, neither when nor how they began, nor how they were executed and performed, nor what iffue C they had: I conceived it would be well done, if by our meanes our Countrey-men might read a worke of Fortune excellently good and profitable : For although fhee had done excellent things and worky of admiration among mon: yet thee hath not done any thing vnto this day, not putchased the glory of victory comparable to our times. The which they that have written the particular Histories cannot make knowne, but that some one who peraduenture for that hee had lived in some renowned Towne, or for that they had seenethem in pique, imagine presently they know them's and consequently the scituation, the forme, and the order of the World, the which is not probable nor D likely...

They which are of Opinion that a particular History is sufficient for the vader standing of the generall, in my Opinion fray no less from the truth, then if fome one confidering the parts deparated of a living A good Com Body, thinke by this meanes to have the knowledge of all the perfecti, Pailon, ons and graces of the Creature. There is no doubt; but if any one takes these diffinet and separated parts, and doth presently is yne them rogether, and make a perfect Creature, giuing it forme and life, and then presents it vnto him, hee will soone confesse that hee hath beene de-

Lib. 1.

Timeres an Hilloriogra. pher.

ceiued, like vnto them that dreame. It is true, we may have some apprehension of the whole by the parts: But it is not possible to have a true and cortaine Science and Knowledge. And therefore you must imagine that a particular History is of small vse for the knowledge of the generall: And that by the connexion, comparison and similitude of actions, there will be no Man found, who in reading, will not reape fingular profite and pleasure by History. Wee will therefore make the beginning of this Booke at the first Voyage which the Romans made by Sea, which is subsequent to those things which Timerus hath last written: which was in the hundred and nine and twentieth olimpiade. We A must therefore relate how, and what time they ended their Quarrels in Italy, and what meanes they had to puffe into Sicily: For this is the first voyage they cuer made out of their Territories, whereof wee must fet downe the reason simply and without disguising a to the end that by the fearch from one cause to another, the beginning and consideration of the whole may not proue doubtfull. The beginning also must be agreeable to the Time and Subjects, and that it be knowne to all : the which they may consider by themselues, yea, in seeking out those things which were past long before, and in the meane time relate the Actions summarily: For it is certaine that the beginning being vn. B knowne or obscure, its continuance cannot perswade, nor purchase beleese: But if the Opinion of the beginning be true, then all the subsequent Narration doth cafily content the Auditors care.

Nineteene yeeres after the battell wone ypon the River Lgos, and fixteene veeres before the Warre of Leuttra, where the Lacedemonians treated a peace with Antalcides King of Persia, when as Denis the old held the Citty of Rhegium in Calabria besieged, after that hee had defeated the Gregians inhabiting upon the limits of Italy, necre unto the Riuer of Elleporis: and that the Gaules having wholy ruined Rome, held it, except the Capitall: During which time the Romans having made C an accord with them, which they found good and profitable, and had recovered their liberty contrary to their hope and expedience, and had in Ananner taken a beginning of their increase, they declared Warre agrinst their Neighbours. As soone as the Latins had beene vanquished, aswell by their prowelle as by the fortune of the Warre, they turned their Armes against the Tuscaus, then to the Celtes which are in Italy, and finally upon the Samnites which confine the Region of the Latins, towards the East and North. Sometime after, the Tarrentines seeing the outrage which they had committed against the Romane Embassadours, not relying much upon their owne forces: they called in King D Parrhus the veere before the Descent of the Gaules into Italy, and before the Retreate of those which were defeated in Battell neere vnto Delphos. Then the Romans after they had vanquished the Tustans and Samutes, and beaten the Celtes often, began to make warre against the rest of Italy, not as contending for another mans Lands, but as for their owne, and formerly belonging vnto them, being now growne warlike by the Warres which they had had against the Celterand Samnites.

The Romans then after that Pyrrhus and his forces had beene chased out of Italy, taking this Warre to heart, they purfued fuch as had followed his party. Being suddainly become Maisters of all according to their desires, and that all Isaly was wholy subdued, except the Celtes, fleged by the they presently besieged some of theirs which held Regium. One and Romans. the like fortune befell two Citties scituated upon the Straight of that Sca, that is, Mesina and Rhegium. Some Campanois having beene The taking of lately in pay with Agathocles in Sicily, wondring at the beauty and Messina by some simple. wealth of Melling, they fuddainly when they found an opportunity, 70% A affailed it, breaking their Faith, they having beene received into it by Friendship: where they expell'd some of the Cittizens, and slew others. After which wicked act they shared their Wives and Children among them, as their fortunes fell out during the Combate: Then they divided their goods and lands. But after this suddaine and easie Conquest of fogoodly a Countrey and City, they foone found others that did imitate their villanies.

They of Rhegium amazed with the descent of Pyrrhus at such time as he past into Italy, and fearing in like manner the Carthaginians. being then Maisters of the Sea, they craued a Garrison and men from the B Romans. Those which they sent vnto them, were to the number of 4000. vnder the command of Desius the Campanois, they kept the Towne for a time, and their faith in like manner with the Cittizens, in defending them; but in the end moved by the example of the Mamertins, who folicited them to comit this base act, they falsified their faith. being aswell incited by the opportunity of the deed, as by the wealth of The taking of Rhegium, and chased away some Cittizens and slew others, finally, Rhegium by they realed upon the Citty as the Mamertines had done. And all fome campathough the Remans were discontented at the misfortune of the Rhegins, non being there in Garrion. yet they could not relieue them, for that they must settle an order for C their precedent VVarres. But after they had ended them, they be-Thetaking of sleged them of Rhegium, and afterward they entred it by force, where. Rhegiumby the as many were flaine: who being certaine of the punishments they were Romans. to endure, defended themselves valiantly to death. About three hundred were taken aline, who presently after their comming to Rome, the Commanders of the VVarro commanded them to be brought into the The punish Market-place where they were whipt, and in the end their heads ment of Traystrooke off, after the manner of the Countrey. They did vie this pu. tours. nishment to the end that their Faith (as much as might be possible) might be confirmed towards their confederates. Presently after they

D caused the Towne and Countrey to be delinered to the Rhegins. 1 But whileft that the Mamersins (you must vnderstand that the Cam. The Campanon panels caused themselves to be so called after the taking of Messina) holding Messina were relieved by the Romans which held Rhegium by force, they not are called Mas onely enjoyed the Countrey and Towne peaceably, but they commit. ted great spoiles upon many other Townes their Neighbours, aswell of the Carthaginians as of Saragoffe (otherwise Stracufat) Theogreau, test part of Sicilywas tributary vato them. But soone after when they were deprined of those succours, and that they which held K breine

Hieron chosen King of the Saragoffins.

with Loptine.

The pollicy

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Ciamofure.

were belieged, they were in like manner by them of Saragoffe, for the caples which follow: As a little before the men of warre of Saracoffe camping neere vnto Mergane, being in dissention with the Governours of the Common-weale, they chose for their Captaines Artemidore and Hieron, who afterwards was their King, being yet very young: But finally fo wellendowed with all the graces of Nature and Minde. as hee wanted no Royall conditions but the Crowne. Hauing accepted the Magistracy, and made his entry into the Towne very well accompanied by his Friends, where having vanquished the Burgesses of the contrary faction, hee vied the Victory with io great elemency and A modesty, as by a common consent of all in generall he was chosen their Commander, although they did not allow of the Election made

by the Souldiers.

It is true that Hieron made knowne to men of judgement and vaderstanding, that he had conceived greater designes in his mindethen to be their Leader. First knowing well that the Saragoffins were mutinous and desirous of innouation, when socuer they sent their Souldiers and Commanders out of the Countrey, and that Leptine was a man of great reputation, and of more credit then any other of the Cittizens. and that he was very pleafing vnto the Multitude, he held it fit to make B an alliance with him, to the end he might leave fome report in the Citty for him, when socuet he should goe to the VVarre, and lead an Army out of the Countrey. Hauing therefore taken the Daughter of Lepmade by Histor time to WVife, knowing well that the old band of forraigne Souldiers were changeable and subject to mutinics, he led his Army of see purpose against the Barbarians, who held the Citty of Messina: And having feated his Campe neere to Centeripe, and put his men in battell close ypon the River of Ciamossure, he stayed in a place apart all the Horse and Foote of his owne Nation, as if he meant to charge the E. nemy on the other fide: suffering the fortaigne Souldiers to be defea- C ted by the Barbarians, and whilest the others sled, he makes his retreate fafely with all the Saragessins to the Citty. When he had by this pollicy brought his defigne unto an end, and had freed his Army of all the Mutines, hee makean great leur of Souldiers. Soone after when as all things were fettled in good order, Hieron feeing that the Barbarians were growne too, audacious and proud of their late Victory, he patts from the Citty with an Army of his Countrey fouldiers, well trained and disciplined, and making dilligence, he came to Myle, where along the Bankes of the River of Longane, he fought with them with all his forces. Having vanquished them and taken their Captaines, see- D ing their pride much abated by this Victory, he teturing to Saragoffe with his Army, and was by the generall fauour and confent of all the Cittizens faluted King by the Allies.

The Mamertins dehuer their Towne and Fort vnto the Carthaginians.

Succours required from

The Mamertins as we have fayd, being deprived of the fuccours of of the Romane Legion, and having loft to great a Battell, their hearts being broken, they retire for the most part vnto the Carthagis mians, and yeeld themselves and their Fort : The rest sent vnto the Romans, deliuering their Towne vnto them, and requiring fuccours

as to those that were of the same Nation. The Romans were long in the Romans by suspence what todoe: For they found it strange, having lately punished the Mamerine. their Clinizens to fenerely, for violating their faith with the Rhegins, to fend fuccours now vnto the Mamertin's whowere guilty of the like crime. They were not ignorant of all thefe things: Yet confidering that the Carthaginians had not onely drawne Affricke under their obedience by force of Armes, but alfo many places in Spaine, and moreover all the Islands of the Sea of Sardinia and Italy; they doubted that their Neighbour-hood would be dangerous, if they made them-A selves Lords of the rest of Sicily. They likewise understood, that it would be easie to effect, if the Mamertin's were not relieued : And there was no doubt, that it Meffina had beene delivered voto them, they would presently have recovered Saragosse, for that they held all the rest of Sicily. And as the Romans considered these things, they were of opinion that it was necessary not to abandon Messina, nor to suffer the Carthaginians to make vato themselves as it were a Bridge, to passe into Italy at their pleafure.

This was long in debate, yet it was not concluded in that affembly: for it seemed voto them as unreasonable as profitable to relieue the B Mamertins. But as the Commons much weakned with their former Waries, seemed to have need of rest, so the Captaines shewing the great profit that might enfue, they resolved to succour the Mamertins. This Opinion being confirmed by the Commons, presently resolute to such they appointed Appine Claudius, one of the Confus, to passe the Army courts Mainto Sigily, and to relieve the Mamertins, who had put out of their merineby de Towne, aswell by threats as pollicy the Captaine of the Carthaginians pins Claudius which (as we have fayd) held the Fort. And they called vnto them The stamenting Appins Claudius, delivering the Citty into his hands. The Garthagini- recover the ans hung him on a Crosse which had had the Guard, supposing that he Cartaine of the C had yeelded it basely for feare and want of Courage. Then suddainly carehaginans. they drew their Sea-army neere vnto Pellore, and that at land about the

Countrey called Sene, holding by this meanes Melling streightly befieged.

Lib. I.

In the meane time Hieren thinking to have found a good opportunity to chase the Barbarians which held Messina out of Sicily, followed the Carthagintans party. And going from Saragesse, he takes his way Hirres follows to the Towne, and layes his Siege on the other fide neere vnto Mount the Carthagini-Cal/hidique: By this meanes he tooke from the Townelmen all meanes an party. to fally forth on that fide. But the Confull passing the Sea by night D with great danger, in the end hearrived at Messina: where seeing the

Enemy round about it, and that this Siege was as dishonourable voto him as dangerous, for that the Enemies were the stronger both by Land and Sea, he desired first to try by Embassies sent to both Camps, if it might be possible to pacifie things, so as the Mamertins might be freed. But the Enemies not youch fafing to heare them, he was in the end forced to vadergoe the hazard, and resolved first to give battell to the Saragossins. He therefore causeth his Army to march, and put it in battell: to the which the King likewise came speedily. But after that Appine